ASTENE

14th Biennial Conference 2021



[Online] 24-25 July 2021



Saturday 24 July



09:45 - 10:00 - Welcome

10:00 – 11:15 – Keynote

Patrick Hart & Valerie Kennedy: Robert and Henrietta Liston in Constantinople: Translations and Transitions

11:15 – 11:30 – Break

11:30 - 13:00 - Panel 1 - Women Travellers

Charlotte Kelsted: "There was this condescending attitude": British women travellers to Mandate Palestine

Amber Zambelli: "World's Most Unusual 'Girl Friday": Eileen Salama and the American Foundation Arabian Expedition

Bryony Renshaw: Kaleidoscopic Reflections on the Nile 1873-4: One Journey through the Eyes of Marianne Brocklehurst, Amelia Edwards and Jenny Lane

13:00 – 14:00 – Lunch

14:00 - 15:30 - Panel 2 - Travel & the History of Science

Joachim Ostlund: Lost and Found: The Swedish scientific knowledge of Ancient Egypt, c.1710–1740

Kathleen Sheppard: A "floating headquarters and working laboratory": James Breasted's Nile travel and professional Egyptology in America

Abeer Eldany & Neil Curtis: James Andrew Sandilands Grant (1840–1896)

End of day one

Sunday 25 July



10:00 - 11:30 - Panel 3 - Journeys Across Time

Janet Starkey: 'Purses of Gold': Dignitaries who travelled from Ottoman lands to Edinburgh in the 1730s

Daniele Salvoldi: One Travel, Three Narratives: A Comparative Reading of d'Athanasi, Finati, and Ricci's Misadventures in Lower Nubia

Gina Derhard & Jan Ciglenečki: "Nudos amatheremus": Egyptian travel accounts of the Latin Church Fathers

11:30 – 11:45 – Break

11:45 - 13:15 - Panel 4 - Authorship: Methods & Modes

Paul Auchterlonie: *The First Two Books Published in Devon on the Middle East: How Ellis Veryard (1657-1714) and Joseph Pitts (1663?-1739) Viewed Egypt* Leila Salem: South American Writings of Tutankhamon. Víctor Mercante and the Egyptology at the 1920s in Argentina

Imene Gannouni Khemiri: Shifting the Gaze? Imagining Tunis in Robert Lambert Playfair's Travels in the Footsteps of Bruce in Algeria and Tunis (1877) and Handbook for Travellers in Algeria and Tunis (1878)

13:15 - 14:15 - Lunch

14:15 - 15:45 - Panel 5 - Personal Narratives

Anastasija Golijewskaja: Artemy Rafalovichtravel to

Egypt in 1846–49, his impressions and barely known book.

Gemma Renshaw: What can be done in a winter at Thebes – Robert Hay, October-Dec 1825

Sarah Ketchley: 'They Came to Egypt: Databases and Digital Editions of 19th Century Nile Travelogues'

End of conference

Abstracts



Keynote Lecture

Patrick Hart and Valerie Kennedy: Robert and Henrietta Liston in Constantinople: Translations and Transitions

The long century between Lady Mary Wortley Montagu's departure for Constantinople (1716) and the publication of Eliot Warburton's *The Crescent and the Cross* (1848) saw significant shifts in European perceptions of the Ottoman Empire. With the waning of its military's power in Europe after 1740, the Empire came to be seen less as a fearsome martial force with exotic and alien religious and socio-political systems, and more as a ready subject for European intervention and influence. Travel writing played an important, complex role in this process: travel writers and their accounts were increasingly characterised not by the internationalist, antiquarian and sometimes open and tolerant perspectives embodied in Montagu's *Letters or in the fantasies of Turquerie*, but by Orientalist tropes associated with a more expansionist, imperialistic worldview.

Our talk will introduce the Turkish writings of Robert Liston, British ambassador to the Sublime Porte in 1794–5 and again from 1812 to 1820, and of his wife, Henrietta Marchant Liston, who accompanied her husband on his second embassy to Turkey, and whose extensive journals of her travels and residence there, published for the first time last year by Edinburgh University Press, the two of us were involved in editing. We will look to situate the Listons' writings in relation to the aforementioned shift, drawing upon both the newly published material and the online resources hosted by the National Library of Scotland as part of the same project, as well as on unpublished and largely unknown manuscripts in the Library's collection.

Focusing in particular upon their comments on the Embassy dragomans and other unofficial interpreters, we will argue that the Listons' writings represent a fascinating and important transitional phase between what Srinivas Aravamudan characterised as an 'experimental, prospective, and antifoundationalist' Enlightenment Orientalism, and the cultural apparatus of a later, more Saidian Orientalism, 'all aggression, activity, judgment, will-to-truth, and knowledge'. **Paul Auchterlonie:** The First Two Books Published in Devon on the Middle East: How Ellis Veryard (1657–1714) and Joseph Pitts (1663? –1739) Viewed Egypt

The refusal by Parliament in 1694 to renew the Licensing Act broke the Stationers' Company monopoly over publishing, and allowed books to be legally published outside London and the university cities. Devon took full advantage of this and in 1701 John Bishop of Exeter published *An account of divers choice remarks as well geographical as historical, political...and moral, taken in a journey through the low countries, France, Italy and parts of Spain;...the Isles of Sicily and Malta...the Levant...Candia, Egypt, the Red Sea...by Ellis Veryard while in 1704 Bishop published <i>A true and faithful account of the religion and manners of the Mohammetans, by Joseph Pitts.*

Both Veryard and Pitts were Devonians and visited Egypt during the course of their travels at almost the same time. However, they described what they saw there in very different ways.

Veryard was a medical doctor with degrees from the Universities of Utrecht and Leiden and spent thirteen years on his travels from 1682 to 1695. Joseph Pitts, spent seventeen years in the Middle East, from 1678 to 1694, the first five or six as a Christian slave in Algiers, and the final eleven or twelve years outwardly as a Muslim. Veryard is a typical learned professional traveller who visited all the important sites in Lower Egypt and Sinai and described what he saw with many references to antiquity and to the existing state of the government.

Pitts, on the other hand, who was passing through Egypt on his way to Mecca with his Turkish master, behaves much more like an intelligent tourist, discussing what he saw around him, but without a historical context.

The paper concludes with a comparison of the value of each traveller's observations.

Gina Derhard and Jan Ciglenečki: "Nudos amat heremus": Egyptian travel accounts of the Latin Church Fathers

Jerome, Rufinus and Cassian were among the most influential figures of the Church history in the 4th and the 5th century. They played a crucial role in disseminating monastic ideals that shaped subsequent medieval culture throughout Europe. It is far less known, however, that they were also daring travelers who produced first-person accounts of their journeys to the Egyptian deserts.

These Latin Church Fathers, who were often sponsored and accompanied by wealthy aristocratic women (e.g. Melania the Elder and Paula), were among the first Christians who decided to undertake a journey to the East in order to establish personal contact with Egyptian monastic communities. The Egyptian "Desert Fathers" thus became the role models to the Latin Church Fathers due to their radical rejection of all worldly possessions and ambitions. This metaphorical "nakedness" is reflected in Jerome's quote nudos amat

heremus, "desert loves the nudes" (Ep. 14.1).

The following paper aims to reconstruct the travels of Latin Church Fathers by analyzing the main primary sources. The scarce information on their journeys to Egypt are scattered in Jerome's Letters and *Apologia adversus libros* Rufini, Rufinus' *Church History and Apologia contra Hieronymum*, Cassian's *Collationes* as well as Palladius' *Historia Lausiaca*. These sources are the earliest testimonies of the direct contact between Egyptian monasticism and the Latin West.

Abeer Eldany and Neil Curtis: *James Andrew Sandilands Grant (1840–1896)*

James Andrew Sandilands Grant (1840–1896) was born in Methlick, Aberdeenshire. He studied Arts and Medicine at the University of Aberdeen and went to Alexandria, Egypt to support the efforts to contain the Cholera Epidemic. He then fell in love with Egypt and Egyptian Archaeology, a field that was in its infancy at the time.

Dr Grant considered Egypt as his home, while maintaining strong connections with Aberdeen, his home city, until his pdeath in 1896. He excelled in both his main career, medicine, and as an Egyptologist. The museum that he established in his house was open every Wednesday afternoon to Egyptologists, travellers, and local scholars alike for guided tours and lectures in current research. They visited and listened to his illustrated talks and most recent archaeological discoveries. He also became an important contact for people arriving in Cairo, showing them his collection and introducing them to useful people. For example, Flinders Petrie met him within days of arriving, and Grant negotiated on his behalf in Arabic and introduced him to his right-hand man Ali Gabri. His influence was significant, and he bequeathed his collection to the University of Aberdeen where it is now the core of the important Ancient Egyptian collection.

Unfortunately, he is now little known as a figure in Egyptian archaeology, perhaps partly because the manuscript of the book he was writing was destroyed in a fire in his home. In 2020, the rediscovery and dating of a fragment of wood he found in the Great Pyramid brought him to international attention. Communications with his descendants were re-established and new archival documents came to light.

This paper will outline his life and highlight his achievements in the field of Egyptian archaeology.

Anastasija Golijewskaja: *Artemy Rafalovich travel to Egypt in 1846–49, his impressions and barely known book*

The purpose of this speech is to present the journey undertaken in 1846-48 by Rafalovich Artemy Alekseevich, Russian physician, forensic expert, doctor of medicine and surgery, State Councilor. By order of the government, Rafalovich went on a trip to the Middle East, in particular, to study the epidemiological situation in the countries he visited. The result of his travels were numerous articles in Russian journals of the mid-19th century, as well as the book *A Journey through Lower Egypt and the Inland Areas of the Delta*, 1850, practically unknown to a wide range of readers and researchers, especially in the Western world. The author colorfully describes his journey, the life and customs of Egyptians during the times of Muhammad Ali and current situation in the country – and speaking of it openly and frankly. In addition, he mentions several archaeological sites, and in many cities notices spolia, reused fragments of ancient buildings, columns, blocks. In his observations, he often refers to ancient authors and French explorers who

visited Egypt before him.

This paper will present the path of Rafalovich on the map he provided in his book, his impressions of Egypt and its inhabitants, interesting, funny, unusual observations of the author, as well as his apt notes on the ethnographic features of the inhabitants of the Nile Delta.

Moreover, given the epidemiological situation in the modern world, it is especially interesting how the inhabitants of the Middle East coped with epidemics at that time, and what particularly impressed the Russian doctor. **Charlotte Kelsted:** *"There was this condescending attitude": British women travellers to Mandate Palestine*

Throughout the British Mandate for Palestine (1920-1948), British women travelled to the country as missionaries, teachers, welfare workers, nurses, doctors, journalists and colonial wives. Their actions affected the lives of the people of Palestine and tell us much about the nature of British colonialism in this context. In the existing literature on the Mandate, a male-dominated narrative prevails, with British women travellers receiving very little attention from historians.

This paper is based on the first extensive study of these women. It employs their correspondence, reports, publications and photographs, archived across Britain, Israel and the occupied Palestinian territories, to investigate their activities in the country. Using postcolonial discourse analysis, it explores their constructed discourses of difference, based on hierarchies of childrearing, domesticity, agency and modernity. It argues that in this context, anthropologist Ann Laura Stoler's notion of 'intimate colonialism' ought to be pluralised, as there existed 'multiple intimate colonialisms': an intrusive intimacy of condescension towards the Palestinian Arab community and a paradoxically distant intimacy of respect towards the Jewish community.

This develops existing scholarship on British women travellers to twentieth century Palestine and it contributes to enhanced understandings of the British Mandate for Palestine in a broader sense. **Sarah Ketchley:** They Came to Egypt: Databases and Digital Editions of 19th Century Nile Travelogues

The Emma B. Andrews Diary Project began in 2011 with the goals of transcribing and creating digital editions of a series of Nile travel journals written between 1889–1913 describing society, archaeology and antiquities-collecting in turn of the century Egypt. The diaries were kept by the long-time companion of Theodore M. Davis, a wealthy American lawyer-turned excavator, who enjoyed remarkable success in his excavations in and around the Valley of the Kings.

The scope of the project has grown to include a collection of related primary source and published material from this period, including the letters of Helen Winlock, diaries and correspondence of Joseph Lindon Smith and Lindsley Hall, various newspapers, published travelogues and ephemera related to the tour operator Thomas Cook and Son.

The Diary Project team members include faculty and student interns at the University of Washington who have been collaborating on all aspects of the work, including transcription, editing, research, text encoding and database/web development. This presentation will describe the process of making our work accessible online in a variety of formats and will discuss the challenges and lessons learned. This will include the platform we use for transcription and proofreading (Tropy), our tools and process for encoding primary source material in XML/TEI to make it machine readable (Github and the project's Historical Markup Tool), and the development of our online immersive reader which draws from our encoded texts (TEI Publisher). Finally we'll discuss the development of a searchable database of travelogues and tour operator passenger cards. In each case, the texts were generated from the OCR (Optical Character Recognition) of a published bibliography and collected image files. In the case of the travelogues, we have been able to link many listings in the database to original texts in the Internet Archive which we hope to make searchable in the near future.

Imene Gannouni Khemiri: Shifting the Gaze? Imagining Tunis in Robert Lambert Playfair's Travels in the Footsteps of Bruce in Algeria and Tunis (1877) and Handbook for Travellers in Algeria and Tunis (1878)

Recent years have witnessed an upsurge of interest in travel writing under the auspices of postcolonial studies. However, a few studies have been devoted to British travellers to the Regency of Tunis during the nineteenth century.

This paper analyses Robert Lambert Playfair's *Travels in the Footsteps of Bruce in Algeria and Tunis* (1877) and *Handbook for Travellers in Algeria and Tunis* (1878).

In his Travels, Playfair included descriptions of the picturesque landscape through the language of aesthetics, ethnographic descriptions of the manners and customs of the inhabitants, essays on ancient history and archaeology, reports on ancient ruins and monuments and botany and zoology and interweave elements of autobiography and descriptions of the journey in the Regency of Tunis in the footsteps of James Bruce. However, Handbook for Travellers in Algeria and Tunis—published by John Murray in 1878 represents a shift from the first-person narrative to a detached, authoritative and descriptive style containing practical information about modes of transport and itineraries, servants, money, dragomans, hotels, food etc. and about recommended routes. In these texts, Playfair employed a set of interrelated gazes—the geographic, the picturesque, the scientific, the antiquarian, and the prescriptive gaze.

Despite their generic differences, both texts reveal an imperial gaze as they illustrate how nineteenth-century travel writing was shaped, in a great sense, by Britain's imperial role.

Joachim Ostlund: Lost and Found: The Swedish scientific knowledge of Ancient Egypt, c. 1710–1740

This presentation discusses the scientific knowledge of ancient Egypt in Sweden in the early 18th century. This topic is underexplored among Swedish historians, and what's knows is not mentioned in international literature on the history of Egyptology (see for example Fagan 2015, *Wonderfull things*). The starting point of the Swedish scientific exploration of ancient Egypt is connected to the exile of the Swedish king Charles XII in Ottoman Bender 1709-1713 (after his catastrophic defeat against Peter the Great at Poltava 1709). During the kings stay in Bender his interest in the Holy Land resulted in three ambitious expeditions that included visits to Egypt. In charge of these expeditions were skilled Swedish artists and orientalists, which produced detailed accounts of ancient sites in Egypt. Later this was followed up a forth expedition to Egypt in 1736.

The first expedition was completed by three young officers from the army, Cornelius Loos, Conrad Sparre, and Hans Gyllenskepp. Loos was an extraordinarily skilled artist and his mission was to draw the monuments and buildings in Syria, Palestine, and Egypt. The leader of the second expedition was the orientalist and army chaplain Michael Olofsson Eneman, who was also the first Lutheran priest from Sweden to visit the Holy Land. He was joined by the commercial agent Johan Silfwercrantz. Both produced detailed accounts. The third expedition was undertaken by the young theologian Henric Benzelius and begun in January 1714. A forth expedition to Egypt was set out in 1736 by the young diplomats Carl Fredrik von Höpken and Edvard Carleson.

The purpose of this presentation is to discuss the roots and routes of Swedish scientific knowledge of Ancient Egypt, particularly the way in which the study of Egyptian science, religion and chronology were interrelated, and how this fitted into Swedish Lutheran concerns with pietism, as well as with the development of archaeological studies and Egypt's place in a biblical world of limited age.

Bryony Renshaw: Kaleidoscopic Reflections on the Nile 1873-4: One Journey through the Eyes of Marianne Brocklehurst, Amelia Edwards and Jenny Lane

In November 1873, on a rough crossing from Brindisi to Alexandria, Marianne Brocklehurst and Mary Booth met Amelia Edwards and Lucy Renshaw. After spending time with and befriending each other in Alexandria and Cairo, each party hired their own dahabiyas but agreed to travel in convoy down the Nile, an arrangement that they maintained until they reached Abu Simbel seven weeks later.

This being their first trip to Egypt, Marianne Brocklehurst, Amelia Edwards and Lucy Renshaw's maid, Jenny Lane, each kept a record of their journey up the Nile. These women went on the same journey and saw the same things and yet their accounts are surprisingly different.

Some of these differences are due to the different intended audiences of these records, with Edwards writing a publishable travelogue, Brocklehurst writing for friends and family and Lane writing for herself. However, others are more attributable to the different personalities, beliefs and interests of the travellers, for example, their class backgrounds, their interest in modern and ancient Egypt and their opinions on antiquities and monuments.

The comparison of these three accounts provides a rare opportunity of viewing a 19th century voyage down the Nile from multiple female perspectives, instead of relying solely on one individual's version of events. However, while this arguably results in a more objective understanding of the trip, as well as of the women themselves, irreconcilable contradictions in the three records complicate matters and demonstrate the dangers of taking traveller's narratives as fact.

Gemma Renshaw: What can be done in a winter at Thebes – Robert Hay, October-December 1825

Robert Hay's archive, now at the British Library, has been described by Egyptologists and historians as 'of the highest importance,' 'must be seen to be appreciated,' and 'the most substantial product of a great age of copying.' Yet, the work remains largely unpublished. Some of the tracings and records of tomb paintings have informed later works, but research into the group of men who produced the archive, the practical and operation aspects of their recording processes and knowledge creation, is at present minimal.

Hay and his ever changing team of artists visited every major site in Egypt that was known in the 19th century as well as many in Northern Sudan, copying hundreds of inscriptions, making detailed drawings of Egyptian art and taking views of villages and monuments. Hay himself also took detailed notes and wrote about his time there in a series of journals. This paper is a short exploration of Hay's personal record of his travels —what did he see that interested him? What was he choosing to record? When, and where was he working and living? How much work was produced?

By the time Robert Hay started his expedition in 1824 there was already a more-or-less established routine visitors adhered to for trips down the Nile. The tendency to spend the winter months in Luxor was something Hay took on board. Over the course of this 20 minute paper we will look at entries from just one winter —1825— spent in Luxor on the Theban West Bank to envisage what life was like as part of Hay's Egyptian expedition and look at the range of activities recorded in his journals.

Leila Salem: South American Writings of Tutankhamon. Víctor Mercante and the Egyptology at the 1920s in Argentina

In 1928, the Argentine pedagogue Víctor Mercante published *Tut-Ankh-Amon y la Civilización de Oriente* when he returned from Egypt after the discovery of the tomb of Pharaoh by Howard Carter.

In this work, we analyze Mercante's work as a precursor of Egyptology in Argentina as well as professor of Ancient History at the Universidad Nacional de La Plata. It examines what is oriental in Mercante and how it reproduces or differs from Western academic production, the epicenter of Egyptology.

Mercante's interpretations are conditioned by Orientalist ideas, which are reproduced by the discipline, in a context of diffusion and dispute over the artifacts of ancient Egypt. Also, Mercante's work dialogues and questions the Tutmania of the time, his book being the first written in Spanish on the

discovery of the pharaoh's tomb. In his chapters, Mercante will be the forerunner of many ideas, especially those that put Egypt in relation to the Mediterranean.

Daniele Salvoldi: One Travel, Three Narratives: A Comparative Reading of d'Athanasi, Finati, and Ricci's Misadventures in Lower Nubia

In early 1819, a large group of travellers set out from Luqsor in Upper Egypt bound for the yet-undiscovered ancient Sudanese city of Meroe; they were headed by William J. Bankes (1786-1855) and comprised some of the most famed travellers of the period, such as Henry Salt (1780-1827), Louis Linant de Bellefonds (1799-1883), Albert von Sack (1757-1829), and Alessandro Ricci (1792–1834).

Some of them left detailed accounts of the perilous journey, which ended abruptly at Amara well before its intended destination. Reconciling the different sources is often difficult, but this is probably one of the most clamorous examples where names, dates, toponyms, relationships, means, and events just do not match.

Looking comparatively at three different accounts (d'Athanasi's, Finati's, and Ricci's), this paper aims at deconstructing the different narratives, highlighting the differences in the recollections of the travel experience, and ultimately stressing the risks of uncritically using travel accounts for historical purposes. Not only travellers had different memories, but they often had their own agenda, which frequently dragged travel "diaries" into the realm of fiction, a work of literature filled with stereotypes and adventurous feats aimed at pleasing and entertaining the audience (and the potential publisher beforehand) rather than reporting facts journalistically as they claimed.

Kathleen Sheppard: A "floating headquarters and working laboratory": James Breasted's Nile travel and professional Egyptology in America

Dahabeahs and steamers are well known as useful in the history of leisured travel on the Nile in Egypt. They are also associated with the travel of Egyptologists when they were in country.

James Breasted (1865–1935), America's first university-trained Egyptologist, depended on dahabeahs and steamers not just to travel from site to site, but also to be his Egyptological laboratory. He loved the effect dahabeah travel had on his mental and physical state, and preferred to travel by boat in Egypt. By 1907, he was so convinced of the utility of dahabeahs as places to do the science of Egyptology that he had proposed a grant to the Rockefeller Foundation for a custom-built steamer that he called a "floating headquarters and working laboratory." Breasted argued that the boat would serve a number of purposes, including having "people of means" come to visit to see the work Breasted was doing, as well as hosting lectures, dinners, teas, and other social and scientific gatherings. Breasted readily recognized and emphasized the fact that this boat, led by himself and with a large library on board, would quickly "become a recognized institution" and "a great archaeological institute...a centre to which the scientific men of the whole world would habitually turn for authoritative research" while moored in Luxor and allow for Chicago's Epigraphic Survey to continue its rapid and important work in the region.

This paper will investigate Breasted's use of travel on dahabeahs in 1894, 1905–06, 1922, and 1929 as he became a professional Egyptologist and worked to professionalize the discipline through his work. I will discuss in detail Breasted's work on these boats and the degree of success he had with his proposed floating laboratory.

Janet Starkey: 'Purses of Gold': Dignitaries who travelled from Ottoman lands to Edinburgh in the 1730s

According to the *Domestic Annals of Scotland*. *Reign of George II: 1727–1748 Part C* several travellers from the Ottoman Empire visited Edinburgh, as it states "Owing to the difficulty of travelling, few of the remarkable foreigners who came to England found their way to Scotland; but now and then an extraordinary person appeared.' These included Joseph Jamati, a 'Baculator of distinction' or 'Backlator General' from Damascus who visited in 1731. 'Assistance under some severe taxation of the Turkish pacha was what he held forth as the object of his visit to Europe. ... It appears that this personage had a public reception from the magistrates, who bestowed on him a purse of gold. In consequence of receiving a similar contribution from the Convention of Burghs, he ultimately resolved to return without making his proposed tour.'

About four years later, 'Edinburgh received visits, in succession, from two other Eastern hierarchs, one of them designated as archbishop of Nicosia in

Cyprus, of the Armenian Church, the other being Scheik Schedit, from Berytus, near Mount Lebanon, of the Greek Church' who aimed to gather money 'for the relief of their countrymen suffering under the Turks'. Such tantalising but cryptic reports in the Domestic Annals present something of a challenge. Who were these gentlemen? What was their positions in their respective political or religious communities? On what did they spend what appear to be generous contributions from various noblemen and the Burgh of Edinburgh?

I will explore the political, economic and religious environments in Damascus, Nicosia and Beirut, all towns in the Ottoman Empire from where these dignitaries came from in order to fathom out why they travelled to Scotland and, if possible, identify who they might have been. The paper will highlight difficulties that arise with this type of research exercise. **Amber Zambelli:** *"World's Most Unusual 'Girl Friday": Eileen Salama and the American Foundation Arabian Expedition*

From 1950 to 1952, American archaeologist Wendell Phillips led four seasons of research in southern Arabia on behalf of the American Foundation for the Study of Man (ASFM). Phillips was a consummate salesman, and brought with him the backing of corporate sponsors, a network of influential friends, and connections to eminent scholars. Perhaps most importantly, he was also accompanied by Eileen Salama, a secretary and translator of French and Egyptian descent, and the only woman in the party. Their expedition pushed the limits of field research in the region, until the team fled into Oman. Phillips' 1955 account, Qataban and Sheba, and US media reports mention Salama, but scarcely give her the credit she earned.

This paper seeks to understand Salama's contribution on Phillips' expeditions -simultaneously muse and linchpin-as well as the ways the essential participation of a young Arab woman was packaged for the American public. Salama joined the American Arabian Expedition in its second season, newly graduated, and unable to predict the archaeological and diplomatic consequences of her employer's work. Long overlooked as something of a prop posed in photos alongside "America's Lawrence of Arabia", Salama made contributions that run far deeper and warrant further examination. She provided critical translation services for the expedition and the monolingual Phillips, a task underappreciated in reportage and field reports alike. As a woman who spoke Arabic, Salama had access to the spaces in homes and society occupied by women, often smoothing the way for the expedition through the unseen labor of social calls and networking. Despite being put on display as a "most unusual Girl Friday," and thus something of a curiosity to the American media, Salama contributed significantly to archaeological exploration in general and public interest in Arabian archaeology in particular.



ASTENE would like to thank all the contributors to the 14th biennial conference.

You all helped provide a wonderful event in such difficult times.

We all look forward to seeing you at our next (hopefully: inperson) conference in Bristol in July 2022.



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