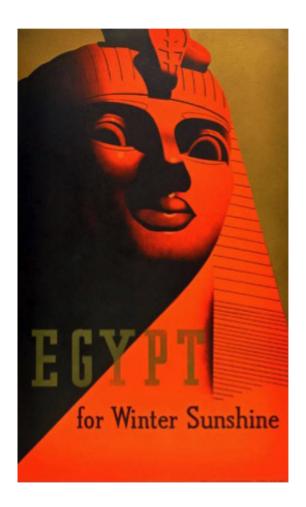
# ASTENE

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

## BULLETIN





**NOTES AND QUERIES** 

**NUMBER 66: WINTER 2015** 

### Bulletín: Notes and Queríes Number 66: Winter 2015

Editor: Cathy McGlynn

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### **Bulletin 67: Spring 2015**

Submissions for the next Bulletin must be received by **15 March 2016**. We welcome articles, queries, replies and other related matters from members and interested readers. Please send contributions to the Editor, Cathy McGlynn (bulletin@astene.org.uk).

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www.astene.org.uk/membership/subscriptions/ Please send all membership correspondence by email to: membership@astene.org.uk.

Cover: A 1937 tourist poster, printed in London Bulletin lay-out by Mina Demiren

### **ASTENE NEWS AND EVENTS**

### **ASTENE AGM 2016**

As we go to press, the Executive Committee has determined that the Annual General Meeting will take place on Saturday, 23 July 2016 at the McDonald Institute for Archaeological Research, University of Cambridge, Downing Street, Cambridge CB2 3ER. It will be combined with a programme of lectures and a library or archive visit with a special ASTENE-related focus. Further details will be published in the Spring Bulletin.

#### **Social Media**

ASTENE is now on Facebook and Twitter for those who are interested. Both networks share relevant ASTENE events and news as well as related events that may be of interest to our members. It is also a great way to connect with the wider research community and spread the word about ASTENE. If you are on social media please like and follow our pages. You can find us on twitter under the name @ASTENE1997 and on Facebook as ASTENE1997.

#### Members' Research Interests

It's in your interest!

Longer standing members will recall that in the past a 'yellow pages' list of members' interests and publications was in place so that information and areas of specialist knowledge and interest could easily be shared between members.

It has been a few years now since this was properly updated and it feels timely to do so now. This will allow an update where new interests/ areas of research have been added and ensure we have included new members and removed those no longer involved with ASTENE.

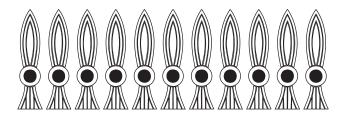
It will also pave the way for a members-only part of the website that can be accessed with a password. This will mean the list of members' research interests is more easily available in the future and hopefully in the future members will then be able to update their information themselves (including publications).

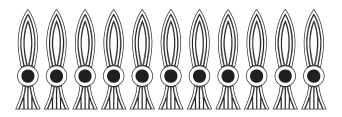
In the meantime therefore I would be very grateful if you could send the following information either by post to me at 6 Hamilton Road, Lincoln LN5 8ED UK or by email to membership@astene.org.uk. Please be assured that this information is for members only and as with all your information would never be shared with any person or organisation without your prior consent.

I would like to know:

- Areas of personal interest: Person(s)/ Period(s)/ Place(s)/ Subject(s)
- Is there anything else you may be able to help members with?
- Are there any languages you may be able to help translate?
- Are there any local archives you can assist members with research in?
- Can your email address be shared with other members or would you prefer them to be directed to the membership address so you can be asked first?

Thank you, Carey Cowham Membership Secretary





### OTHER NEWS AND EVENTS

#### **MESA Conference 2015**

The forty-ninth Middle East Studies Association (MESA) Conference was held in Denver, Colorado, from to 21 to 24 November 2015 and although smaller than last year's MESA conference which was held in Washington DC, was nevertheless enormous compared to most European equivalent events. Inevitably, there were several sessions and papers that mentioned the works or adventures of travellers in the Middle East and Egypt though there was no dedicated session to ASTENE-related topics. Nevertheless, there were sessions dedicated to the construction of memory through archives, antiquity and archaeology; the place of 'ulama in Ottoman society: understanding identities, belonging and Otherness; downtown Colonial Cairo; Orientalisms from the periphery; and even new perspectives on the politics of travel, leisure and pilgrimage (the last focusing on current travel patterns).

To single relevant papers that might be of interest to ASTENE members, Sharon Silzell presented a paper on 'Blood on the Text: the Mushaf and the construction of the sacred'. Medieval Muslim travellers Ibn Jubayr (d. 1217) and Ibn Battuta (d. 1377) describe the veneration of Qur'an codices associated with the third Caliph 'Uthman ibn 'Affan (r. 644-656). At the Great Mosque in Damascus, Muslims rubbed and kissed one of these Our'ans as a means of obtaining baraka (divine blessing). In Mecca, a Qur'an associated with this caliph was used as part of a ritual to bring rain during drought. Remarkably, neither writer comments on these books. Secondly, Ayse Baltacioglu-Brammer spoke on 'Turning Safavid: Pro-Safavid Propaganda in Anatolia During the 15th and 16th Centuries'. This focused on the religious dichotomy between the Ottoman and Safavid Empires and demonstrated how the early modern Ottoman state's role in the persecution of various communities in Anatolia has been the subject of sustained scholarly interest. Ottoman and Safavid sources as well as the accounts of European travellers and merchants were used.

Thirdly, Nizar F. Hermes presented a paper entitled 'Recalling al-Andalus in Early Modern Moroccan Diplomatic Writing' in the seventeenth century. Very little has been written on the theme of

nostalgia for al-Andalus in the rich corpus of early modern Moroccan diplomats who visited Spain in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries; besides al-Ghassani (d.1707). The speaker also included travellers such as al-Ghazzal (d.1777), al-Miknassi (d. d.1791), and al-Zayyani (d.1833).

Fourthly, Sandrine Gamblin spoke on 'Manufacturing the Modern City: Tourism and Antiquities in Luxor (Egypt) at the turn of the 20th century'. From 1880 to 1900, Luxor was shaped from a 'miserable village' to a modern city that attracted the cosmopolitan society from all over the world. This process was initiated by two men, French Gaston Maspero, head of the Antiquity Department in Egypt, and British John Mason Cook, son of Thomas Cook, who invented modern tourism, and whose company diligently served the British Empire interests in the region. This entente cordiale reflected a shared vision from both men. Tourism and Egyptology worked together to manufacture Luxor, meanwhile serving European and colonial interests. Based on official reports, memoires, archaeological photographs, press archives and travellers' accounts, the paper addressed the exploitation of Luxor's heritage sites as an economic resource (for tourism) and in serving the national narrative and struggle for independence.

Whilst slightly later than the period we usually cover, there was an interesting and original paper by David Simonowitz on 'Arab Artists in Cold War Capitals: Travelogues and Visual Narratives of Moscow and Beijing'. Throughout the third quarter of the twentieth-century, Arab states were still negotiating their alignments with, against, or between the cold war superpowers, in cultural as well as political terms. Arab artists embarked on journeys to communist countries as part of cultural missions in both unofficial and official capacities. They also published illustrated travelogues of their journeys which graphically document the cultural political climate in these cold war capitals from perspectives unfamiliar to Western observers.

From 17 to 20 November MESA will celebrate its 50th anniversary with a major conference to be held in Boston, Massachusetts. Perhaps ASTENE members might like to offer a panel at this event (though only current members of MESA for 2016

may submit)? If so, proposals for papers and panels need to be submitted for consideration by Tuesday 16 February 2016 (Mountain Standard Time) through MESA's electronic submission system: https://mesana.org/mymesa/login.php

Janet Starkey

The Nomads Tent 4th Annual Symposium in aid of Mercy Corps: 'Travelling in the footsteps of Marco Polo: People and places associated with the route of the great explorer'

Saturday 20th February 2016, The Nomads Tent, 21-23 St Leonards Lane, Edinburgh

ASTENE's Janet Starkey will be a guest speaker at this symposium. The title of her talk is 'From Fattail'd Sheep to the Arbre Sol: naturalist-travellers in the footsteps of Marco Polo' and Carole Hillenbrand will be talking on "Pioneers, pilgrims and profiteers: why and how medieval Muslims travelled'. We look forward to hearing Janet's account of the day!

#### **Exhibitions and Talks**

### BES Private View of "Faith after the Pharaohs"

The British Egyptian Society will have an evening Private View of the "Faith after the Pharaohs" exhibition at the British Museum on 19th January 2016 at 6.30 pm. The cost will be £10 per head, and ASTENE members are welcome. Noel Rands, secretary of the BES, has provided the following information:

'The exhibition, already opened to the general public, has received 5 star reviews. Our Private View is on Tuesday 19th January 2016. This is an excerpt from the British Museum's description of this unmissable exhibition:-

The exhibition begins in 30 BC, when Egypt became a province of the Roman Empire after the death of Cleopatra and Mark Antony, and continues until AD 1171 when the rule of the Islamic Fatimid dynasty came to an end. The remarkable objects in the exhibition have been uniquely preserved in Egypt's arid climate, and many have never been on display before. Their survival provides unparalleled access to the lives of individuals and communities, and they tell a rich and complex story of influences, long periods of peaceful coexistence, and intermittent tension and violence between Jews, Christians and Muslims [...] Together, the objects in the exhibition show how the

shift from the traditional worship of many gods to monotheism – the belief in one God – affected every part of life. Egypt's journey from Roman to Islamic control reflects the wider transformation from the ancient to medieval world, a transition that has shaped the world we live in today'

To learn the full details and book a place, please contact Noel Rands, the Secretary of the British Egyptian Society, at: noelrands@hotmail.com.

### **Artist and Empire Exhibition**

Tate Britain: 25 November 2015 – 10 April 2016
Free for Tate Members
Adult £16.00 (without donation £14.50), Concession
£14.00 (without donation £12.70)
Help Tate by including the voluntary donation to enable Gift Aid

No booking fee for this exhibition

This autumn Tate Britain presents a major exhibition of art associated with the British Empire from the 16th century to the present day. *Artist and Empire* will bring together extraordinary and unexpected works to explore how artists from Britain and around the world have responded to the dramas, tragedies and experiences of the Empire.

Featuring a vast array of objects from collections across Britain, including maps, flags, paintings, photographs, sculptures and artefacts, the exhibition examines how the histories of the British Empire have shaped art past and present. Contemporary works within the exhibition suggest that the ramifications of the Empire are far from over. The show raises questions about ownership, authorship and how the value and meanings of these diverse objects have changed through history, it also asks what they still mean to us today.

Historic works by artists such as Joshua Reynolds and George Stubbs are shown with objects including Indian miniatures and Maori artefacts, as well as contemporary works by Hew Locke and Sonia Boyce. Through this variety of artworks from a complex mix of traditions, locations and cultures the fragmented history of the Empire can be told.

### Joint Petrie Museum and ASTENE celebration of International Women's Day 2016

'The women behind Petrie excavations' Saturday 5 March 2016, 11-1pm, registration 10.30am Pre-booking essential | Tickets £5 The Petrie Museum of Egyptian Archaeology UCL Malet Place London WC1E 6BT

events.petrie@ucl.ac.uk +44 (0)207 679 4138

The Petrie Museum is named after Flinders Petrie, but many of his co-workers, particularly those who were Egyptian and female, are less well known. Join us for a celebration of the women behind many of Petrie's excavations to link in with International Women's Day. Hear from Lee Young on artists Annie (Pirie) Quibell, Rosalind Paget and Myrtle Broome, have a look at Gertrude Caton-Thompson's photograph album and hear a talk by John MacDermot on Olga Tufnell.

With the Association for the Study of Travel in Egypt and the Near East. Book a place via: http://womenbehindpetrie.eventbrite.co.uk

### **Call for Papers**

#### **BFSA 2016 Seminar for Arabian Studies**

The 50th Seminar for Arabian Studies will be held at the British Museum from Friday 29th July to Sunday 31st July 2016.

The Seminar for Arabian Studies is the only international forum that meets annually for the presentation of the latest academic research in the humanities on the Arabian Peninsula from the earliest times to the present day or, in the case of political and social history, to the end of the Ottoman Empire (1922). The Proceedings of the Seminar for Arabian Studies are published the following year in time for the next Seminar.

If you wish to offer a paper, please send an abstract to seminar.arab@thebfsa.org on or before the 28 February 2016 for consideration by the Steering Committee. Do not send abstracts to any other e-mail address. Abstracts submitted after the

deadline may be accepted or rejected at the discretion of the Committee.

For further information please see: https://www.thebfsa.org/content/about-the-seminar and contact seminar.arab@thebfsa.org

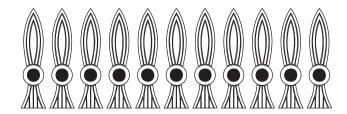
## LIMINAL BALKANS: a journal of literature, culture and literary translation, issue 12; submission deadline 31 Dec. 2015

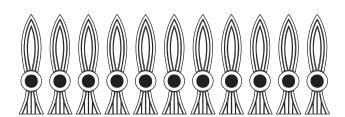
This issue aims to explore the complex and multifarious space of the Balkan region. Submissions are welcome focusing on political, economic and artistic aspects of the emotional construction, deconstruction and reconstruction of places, or practices of the production of space, premised on any of the numerous theoretical frameworks characterizing contemporary human geography. Submissions may center on, but are not limited to the following topics: urban spaces and urbanization of the region; spaces of memory and trauma; industrial spaces in different historical and political contexts; places of political or cultural power; formation and significance of official and unofficial borders within the Balkans; fictional spaces of the Balkans as represented in literature, visual and performing arts; gendered space and the delineations between and overlapping of the spaces of public and domestic activity; TRAVELERS' perspective on and understanding of the Balkans, and others.

### We accept:

- \* original research papers: 5,000 to 7,000 words
- \* reviews: up to 2,000 words
- \* translations of literary texts: 5,000 to 7,000 words
- \* video essays (max 50 MB) video submissions are welcome from all fields

All manuscripts (research papers, reviews, and translations of literary texts) should be submitted by email attachment to sic.journal.contact@gmail.com.





### **BOOKS AND REVIEWS**

Patricia Berg, Sofia Häggman, Kaj Öhrnberg and Jaakko Hämeen-Anttila, Dolce far niente in Arabia: Georg August Wallin and his travels in the 1840s, Helsinki: Society of Swedish Literature in Finland, 2014, 978-951-583-290-0, 144 pp., €24.



This slim volume comprises four essays by distinguished contemporary Nordic academics on different aspects of the life of the Finnish scholar and explorer Georg August Wallin (1811—1852). Born into a Swedish-speaking family in the Åland Islands, Wallin studied in Helsinki and St Petersburg, where he excelled in the study of Arabic, Persian and Turkish. His principal claim to fame rests on his achievements as an ethnographer and linguistic researcher, in particular on the Arabic dialects: his dissertation for the rank of docent, which he defended in Helsinki in 1839, dealt with the differences between spoken and written Arabic — an unusual subject for a scholar of the time, when Arabic was usually studied in Europe essentially as a dead language.

In 1841, Wallin secured funding from the Imperial Alexander University for an extended research trip to the Middle East, and he spent some six years, from 1843 to 1849, travelling first in Egypt, then in the Arabian Peninsula and Persia, using Cairo as his main base. The essays in the present volume describe the various phases of his wanderings, which took him from Alexandria to Cairo and Upper Egypt, then on to the Holy Cities of Mecca and Medina by way of al-Jawf and Ha'il; a subsequent expedition from Cairo saw him visiting St Catherine's Monastery in Sinai; but it was his third journey, to Ha'il via Tabuk and Taima', that confirmed his reputation as a desert explorer, earning him an award from the Royal Geographical Society in London as the first European to describe that region in detail. In Ha'il, however, Wallin -

who for much of his journeying had travelled in the guise of a physician from Central Asia named 'Abd al-Wali — learned that his European identity had been uncovered, and he was forced to abandon his plans to continue to Riyadh; instead, he travelled to Baghdad, from where he undertook a fourmonth expedition to Persia, a country about whose inhabitants and their literature he appears to have had somewhat ambiguous feelings.

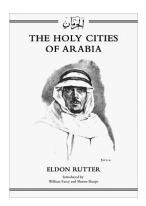
On his return to Europe, Wallin completed the dissertation necessary for appointment to a professorship, and in 1851 was appointed Professor of Oriental Literature in Helsinki. His heart, however, does not appear to have been in the post: more interested in planning a second research trip to the Middle East, he often failed to turn up for his lectures. At the same time, his heath was failing. He died suddenly at home in October 1852 on the day before his forty-first birthday, the cause of his death being variously suggested as a ruptured aorta or some sort of liver disease.

Although some of Wallin's travel accounts were published in English in the Journal of the Royal Geographical Society during the 1850s, his early death meant that he was unable to prepare most of his material for publication, and the majority of his letters and diaries are available only in Swedish, which he bizarrely sometimes wrote in Arabic script to conceal his European identity. His romantic attachment to the life of the Bedouin, which he seems to have regarded as encapsulating the spirit of dolce far niente (sweet idleness), led him to muse on the possibility of eloping with Amsha, the daughter of a desert sheikh, and he declared his wish to 'live as a free Bedouin and at last die among the free sons of the Desert' (p.85). Like his journey to Riyadh and his second Middle Eastern expedition, however, none of this was to come to pass.

The Society of Swedish Literature in Finland is to be congratulated on the publication of this splendidly-illustrated small volume, which it is hoped will serve to revive interest in a Middle Eastern traveller who emerges from these essays as both a fascinating and a complex character who deserves to be better known.

Paul Starkey

Rutter, Eldon: The Holy Cities of Arabia, with a biographical introduction by William Facey and Sharon Sharpe, London, Arabian Publishing, 2015, xiii + 574 pp., including notes, bibliography, maps and index, ISBN 978-0-9929808-2-5 (hdbk.). £40.



Although Mecca and Medina are among the most visited places on earth, there is still a remarkable lack of books about them in English. William Facey, the principal editor of Eldon Rutter's book and a distinguished author on Arabian history, lists only ten British travellers to Mecca before 1940 who published accounts of their visits in his article "Pilgrim pioneers: Britons on the Hajj before 1940" (published in The Hajj: collected essays, edited by Venetia Porter and Liana Saif (London, 2013). While the fame of several of these travellers like Burton and Burckhardt has always burned brightly, the names of several other visitors to Mecca have fallen into obscurity, and it is probably fair to agree with Facey, that "none has suffered a more complete eclipse than Eldon Rutter" (p. 1). So, a new edition of The Holy Cities of Arabia, first published in 1928 and out of print for more than three-quarters of a century, is very welcome.

Clement Edward Rutter was born in Camberwell, South London, in 1894, and after an unsettled youth (his father committed suicide when he was six), Rutter found work as a clerk in London. In the First World War, he served in Gallipoli, Salonika, Egypt and Palestine and in 1919 went to work in Malaya for Nestlé. While based in Penang, he converted to Islam and in 1924 he moved to Egypt to study Arabic and to prepare himself for performing the hajj. He left Suez on May 20th, 1925 and, unable to land at Jeddah, which was under siege by Ibn Saud, he crossed the Red Sea from the Eritrean port of Massawa, landing at al-Qahmah (now in southwestern Saudi Arabia). From there, he travelled northwards to Mecca, becoming the first Briton to describe the southern coastal pilgrimage route in

detail. He arrived in Mecca on 25th June, 1925, just in time to perform the *hajj*, and remained in the city for ten months, staying in the house of a *mutawwif* (official pilgrim guide), and thereby becoming acquainted with a wide cross-section of Arab society (he even met Ibn Saud on more than one occasion). Rutter left Mecca for Medina in April 1926, and after a stay of six weeks in Medina, set off for Yanbū` on the coast, finally leaving Arabia for Egypt on 24 June, 1926, having spent just over a year in the Hijaz.

Rutter appears to have spent the next two years writing his book, which came out to almost universal acclaim in 1928 under the name of Eldon Rutter (his reasons for the change of name remain unknown). Facey helpfully lists extracts from the reviews of Rutter's book in Appendix 1 - the reviews in newspapers by non-specialists were very favourable, comparing Rutter's work with that of Burton and Doughty, but even expert reviewers knowledgeable in Islam and the Middle East such as Arthur Jeffery, D.S. Margoliouth, Sir Percy Cox, St. John Philby and H.A.R. Gibb (who called it "the best Introduction to Arabia ever written") were impressed. Rutter seems to have then contemplated an attempt to cross Arabia from north to south, and Facey considers "that he conceived of such a scheme surely indicates where his chief ambition lay - to win renown as an explorer" (p. 30). Gaining funding from the Royal Geographical Society, Rutter set off in 1929 travelling, as in 1925, as a Muslim in Arab dress, but he reached Hā'il during the height of the Ikhwan rebellion and was not permitted to travel further south. He returned to England in 1930 and never visited Arabia again.

His life from 1930 onwards was one of disappointment and disillusionment. His book, despite its critical acclaim and the publication of a cheaper one-volume edition in 1930, never sold well, and he published his last article in 1933. He married in 1930, and settled down in a "primitive" cottage in Berwick St. John in Dorset where he intended to write a "full-scale history of the Arabs" (p. 37). The book never saw the light of day and the manuscript is now lost. He was often away from home on solitary walking tours, leaving his family to survive on virtually no money, but he did undertake one final Middle Eastern expedition in 1933-34, travelling with Robert Byron from Beirut to Iran in a charcoal-burning car, but the journey was a technological and commercial failure, and Byron soon fell out with Rutter. In the late thirties, Rutter separated from his wife and two small children,

and thereafter spent a peripatetic life, never staying long in one place. He maintained sporadic contact by letter with his daughter Philippa; his last letter of 17th September 1956 says that he was due to leave London for Venice, and from that date onwards he vanishes from history, and all attempts to trace his place and date of death have come to nought (pp. 53-4). Almost all the personal information about Rutter including his family connections and life before the First World War, his war record, the circumstances of his marriage, and his life after the abortive Iran expedition have been uncovered by William Facey and his diligent co-editor Sharon Sharpe, who were given access to previously unknown family papers and letters, and the editors' introduction is the first time that the public have been given a full and complete picture of this intelligent, dynamic, ambitious but unfulfilled man.

Rutter prepared for his trip to Mecca by becoming extremely proficient in the Arabic language, Islamic culture and Middle Eastern customs. His depth of learning is shown by his quotations from Ibn Taymīyah, the Tafsīr al-Jalālayn, various Hadīth collections, the well-known histories of Mecca and Medina by al-Nahrawālī and al-Samhūdī respectively, and even from the memoirs (Dhikrayāt) of the former Turkish governor of 'Asīr, Sulaymān Shafīq Kāmil Pasha, which were translated into Arabic and published in al-Ahrām between November 1924 and January 1925. Rutter's linguistic prowess is shown by his ability to render perfectly the phrasing and rhythms of traditional Arab speech, while his knowledge of and interest in the life going on around him is remarkable. Not for him the exotic and dangerous episodes beloved of professional travel writers, but rather reflections on the ordinary and the everyday, since Rutter was an acute and sympathetic observer and a calm and even-tempered travelling companion. As Facey remarks "Rutter travels and lives as an equal among his companions, his personal style being one of shared humanity rather than any claim to cultural superiority" (p. 25).

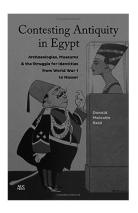
The Holy Cities of Arabia gives probably the most detailed description of the hajj rites and customs available in English at the time, as well as a very rounded picture of life in Mecca and Medina before the granting of oil concessions in 1933 changed the old way of life irreversibly. Rutter was one of the first Britons to report on the impact of Ibn Saud and the Wahhabis on the Hijaz (he describes the tensions between the inhabitants of Mecca and the incomers

from Najd or "Nejders" very convincingly), and his description of al-Taif after its conquest ("like a city of the dead", p. 303) is both chilling and unique. William Facey gives some consideration in his introduction to Rutter's attitude to Islam (pp. 14-19), and concludes that he was sincere in his belief in tawhīd. Certainly, apart from some essentialist remarks about the character of the Arabs, Rutter displays no Orientalist tendencies or hostility to Islam, but rather evinces a detachment almost bordering on that of an anthropologist in the field, almost always effacing his own personality when discussing (or rather describing) Islamic ritual. In fact Rutter's attitude to Islam exemplifies what Facey considers the basis of his character, "His life can be presented as a chronicle of involvements bringing detachment in their wake, the pattern intensifying through his life until his apparently solitary disappearance" (p. 2).

Rutter's book is beautifully written, evocative, vivid, authentic, and full of detail, and accompanied in this excellent edition by scholarly notes, clear maps, a bibliography and a good index. The substantial and well researched introduction paints as complete a picture of the man as we are ever likely to have, and gives a judicious analysis of his character and achievements. It is a pleasure to have this unjustly neglected description of the hajj (considered by Facey as "unrivalled by other travellers' accounts in its detail and atmosphere" (p. 23)), once again available in print, in what will surely be the definitive edition.

Paul Auchterlonie University of Exeter

Contesting Antiquity in Egypt: Archaeologists, Museums and the Struggle for Identities from World War I to Nasser, by Donald Malcolm Reid. The American University in Cairo Press, 2015. 491 pp., 84 illus., ISBN 978 977 416 689 1. £ 35.



This is the second book in the series by Professor Reid seeking to examine the effects of the discovery of Egypt's ancient past on the modern Egyptians. His first volume Whose Pharaohs? brought the study up to 1914 and the second continues his theme to 1952. There is no doubt where the author's sympathies lie since he constantly refers to Western imperialists and neo-colonialists and seems to forget that without the orientalist Western scholars whom he decries, there would be no modern Egyptology. He chooses in part as the focus of his study the four great museums of Egypt: the pharaonic Egyptian Museum, the Graeco-Roman Museum in Alexandria, the Coptic Museum and the Museum of Arab (later Islamic) Art. He shows how control of three of these stubbornly remained in the hands of Europeans despite the appearance of possible Egyptian candidates. The Coptic Museum founded by a Copt and run by Copts was a different matter. He believes that European control was due to racist attitudes, which may be partly true, but the fact that the museums were run by French, Italian and German/Austrian nationals also points to a wish by these nationals to forward their countries' interests and keep the jobs for their own boys. He rightly criticizes the failure to promote Ahmad Kamal, the first serious Egyptian Egyptologist. However, he overlooks the fact that the Antiquities Service did employ some Egyptians, most of them rather obscure, in junior posts as local inspectors.

He spends some time over the intrigues to appoint Selim Hassan as Director-General of the Service, blaming his failure on Western influence while glossing over his rather unsavoury reputation. He is particularly agitated that King Farouk preferred the Frenchman Drioton over Hassan because Farouk believed, possibly rightly, that Hassan was cheating him in the purchase of Egyptian antiquities. The royal family also disliked Hassan because he spoke bad English. The author regards this as some Western colonialist bias although the royal family actually spoke Turkish among themselves, long before the Westerners appeared, and presumably Hassan did not. Why he asks, could not the royal family speak to Hassan in Arabic? The answer is that the Egyptian elite only spoke Arabic to their servants so by refusing to use this language with Hassan, Hassan was being given a backhanded compliment. He also confirms that Hassan intrigued with the Egyptian press to undermine Western scholars and push his own agenda.

The author studies the phenomenon known as pharaonism whereby the Egyptian elite including the nationalists embraced the now-revealed glorious ancient past of Egypt and expressed this connection in architecture, sculpture, and even stamps. The popularization of ancient Egypt began with Ahmad Kamal who not only trained future Egyptian Egyptologists like Selim Hassan and Mahmoud Hamza but wrote books in Arabic to spread Egyptology to the masses or the Egyptian elite at any rate. He traces the heyday of this movement and its subsequent decline although he observes that traces still remain to this day. The numerous and welcome illustrations throughout the volume help to back up his theme of pharaonism and are extremely interesting.

The author has uncovered a great deal of original correspondence which helps to support his thesis. Fairman and other Western Egyptologists are shown to be dismissive of their Egyptian colleagues but that does not necessarily mean that they were always wrong. Even the author has to admit that the archaeology carried out by a few of the Egyptians (but not all) was below standard and poorly published. Basically he describes in detail a clash between Western academic archaeology, which was not in fact as scientific and professional as modern-day archaeology, and Egyptian-led archaeology, which was not up to the Western ideal at the time (although that is not necessarily true now) and its desire to control its own history out of the hands of these Westerners. In retrospect the Western academics should have been training more Egyptians as they were finally starting to do by the end of the period under review. This volume adds to the recently published histories of Egyptology and is a thoughtful, if sometimes irritating to any Western Egyptologist, contribution to the development of Egyptology in Egypt. One looks forward to a third volume from 1952 when the Western Egyptologists were no longer in control and Egypt began to build a modern Egyptian archaeological service.

M. L. Bierbrier

Murphy, Dervla, Between River and Sea: Encounters in Israel and Palestine, Eland Books, 2015, 978-1-78060-070-3, 442pp., £14.99.

This is not the type of book that is familiar to members of ASTENE; it is about recent travels and not past travel literature. Derlya Murphy is Ireland's preeminent travel writer. She has travelled everywhere and all over the world – in Asia, Africa, Europe and the Americas; and has published over twenty titles. This recent book is about her travels to Israel and the Occupied Palestinian Territories (the West Bank and Gaza), over the period 2008 to 2010. The "river" is the Jordan River and the "sea" is the Mediterranean. During these travels, an amazing achievement for somebody of her age, Murphy faced many challenges, had difficult experiences, and gained insights which she has presented to the world in this honest and remarkable book.

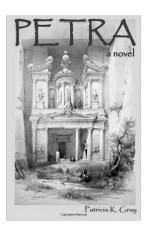
In the introduction, Murphy describes with passionate honesty the experiences of her journey to the Holy Land. Behind the book there is a desire to communicate the reality of life on the ground and to puzzle out for herself what might be done to alleviate the suffering of all who wish to share the Holy Land and make peace in the region a possibility.

In every location she tries to present the historical background of the place, delving into holy script, ancient records and travelogue literature, spanning hundreds and sometimes the past thousand years.

She keeps an open mind, but her sympathies are clearly with the Palestinians, remorselessly disposed of, cut off from their lands and frustrated and humiliated on daily basis. Clinging to hope, she comes to believe that despite its difficulties the only viable future lies in a single democratic state of Israel/Palestine based on one person one vote – what she calls the "One State Solution". Unfortunately such an outcome is not going to see daylight, at least during her life time.

Dr Hisham Khatib

Patricia K. Gray, Petra. A Novel, Pale Horse Books, 2013, ISBN 978-1-939917-01-0, £9.14 (pb).



This is an interesting novel and will appeal in particular to ASTENE members who have visited Petra. Of course, the latter get there today not just by means and in conditions quite different from 1868 – the dramatic date of the novel – but by routes very different from those most commonly followed by western travellers until quite late in the 19th century when Ottoman control was extended throughout much of western Jordan.

Gray explains in detail in an 'Author's Note' at the end what some will guess quite early in the book – that it is based on the visit to Petra in February 1868 by the American landscape painter, Frederic Edwin Church. The latter was a member of the Hudson River School and Gray's central character is called Thomas Hudson. The author admits in the 'Note' that "The story is a stew of three cups wild imagination, one cup meaty fact, and several tablespoons of spice."

The 'spice' elements of the book held no appeal for me ("Anne melted into Hudson's arms"). It goes without saying, too, that her characterisation of the motives of 'Lockwood' are imagination and the two young Germans – Johann and Karl Berg, and the death of one at Petra, are 'wild imagination'. All three are invented. For members of ASTENE, it will be the 'one cup meaty fact' that is of most interest and we can return to that shortly.

The 'Hudson Party' consists of Hudson himself, another American called Lockwood who is engaged in secretive exploration and is in regular conflict with Hudson because of it; Andrew Fowler – 'a rather quiet Englishman', 'formerly a professor of ancient civilizations at Oxford, as well as an ordained minister' who 'has travelled widely in eastern lands' and with whom Hudson has cordial relations; Anne Mezrab, the English aristocrat married to a Syrian Arab sheikh. Then there is Mika'il El Hany, 'an excellent dragoman, entirely honest and with many trips to Petra with Englishmen.' Finally a young Arab boy, Amir, whom Hudson encourages to paint, features.

'Fact' can be derived from Church's travel diary and letters he and his wife exchanged and wrote to others. The 'Church Party' to Petra began at Hebron, travelled down the Wadi Arabah and entered Petra from the west, camping there from 24-27 February 1868 (not March). It consisted of just three westerners – Church, David Stuart Dodge and Alexander Fowler. Dodge – then aged 32, had taken

up a position in 1864 at what is now the American University in Beirut (largely endowed by his wealthy father) and was to remain there as a professor for 9 years. Almost nothing is known of Fowler. Several references in Church's papers provide his name, that he is a Scot and an artist. A short account of the trip published by Dodge adds the information that he "had just come from Judea, via Bagdad, Babylon, Nineveh, Mesopotamia, &c". On a more personal note, Church in his diary records that when climbing a steep slope at the entrance to Petra, it was "a toilsome walk which Mr. F. felt especially - being a man of avoirdupois." There is further humour in Church's brief diary notes. Confronted with the awkwardness of their initial Bedouin guides, they are told by their Dragoman "that these Arabs were loaf sugar compared to those at Petra."

The Dragoman was correct as a multitude of other sources reveal in detail for numerous western visitors though the Church Party seem to have got off relatively lightly. 'Mika'il El Hany' is another 'fact' in the book, his name routinely mangled and Christian identity not helped by his habit on at least one occasion, while guiding Charles Beke in 1861-2, of re-badging himself as a Muslim with the name Abu Salim; and just three years before he had had a very difficult time at Petra when guiding an English couple.

It need hardly be said that 'Anne Mezrab' – a thin disguise for the scandalous Lady Jane Digby, was not at Petra with Church (or at any other time).

Travel diaries – published and archival – of many other visitors to Petra of the period abound. The corpus of accounts is now huge – dozens of books were published and scores of articles. The visit by Church / Hudson fits into the middle of the century of visits to Petra and is part of the return of Americans after the end of their Civil War in 1865.

The rediscovery for 'the West' of the Nabataean and Roman city of Petra by the Swiss explorer Burckhardt in 1812 sparked off a century of visits. Between 1812 and the outbreak of the First World War in 1914, several hundred people – described by the Arabs they encountered as 'Howadji' (Travellers) or 'Franks', undertook a journey which even at its shortest involved many days of hard travel and at least a degree of danger from the conditions, the climate or the people they encountered. The longest routes ran from the Nile via Aqaba and Petra to Hebron and took c. 40 days. Much shorter – but

more problematic as it might not even begin with the involvement of Bedouin capable of negotiating with or cowing the people of Petra, was that followed by Church/ Hudson from Hebron.

Several travellers died and many more were seriously injured or became ill. Most were men though there was a trickle of women beginning with Charlotte Rowley who was there as part of her honeymoon tour of the Levant with her new husband in 1836. They mainly came from the countries of Western Europe and the United States. Motives varied: adventure, tourism, archaeology and history, religion, and scientific recording (of peoples, geography and geology, fauna and flora). And art. Once described by Burckhardt and his immediate successors, a succession of visitors sketched and painted the remarkable landscape and location, its extraordinary ruins and the fantastic colours of the rocks. Some were professional artists and it is appropriate that the book cover should have the famous painting by David Roberts, RA of the Khazneh, the tomb that greeted travellers fortunate enough to enter the city from down the narrow Siq (as modern tourists do) rather than by the less impressive 'back-door' from the Wadi Arabah on the west. Church/Hudson arrived from the West but they were both hugely impressed by the landscape, its colours and everyday scenes. Sketching is frequently mentioned by Church and for both the real man and his fictional counterpart, the resulting landscape paintings made him a name and income.

Fact and fiction are often nicely interwoven by an author who knows Jordan well and can write from personal knowledge of Petra itself, a magical place even today when visitors confront immense hotels nearby and thousands of tourists. The walk down the Siq, however, remains a unique experience with or without any archaeology to admire. How much more so in the 19th century when Howadji were often virtually alone and several reported their surprise at suddenly encountering a caravan emerging from it passing through on its way to Hebron and Gaza much as they had done in even greater numbers for centuries of Nabataean and Roman history. Appropriately Gray has Hudson encounter such a caravan as he turns to leave Petra.

David Kennedy

Lidija McNight and Stephanie Atherton-Woolham, Gifts for the Gods: Ancient Egyptian Animal Mummies and the British, Liverpool University Press, 2015, ISBN 978 1 78138 255 4, £19.99, 112 pp.



This book accompanies the 'Gifts for the Gods: Ancient Egyptian Animal Mummies Revealed' exhibition at the Manchester Museum, which runs from 8th October 2015 to 17th April 2016, and which will be later exhibited at Kelvingrove Art Gallery and Museum, Glasgow (May-September 2016) and the World Museum, Liverpool (October 2016-March 2017).

Designed as an accompaniment to the exhibition, this multi-authored volume edited by those responsible for its installation (Lidija McKnight, Stephanie Atherton-Woolham & Campbell Price), presents information pertaining to all aspects of the life of an ancient Egyptian animal mummy. From an examination of the habitat from which the various animal species to be embalmed were procured to be selectively-bred and domesticated, their role as votive offerings to the gods, their removal from their last resting-places as souvenirs by early travellers, to their investigation by both early and modern archaeologists.

Although written for the general public, with information provided in the form of a series of short articles, this work is a valid contribution to the study of animal mummies in its own right. It provides interesting and important information on aspects of early travellers', archaeologists' and collectors' encounters with animal mummies in the British context and highlights the significance of these specimens in museum collections across the UK. The book is comprised of four chapters which discuss the landscape and environment of ancient Egypt; animal mummies as divine donations to the gods; their removal from Egypt by early travellers, collectors and archaeologists, and modern research

conducted on the mummies by the University of Manchester. Each chapter provides the general theme for several short, yet informative articles written by experts in the field.

Chapter one details the environment in which the 'celebrity species' (including cats, dogs, hawks, ibises, baboons and crocodiles) favoured in the use of animal cult practice would have prospered. Intended as a background to the general discussion presented in this book of the pre- and post-mortem lives of these animals in Egypt, this chapter contains two short yet informative articles on ancient Egyptian geography, climate and biodiversity documented through the study of natural history specimens in British museums (article by Henry McGhie) and through the study of local geology and ancient tomb scenes depicting the natural habitat of these animals (John Wyatt).

Chapter two sets the animal mummies within their ancient context as votive offerings to the gods in the Late (664-332 B.C.) and Graeco-Roman Periods (332 B.C.-A.D. 395). Although once again comprised of only two short articles, this chapter provides useful information on the various forms of animal mummies, including those kept as pets; those which lived as a god representative on earth (e.g. the Apis Bull); victual mummies and finally votive mummies, the form dealt with in both this book and the exhibition. The article here by Campbell Price presents the intriguing theory (developed from ideas presented by Christine Riggs in her (2014) Unwrapping Ancient Egypt) that the votive bronzes found deposited with the animal mummies were, like their companions, wrapped in linen, both to ensure their physical protection and to enhance their 'sacredness.' Recreated in the exhibition, the bronzes are displayed wrapped in linen as they supposedly would have been in the ancient past.

Of particular interest to ASTENE members, chapter three contains several articles on the 'second life' of these mummies once they had been rediscovered by early travellers, collectors and archaeologists. Alice Stevenson's article on William Flinders Petrie's (1853-1942) acquisition of animal mummies for the Petrie Museum, potentially sourced from his work at Hawara, Dendera and Abydos, sets up a series of interesting articles on early and modern research on animal mummy burial sites across Egypt. Rozenn Bailleul-LeSuer provides information about Thomas Eric Peet (1882-1934) and William Leonard Stevenson Loat's (1871-1932) work in the animal

cemeteries at Abydos. Anna Garnett discusses the work of John Garstang (1876-1956) at sites including Beni Hasan and Esna, where cat and fish mummies were found respectively and Paul T. Nicholson provides an overview of the British work conducted at the animal necropolis at Saqqara, beginning in the 1960s with the rediscovery of the Ibis Catacomb and leading up to more recent work conducted on the Dog Catacomb by Cardiff University (2009-2015). This article in particular highlights the fact that despite many animal mummy burial sites being known to both early travellers and archaeologists, many more lay undiscovered until well into the late 20th and even early 21st centuries and that more await rediscovery.

The remaining articles detail the acquisition of animal mummies by early travellers, including those donated to Harrow School by Sir John Gardiner Wilkinson (1797-1875) (Campbell Price); the mummies collected by John Galloway (b.1830), Marion Blackie (b. 1852) and Clara Blackie (b. 1857) and Andrew T. Sandison (1923-1982) in Glasgow's Egyptian collections (Gabrielle Heffernan & Brian Weightman) and the mummies acquired by cotton-trader and collector Jesse Haworth (1835-1920) now in the Manchester Museum collections (Campbell Price). Ashley Cooke describes the history of the Egyptian collections at the World Museum, Liverpool (formerly the Liverpool Free Public Museum), which are primarily formed of the collections of Joseph Mayer (1803-1886). This particular article includes the curious tale of the use of cat mummies in the manufacture of fertilizer in late 19th century and also emphasises the importance of archives in the study of collections damaged or lost, as many of Liverpool's animal mummies were destroyed during an air-raid in 1941.

The travel account of Irish traveller William Wilde (1815-1876) (father of Oscar Wilde) receives a mention in this chapter (Lidija McKnight & Campbell Price), in order to demonstrate how animal mummies were sourced as souvenirs. Unfortunately, the fate of the ibis mummies Wilde collected from Saqqara is currently unknown. This chapter stresses the importance of establishing links between museum collections and the early travellers and collectors who donated them, allowing for the re-contextualising of objects through the use of travel accounts and archival material. This is demonstrated with a cat mummy and coffin (Acc. No. 9303a-b) donated to the Manchester Museum by

Thomas Alfred Coward (1867-1933), once originally thought to have simply been purchased from a dealer, which has now been traced to an excavation conducted at Saqqara by Cecil Firth (1878-1931). This chapter therefore manages to demonstrate the important issue of provenance in the study of ancient Egyptian artefacts, whilst also providing important information on collections which may not be known to or are not easily available to the general public.

Chapter four, the final chapter, presents a review of modern research conducted by the Ancient Egyptian Animal Bio Bank (University of Manchester) under the direction of the project curators of the exhibition, Lidija McKnight and Stephanie Atherton-Woolham. This ongoing project studies both mummification techniques and the nature of the content of animal mummies in British museum collections. This chapter demonstrates the depth of information we can gain from the use of modern digital techniques in the investigation of mummies, including the use of 3D printers to replicate bones in order to aid in the identification of individual animal species. The project uses both Radiography and CT Scan technology to 'virtually unwrap' the mummies in order to determine whether the mummies were genuine or 'fake', often with surprising results, including the discovery of more than one animal in a number of the wrapped bundles (Lidija McKnight and Stephanie Atherton-Woolham). In addition, the team has conducted experiments on potential mummification techniques used to preserve these animals, by determining the molecular characterisation of the organic elements used in the embalming process (Rhea Brettell) as well as conducting experimental mummification on several specimens in order to gain a better understanding of how these mummies were prepared for the afterlife. The chapter closes with a consideration of the ongoing conservation of animal mummies in museum collections (Sam Sportun) and expounds the merits of modern scientific investigative techniques in determining the proper method of care, storage and display of these specimens.

This book, presented in an easy to read manner, is illustrated with attractive photographs and illustrations throughout and is a particularly useful supplement to the information provided by the exhibition itself which is only introductory in nature. This work is also a useful introduction to the animal mummy collections in museums around the country, providing information on both the 'lifestory' of these mummies as well as the ongoing work

being conducted on them by modern researchers. Although evidently well-researched and wellwritten, it can at times feel as though more information could have been provided, as the articles for the most-part are a little on the shortside; evidently this brevity was intended to make the work approachable as an accompaniment to the exhibition. That said, the book does contain new and interesting information for researchers and provides a handy catalogue of the animal mummies mentioned in the text, which will prove useful no doubt for those wanting to research the collections. One issue however, is the lack of information about the donors of the mummies which is a shame considering the time devoted in the book to the discussion of the travellers and collectors who contributed to these museum collections. Further minor issues are the lack of an author provided for the article on John Gardiner Wilkinson and the Harrow animal mummy collections (though this is surmised to be Campbell Price) and the error made in the attribution of the following, provocative quote: 'It would be hardly respectable, on one's return from Egypt, to present oneself in Europe without a mummy in one hand and a crocodile in the other. This is referenced as having been stated by 'a European traveller in 1883' when in fact the statement was made by Father Ferdinand de Géramb (1772-1848) to Pasha Mohammed Ali (1769-1849) in 1833. The date is significant as it pre-dated the Egyptian government's introduction of severe sanctions (implemented in 1835) on the export of ancient Egyptian antiquities and in particular mummies, but not least because Géramb was no longer alive in 1883!

Overall Gifts for the Gods presents an important contribution to a field of study which, although it has long intrigued early travellers and collectors, was thought to be of little scientific interest to early archaeologists. It also provides new and useful information on the history of the collection and study of animal mummies in the British context. With the first international symposium on animals in ancient Egypt to be held in France next year (June 2016), this book and the work conducted by the authors in preparation for the accompanying exhibition is very much on point for modern research interests but is also well worth a read for those with an interest in the preparation, deposition, rediscovery and collection of these fascinating yet often under-studied relics of ancient Egypt.

Tessa Baber

### New title

This new title published by Gerlach Press has just been released and can be ordered now:

Mohammed Khalifa, Der Orient - Fiktion oder Realität? The Orient - Fiction or Reality? A Critical Analysis of 19th Century German Travel Reports



[Text in German with English Summary] Publisher: Gerlach Press, Berlin & London

Hardcover, 214 pp

ISBN: 978-3-940924-46-9

Publication date: September 2015

Price: EUR 85 / GBP 75

### Short description:

Following the great expeditions of the 18th and 19th century, travel activity in general increased from the end of the 18th century onwards. In addition to European destinations, the Orient and above all Egypt now became the goal of this movement embracing travel and exoticism. This work centers on the question of the received patterns of thought and argumentation that were applied consciously or unconsciously by those travelers. By way of example, the reports of the Austrian scholar and scientist Joseph (Ritter von) Russegger are examined. Russegger's visits to Egypt are notable because he traveled the country as a scientist on behalf of the Egyptian government.

More information on the title and our order form can be downloaded from here:

http://www.gerlach-books.de/books\_offers.php

### **QUERIES AND REPLIES**

From Tessa Baber:

I ask the members for help in identifying a newspaper correspondent working in Egypt in 1870. I have found an article written in *The Times* (London) which was authored by the paper's 'Special Correspondent' on Friday 7th January 1870. This is their Eastern Correspondent I believe?

I have not yet been able to identify who this is and have had no luck when trying to contact *The Times* reference library directly.

Is anyone aware of the identity of this correspondent? With any additional information about their activities in Egypt? I would be most grateful for your help.

Replies to Tessa Baber or bulletin editor.

From Emmet Jackson:

I am currently transcribing Lady Harriet Kavanagh's diaries in full. During her first winter sailing up

the Nile in 1846 Lady Harriet refers to a group of gentlemen that spend some time with her party. She names them as Mr Peel and Mr Bourne. Here are some key dates and locations when they met:

- 15th December 1846 The two gentlemen offer their tent to Harriet's party to sleep in after their boats were submerged to rid them of vermin.
- 16th December 1846 Spent the day touring Luxor in the company of the Italian antiquity dealer Signor Andrea Castellari.
- 2nd January 1847 Abu Simbel
- 6th January 1847 Tom, Harriet's son spent the day shooting with them.
- 8th January 1847 First Cataract.
- 11th January 1847 Spent the day with the two Gentlemen, the Ardens & the Sutherlands at Aswan.

If anyone has any information on Mr Peel or Mr Bourne I would be grateful if you could let me know. Replies to emmet.jackson@gmail.com or the bulletin editor.

### **ARTICLES**

Richard McClary offers a rather exciting account of his recent travels!

### Kyzlorda to Djezkazgan: North across the Kazakh steppe

Kyzlorda, in the south of Kazakhstan near the Uzbek border, is described in the Brandt guide as utterly charmless which, given the generosity of the author to other less than impressive towns, does not bode well. The manager of my hotel calls and finds out that there is a bus to Djezkazgan, an industrial town in the centre of the country with some interesting and poorly published medieval buildings nearby, that departs at 13:00 precisely. This allows for a leisurely start and an hour of work before prudently checking out and getting a taxi to the bus station. Things take a turn for the worse as, under a leaden sky, the rain starts to fall and I enter a dingy building, to eventually find that there is no bus today, and that I should try the other bus station

across town, near the railway station. What little charm the town had in the sun departs completely as the cab swerves potholes and traverses the featureless soviet-era streets.

Amidst a phalanx of old German coach tour buses that are fast approaching the end of their days, I find the small shack selling tickets and through broken Russian it slowly emerges – no bus today. I retreat muttering, nay exclaiming expletives, I consider abandoning the mission and catching a train back to Almaty, but fortitude returns and I head towards a few taxi drivers and attempt to negotiate a fare for the 450 km trip across the steppe. Already on the back foot, having very broken Russian with which to converse, the hand motions suggest that the road is somewhat less than smooth (how true that turned out to be!). 50000 tenge (\$300) is suggested, to which I counter with 30000 tenge and none bite, save one poor fool (as it turned out).

Deal done, I climb into the old Opel with its bald tires, a seatbelt attached with a piece of bent rusty wire and an exposed gearbox. The driver has to hotwire the car to start and it stinks of petrol, an odour that works so well with the cigarette smoke of the driver. Already certain reservations are starting to form in my mind, but any ride is a good ride, so we head off to his house so that he can inform his family that he will be gone for a couple of days and, collecting another driver to assist, we are about to leave when two small children emerge from the house. The smallest is screaming, so a 200 tenge note is proffered to pacify him, which only has the effect of causing the older sister to become instantly enraged, until another note is supplied to make life fair.

A quick stop for bread and water and another for fuel and we are on the road north. I pay him the agreed amount to cover fuel but he continues to grumpily ask for more over the next few hours. All seems to be going so well, a steady eighty kilometres an hour and a smooth road, until after seventy kilometres the road turns to dirt. Not just gravel but a former quagmire rutted and dried hard as concrete. The car constantly bottoms out, scraping and bouncing in and out of potholes as the driver glowers at me like it is my fault that the road is utterly undrivable in a thirty year old car on bald tires with hardly any air in them. Interminably slow progress as my calculation of the expected arrival time extends into the increasingly distant future. After an hour all seems well as the road returns to tarmac, but less than an hour later it returns to a mud, and is far worse than before, hard as that may be to believe. We pass one truck heading the same way the whole journey, and maybe two trucks per hour heading south.

There are no houses to be seen on the wild undulating open steppe. Stopping to relieve ourselves the intense vastness becomes clear. The air is rich with birds and their song, howling wind and the sweet smell of wormwood. The bird's colours dot the endless green steppe and blue sky. Bright electric green with red, bright yellow, and small magpie-like ones with pinky-white accents. Water birds float in a small pool and as we pass the flocks swirl around us. The hours slide inexorably by as the undulating steppe extends off into the horizon. After many hours and two hundred kilometres a powerline crosses the road at a diagonal, the first sign of modernity since leaving the tarmac. Birds of prey circle overhead and the sage green wormwood,

reddish bushes and occasional flashes of purple flowers melt together into the distance, the horizon sometimes flat, at others gently undulating, an occasional low hill punctuating the vastness all around.

Stopping to clear the windshield of mud, the howling wind and almost hallucinogenic cloud formations are mesmerising. They seem to swell and merge before my eyes, until continued viewing confirms that they are in fact static. In the distance there are occasional piles of melting mudbrick structures, the only evidence of humanity save the endless highway, remnants of ancient caravanserais that are returning back to the earth from whence they came. Mutterings from the older driver suggest all is not well, and a few drops of oil are added to the engine, too little to be of any use.

Patches of tarmac embolden the younger of the two drivers, and as the sky glows golden with the setting sun he increases the speed. The interminable bumps cause the petrol tank to leak evermore and the smell to become all-encompassing, as he drives headlong into foot-deep, six foot wide potholes. The foul, bright pink sausage becomes increasingly palatable as the day rolls on. Finally he hits a particularly large pothole at speed and the car judders, but he pushes on. A few miles later and in the rapidly fading light of dusk we pull over and the driver indicates we are staying here for the night - a far from ideal revelation as we are, after nearly ten hours, still seventy five kilometres of steppe away from the nearest town. A peek under the car reveals a steady flow of oil from the cracked sump, a result of the last major pothole. There is no oil in the engine and it is cooked. It starts to dawn on me how dire the situation is, having finished the one bottle of water and the few bits of sausage and bread being long gone. Night descends and the wind howls, but only a short while later, the first vehicle we have seen for about eight hours emerges from the dark, two small dots of white light bouncing along the endless road.

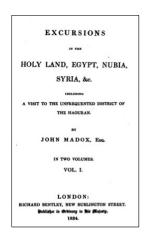
A battered old Russian van appears, and, grabbing my bag, I abandon the taxi drivers to their fate and throw myself on the mercy of the driver, gesticulating wildly for him to stop. A brief explanation, and while hardly stopping he motions for me to hop in the passenger seat and accelerates into the night. The 1960's vintage van is thrown around the road by the gnarled leathery old hands of the driver, pitching and yawing like a ship in a storm. Increasingly unnerving in the dim light of

the headlights, he exudes an air of confidence that puts me at ease, until the howling of the previously unseen drunken madman in the back results in an explosive volley of unintelligible insults from the driver. Careering across the black steppe in the middle of nowhere, I begin to question the wisdom of this particular adventure, remembering that countless thousands had tried to flee the area, this being the land of gulags, and the inspiration for Solzhenitsyn's *One Day in the Life of Ivan Denisovich*.

Finally, like a vision of salvation, the tall chimneys of the copper smelting plant emerge on the horizon. They billow smoke, visible in the light from the crescent moon which shines like a low pearl in the night sky. It seems so close that I could reach out and grab it. We race along, past powerlines and the occasional car. The town is deserted at such a late hour, seeming to consist of endless rows of utilitarian housing blocks. An old industrial railway locomotive hauls a long line of clanking wagons, its horn wails mournfully through the quiet night air, as stars twinkle above. My saviour drops me at a hotel which is, like almost everything else in the city, owned by the national metal conglomerate, Kazakhmys. The Metalworkers hotel is clean, utilitarian, and has a kindly receptionist who understands my plight and mercifully provides a room. Never before has a cracked old shower cubicle, a scratchy towel, a bed with springs poking out and a plastic Chinese blanket seemed so welcome. Amidst this hive of industry, birdsong can be heard through the window as I fall into the embrace of Morpheus.

> Dr Richard McClary The University of Edinburgh

### John Madox: Travels and Graffiti





John Madox, in Turkish Costume, by Robert Jacob Hamerton, (c. 1810-1904), painter and lithographer.

- Born 1 September 1768, and christened at St Alfege Church, Greenwich
- Died in London 31 March 1837 and was buried on 7 April at the Church of St. Alfege, Greenwich.

There are two vaults with the name Madox in the St. Alfege Church:

- Erasmus Madox Esq. 1787, with 30 coffins in the vault, but no names are known.
- Sarah Madox, no date, with 6 coffins but also no names are known.

We can only suppose that John Madox is buried in one of those vaults.

#### Extract from Madox's diary:

9 April 1822. In the morning called upon Messrs. Lee and Gliddon, and after dinner Captain Llewellyn called upon me with Mr. Rapelje, an American gentleman, whom I had seen at Malta, and who had lately arrived from Smyrna.

Mr. Rapelje was an eccentric and curious man; his greatest delight seemed to be travelling with despatches, dashing at everything, and running all chances, thereby sometimes getting into difficulties, which might have been easily avoided. The Turks, I think, once seized him, and tied him to a tree.

Some of John Madox's graffiti

26 November 1823, El CRABE (Elkab) Tombs with a number of English and Italian names scratched here and there.



The Ramesseum, second pylon, inner face



The Kiosk of Quertassi



Philae, Temple of Isis, Birth House



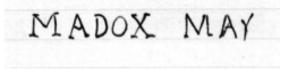
Philae Temple of Isis, pylon



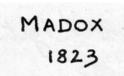
Luxor Temple, Birth Room, Colu



Abu Simbel, Small Temple, entrance



Abu Simbel, Great Temple, Entrance



Temple of Dakka

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Roger O. De Keersmaecker

### RESEARCH RESOURCES

### **Minnie Burton's Diary**

On the 14th of July the Griffith Institute acquired at auction the personal diary of Minnie Burton.

For more information see www.griffith.ox.ac.uk/minnieburton-project/

### **Reminder of Emma B. Andrews Diary**

Emma B. Andrews is best remembered for her association with the millionaire lawyer turned archaeologist/art and antiquities collector, Theodore M. Davis. Traveling to Egypt with him between 1889 and 1912, she kept detailed journals of these voyages along the Nile, including his important yet under-reported excavations of 20 significant tombs in the Valley of the Kings. To date, her diaries are unpublished; the digitization and analysis of the 19 volumes will afford scholars and a general audience ready access to an important historical resource for the first time.

The Emma B. Andrews diary project is directed by Dr Sarah Ketchley who is well known to ASTENE members.

For more information see www.emmabandrews.org/project/the-diaries

### Alexander Svoboda Travel Journal and Ottaman Text Archive Project

This project is supporting Nowf Allawi, an Iraqi researcher living in Baghdad, in her creation of a text and translation of a late nineteenth century travel diary written in Arabic by a native English speaker living in Baghdad.

For more information see courses.washington.edu/otap/svoboda/svoboda.html

#### **Richard Pococke Letters**

As a Supplement to Letters from Abroad: the Grand Tour Correspondence of Richard Pococke & Jeremiah Milles, Volume 3 (Letters from the East, 1737-41) the editor, Dr Rachel Finnegan, an ASTENE member, has made transcripts of some additional material from manuscripts in the British Library. These can be downloaded from Dr Finnegan's website at www.pocockepress.com/additional\_letters.php

### **Howard Carter's Excavation Diaries on Twitter**

On December 7, The Griffith Institute started Twitter coverage of Howard Carter's diary and journal for the 3rd excavation season in Egypt, covering December 1924 to March 1925: https://twitter.com/discoveringTut

Follow them on Twitter for your daily 140 character summary of what Carter got up to, or you can read the complete transcript for all the seasons here: http://www.griffith.ox.ac.uk/discover.../journals-and-diaries/

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### **FOOTPRINTS**

### **Travelling at Christmas**

Given that the Winter bulletin will be issued in time for Christmas, this issue features a special seasonal-themed section detailing the experiences of Western travellers spending Christmas in Egypt and the Near East. The following extracts are taken from a wide variety of travel accounts. Thank you to all the contributors.

### Richard Pococke in Upper Egypt, Christmas 1737

Source: epistolary diary from Pococke to his mother, Elizabeth Pococke, sent from Furchut (Farshut) in Upper Egypt, on 3/14 January 1738. Entry for 26 December/6 January:

Context: The Reverend Dr Pococke has been travelling in Egypt for three months, and for some time has been lodging "in the best room in the convent", at the Hospitium of the Propaganda Fide, whose president is Father Georgio.

"I went to see the President Father Georgio embark for Cairo, many accompanying him. Malim Solyman carried me to dine with him, in the same manner as we had sup'd. I walked out most part of the Afternoon, called on Malim Soliman in the even. We have now but one Father, one being gone to Furchut. Christmas Eve, several brought 4 or 5 pound of wax candles, which are laid on the altar, & after carried into the vestry ... My wishes attend you all for many happy new years."

Source: Rachel Finnegan, Letters from Abroad: The Grand Tour Correspondence of Richard Pococke & Jeremiah Milles: Letters from the East Vol. 3 (2013)

Rachel Finnegan

### James Burton, Christmas 1824, 1830, 1835

In James Burton's Journals Christmas Day features three times. The first in 1824 states that Christmas and New Year were spent at Thebes and Burton, his secretary Charles Humphreys and his servant Vincenzo Braico were joined by Wilkinson, Hay, Bonomi and Yanni. You have to wonder what they talked about. The second from 1830, and

which sounds rather magical, describes Burton, Humphreys, Bonomi, Saad and Mohammed losing their way, and states 'Leave Za Farana Palms at 6.00 Turkish Time. Arrive at Derr Antonios in 7 hours 45 minutes, 19 miles but in a straight line about 16 miles. Arrived 11/2 hours after sunset, by a bright moon and found my tent up and supper ready and the monks waiting to receive us with Vincenzo [Braico] whom I had sent on to prepare things. Our Xmas night was thus spent at Derr Antonios.' The last from 1835 confirms that Burton enjoyed a family party at St Leonard's on Sea having returned home from spending 'several months in the Souht of France and Paris.' You can imagine the surprise of his family when he turned up on the doorstep having been away for 13 years and not writing to them to say he was finally coming home.

Neil Cooke

### Florence Nightingale en route to Egypt, Christmas Day 1849

In 1849, Florence Nightingale set out on a five months journey in Egypt, with her friends Charles and Selina Bracebridge. On Christmas Day Florence wrote to her family:

"you are just going to church, my dear people, in the close carriage, and we are holding our church on deck, where the thermometer stands at 101, and 75 in the cabin.......

At last the sun was dead, and Girgeh with her minarets passed in the dusk, and the moon rose – such a moon. We sat on deck 'til late at night, 'sunning' ourselves in her warm beams, - think of that my people, - on Christmas Day. Not one touch of damp, not one breath of chill in the air, though the wind was high. We glided along in a supernatural stillness, for the wind being, as usual, dead fair, we were sheltered from it by the cabin behind us; and every little wave was ridden by its own silvery jinn, like a fleet of jinnee come out suddenly in the moonlight. ... Christmas Day produced us two ancient towns, Panopolis and Ptolemais, and our first crocodile, his great paws left heavy footmarks on the sand."

Source: Anthony Sattin (ed), Letters from Egypt: A Journey on the Nile 1849-1850 (1987)

### Emelia Hornby in Constantinople, Christmas Day 1855

Emelia Hornby accompanied her husband Edmund to Constantinople in 1855, when he was appointed to co-manage the Anglo-French loan to the Turkish government, to enable it to withstand the Russian invasion in the Crimea. On Christmas Day Emelia writes that the ambassador Lord Stratford and his wife "kindly taking pity on our loneliness" asked them to dinner.

"The Bosphorus on Christmas Day was particularly beautiful to us, unused now to see outward signs of a Christian people. The almost innumerable European ships were gaily dressed with flags and pennants, which fluttered in the brilliant sunshine.

Several English and French men-of-war on Christmas morning were taking in from caïques famous stocks of good things to make merry; oranges, dried fruits, grapes and Turkish sweetmeats, whose name is Legion..... When we could no longer see the gay flags and pennants flying from the ships in the Bosphorus, Pera gave no sign to English eyes of a holiday. There was of course the same crowd of Greeks, the same mixture of many nations. French and English soldiers were strolling about, evidently making a melancholy attempt to enjoy themselves..... "

In the evening, they went through the dark streets to the Ambassadorial residence.

"The Palace looked very beautiful – its spacious white stone corridors richly and warmly carpeted...... Beautiful orange and lemon trees, bearing both flowers and fruit; bright shining myrtles, and gorgeous scarlet cacti, had a charming effect. There were a few branches of Turkish holly, which is small and stunted, but not a single berry of the cherished scarlet...."

Lade Stratford entered, at her side a slight, modest looking lady "she was not introduced and yet Edmund and I looked at each other at the same moment to whisper, 'It is Miss Nightingale!' Yes, it was Florence Nightingale, greatest of all now in name and honour among women. I assure you I was glad not to be obliged to speak just then, for I felt quite dumb as I looked at her wasted figure and the

short brown hair combed over her forehead like a child's, cut so, when her life was despaired of from fever but a short time ago."

At dinner "Admiral Sir Houston Stewart 's rosy, seaman's face, merry chat and truly Christmas 'ha ha ha!' made it impossible to anyone near him not to smile and feel very merry too. At Christmas time mirth is particularly infectious.

After dinner there was great fun; for all the midshipmen of the different men-of-war lying here were invited.... Lady Stratford received them most kindly as they came marching in, looking so fresh and nice in their little, old-fashioned blue coatees with gilt buttons. I think they thought it rather formidable at first, but Lord Stratford proposed 'a round game' for them, and they soon became as jolly as possible...... their feeling of the excessive fun of playing with the Admiral was intense. In one of the games Sir Houston ran round the wide circle, ball in hand, and crying, 'earth air water!'... The person into whose lap the ball is thrown, must name some object, or some animal, from the last named element......

'Earth' cries the Admiral, to a merry-looking, fair-haired middy.

'An ass' promptly replies the little fellow.

'An ass! So you mean to call me an ass, do you, Sir?' said the Admiral, pretending to frown. I really thought the little boys would have expired with laughing at the bare idea.......

There was afterwards a dark room with a gigantic dish of snap-dragon, and we all looked dreadfully pale in the blue light..... Each wondered at the other's spectral looks, except the middies, who showed a remarkable capacity for eating fiery plums.

I thought as I looked around, what a curious group it was playing children, even the children having acted their part in this fearful war-struggle."

Source: Emelia Hornby, Constantinople during the Crimean War, 1863

Peta Ree

### Henry Westcar. 25th December 1823, Tuesday, Christmas Day

'Determined to pass it with some show of festivity, especially as we were in a pagan country, so invited our friends form the other Canga to dine with us. Proceeded but little this day & stopped early at Amaran for Demetrio to prepare the dinner, without it being subject to the daily accidents of upsetting & c. Held a long consultation this morning about the plumb pudding for 'twould be impossible to pass the day without one. About ½ past 6 we sat down to dinner & Dem produced a very excellent soup of lentils, followed by a couple of harricoed fowls, a pigeon pie & roast leg of mutton 7 days old, all well cooked. Then followed the plumb pudding; this was the hopes and pride of the family, aside considering the cloth had been burned through by sticking at the bottom of the pot. Our wine was dry Malaga, & we drank the kings health & that of our friends in all due ceremony; fired guns at each huzza'.

Source: Heike Schmidt (2011) Westcar on the Nile. A Journey through Egypt in the 1820s. Reichert Verlag Wiesbaden. Pg 51

### Lady Harriet Kavanagh. 25th December 1846. Unpublished Diary.

Lady Harriet had arrived in Egypt two months previously and was making her way up the Nile when Christmas arrived. Her entry for their first Christmas in Egypt is short.

'Christmas Day – I read the service after breakfast. Our sailors all came to kiss our hands & wish us peace. I gave them meat for their dinner that they might enjoy themselves. The gentlemen of the other boat dined with us. We sailed slowly all day, we passed Dakkeh [sic] & Entered the tropics. My leg was very painful all day'

Harriet had cut her leg on some rocks at Medinet Habu on the 16th December and had trouble walking for some time after that point. On the day in question, above, they passed Dakka and had by the 30th December reached Abu Simbel. The gentlemen she refers to in her diary entry for the day spend much of their time with Lady Kavanagh's party leading up to and after Christmas and she names them as Mr. Peel and Mr. Bourne (see Queries).

Emmet Jackson



Entry of Pilgrims into Bethlehem at Christmas time [between 1890 and 1923]
Carpenter Collection. Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division Washington, D.C. 20540 USA

#### Isabella F. Romer, Thebes, Christmas 1846

'Last night we anchored off Luxor, and immediately opposite to the splendid colonnade of that palace-temple which had become a ruin before the blessed era commenced of which to-day is the anniversary.

I had no sooner left my cabin this morning, than, to my surprise, Reis All, his son Salem, Hadgee Mustapha, and all our sailors, came one after the other to wish me, in very good English, "a merry Christmas! "Mohammed had been tutoring them all yesterday to learn the words by heart, and he told me to-day that some of the men got up three times in the night, and awoke him to hear them repeat their lesson; so fearful were they of not making themselves understood by me. They succeeded, however, to admiration; and I was both amused and touched by the earnestness of their salutation, and by hearing those familiar sounds echoed by Arab lips to a Christian stranger in the far solitude of Thebes.

Our Christmas-day was rendered very happy by receiving a large budget of letters forwarded to us by the English Consul at Cairo. They are the first letters that have reached us from Europe since we have been in Egypt, and their contents for a while cheated us into the belief that we were not divided by so many lands and seas from those most dear to us, and whose thoughts we knew would be with us this day. We have kept up the good old English custom of good cheer at Christmas time, as far as lay in our power, by giving no less than three plum-pudding dinners to-day — one to our crew; a second to the Reis, his son, our cook. Dragoman, and servants; and the third to ourselves — all of them excellent,

thanks to Mohammed's good catering. I never tasted a better turkey than he gave us; and, upon complimenting him on its great delicacy, I learned from him the Egyptian secret of rendering the flesh particularly tender. Half an hour before the bird is killed, a glass of brandy is poured down its throat, which produces complete intoxication, and the flesh of the tipsy turkey acquires a tenderness superior to that which is produced even by long keeping— a system that would be impracticable in this climate. This method of condemning the unhappy turkeys to go out of the world in a state of Moslem reprobation, is a curious bearing out of the "die and be d—d" principle.

Signor Castellare visited us in the evening, and sent me a present of fresh butter—a great dainty in this part of the world; albeit I cannot taste it, as it is made of buffaloe's milk, to the flavour of which I cannot reconcile myself. As I have told you how turkeys are made tender in Egypt, I may as well tell you also how butter is churned. The milk is put into a skin precisely similar to those used by the water-carriers at Cairo, and shaken by two persons until the butter is formed, when it is separated from the butter-milk, washed, and melted down into jars; this butter, here called Ghee, has always a strong taste of the skin, but it is nevertheless very good for culinary purposes.

Source: Mrs. Romer (1846) A Pilgrimage to the Temples and Tombs of Egypt, Nubia and Palestine in 1845-46. In two Volumes, Vol. I, London, Richard Bentley, New Burlington Street. Pg. 278-280.



### Benjamin Dorr. B.B. Malta, Christmas Day 1853.

Dec. 25. And this is Christmas Day; I hope "a merry Christmas" to all our dear ones at home.

How different to me from that of last year! How different from that of any former year!

Here we are, five thousand miles from our native land, and on our way to Bethlehem, the scene of that great event, which the "holy church throughout all the world" this day commemorates.

We have had a very quiet and agreeable holy - day here; and I do not think there is a spot in the old world, out of England, where we could have spent it more profitably. The day was bright and beautiful, like one of our loveliest May days; and every face we met seemed radiant with joy. 'We attended divine service at 11 o'clock in the Episcopal Church, which was decorated with evergreens, though not in great profusion, for they are not easily obtained; none growing on the island except such as are cultivated in the gardens. The services, with the exception of the slight difference that there is between our own and the English liturgy, were the same as those which our friends were enjoying this day at home. The archdeacon read the morning prayer, the rector, the Rev. Mr. Cleugh, preached an appropriate sermon from the words, "Jesus Christ the righteous." I read a portion of the communion service, and, together with the Rev. Mr. Fort, an English clergyman, assisted the archdeacon and the rector in administering the Holy Sacrament to a large number of communicants ; among whom were many officers of the British army and navy. It was a most gratifying service in every respect; reminding me most forcibly of home and friends, and especially when that familiar hymn " While Shepherds watched," was sung. How often have I heard this in dear old Christ Church!

We attended afternoon service at 5 o'clock, and heard another able and practical sermon from the rector. In the evening, we sat down to an excellent dinner, our table ornamented with a splendid bouquet, and abundantly supplied with all the fruits of the season; and we remembered those who, in a colder clime, but with warmest hearts, were enjoying a merry Christmas, thinking perhaps of us.

Dorr, B.D.D. (1856) *Notes of Travel. Egypt, The Holy Land, Turkey, and Greece.* Philadelphia, J.B. Lippincott & Co. pg. 24-26.

### John-Lloyd Stephens, Cairo, Christmas 1834

On the 25th, with a voice that belied my feelings, I wished Paul a merry Christmas; and after breakfast, wishing to celebrate the day, mounted a donkey and rode to the site of the ancient Heliopolis, near the village of Metal-ca, about four miles from Cairo, on the borders of the rich land of Goshen. The geographer Strabo visited these ruins thirty years A.C., and describes them almost exactly as we see them now. A great temple of the sun once stood here. Herodotus and Plato studied philosophy in the schools of Heliopolis; " a barbarous Persian overturned her temples; a fanatic Arabian burnt her books;" and a single obelisk, sixty-seven foot high, in a field ploughed and cultivated to its very base, stands a melancholy monument of former greatness and eternal ruin.

Stephens, J.L. (1839) *Incidents of Travel in Egypt, Arabia Petraea, and The Holy Land.* Edinburgh, William and Robert Chambers. Pg. 11

Emmet Iackson

### Isambard Kingdom Brunel in Egypt, Christmas 1858

In 2002 the BBC ran a television poll to determine the most famous and popular Briton, and the results were broadcast as *100 Greatest Britons*. Isambard Kingdom Brunel (1806–1859) was a close second to Winston Churchill.

Isambard Kingdom Brunel was the *enfant terrible* of Victorian engineers, responsible for the realisation of three revolutionary steamships, 25 railways, over 120 railway bridges, eight piers and docks, and five suspension bridges (including that over the Avon gorge at Clifton, Bristol, 1832–64).

In an effort to restore his health, and on his doctor's orders, Brunel paid his one and only visit to Egypt in 1858. His health had been weakened by exhaustion from over-work, and he was diagnosed with Bright's disease (chronic nephritis).

Brunel left England in mid-December 1858, accompanied by his wife Mary, his son Henry, Dr. Parkes, and a great amount of baggage and supplies. He may even have brought "homework". Although Brunel was sick, intense workaholic that he was, he kept busy with observations and calculations during the voyage. He remained on deck even during a

fierce storm on the Mediterranean to carry on with his various observations and measurements. Meanwhile, his family and the doctor were below deck suffering from sea-sickness.

Alexandria was the port of entry to Egypt. Passenger service on the railway between Alexandria and Cairo started in 1855, taking six hours instead of three days by steamer, thus people generally abandoned the steamer route for travel by rail. For Brunel as a railway man it would have been a must to travel on the first railway in Egypt, and indeed in the Ottoman Empire. The railway was designed and built by his close friend, the equally famous engineer Robert Stephenson.

The Brunels spent Christmas in Cairo and had Christmas dinner with Robert Stephenson, who was also terminally ill. The evidence points to Shepheard's Hotel for their dinner: Stephenson stayed there when he was not living on his yacht Titania. It is interesting to speculate what the two great engineers might have discussed. Given all of Stephenson's activities in Egypt in the design of its first railways and railway bridges, it's no wonder that Brunel decided to take a holiday there. The Suez Canal was about to start construction by the French under De Lesseps, and a hot topic: Stephenson had predicted it would soon fill with sand. Brunel may have seen the canal as being a new challenge in the design and construction of the large ships for which he had become famous. It would have been a real busman's holiday for Brunel, and Stephenson, who had sailed the Nile, could share his experiences and recommendations for his friend's Nile cruise.

On December 30th, the Brunel party set forth for Upper Egypt in what is described as an 'iron boat', undoubtedly a *dahabiya* reinforced with iron: a large barge-like houseboat with cross-sails. This was the principal mode of river travel in 19th century Egypt until the 1870s, when tourist travel by steamship became possible through Thomas Cook. By 1858, most of the *dahabiyas* in operation were used exclusively for tourism, and kept clean. Even so, travellers needed to supply their own dinner service, bedding, and other necessities.

They reached Luxor on January 21st, 1859. Isambard and Henry rode donkeys to visit the antiquities, and presumably they saw all that was available to tourists in the mid 19th century, as described in John Gardiner Wilkinson's guidebook.

From Luxor, the party traveled by boat to Aswan. After an excursion to the ruins of Philae by donkey, the party switched to a lighter boat. On February 2nd they began to ascend the cataracts of the Nile in a wooden boat hauled by 35 labourers. Isambard and Henry enjoyed this form of transport, but perhaps not Mary. Brunel was surprised and impressed by the efficiency of the seemingly disorganised Egyptians in hauling the boats up 'ramps' of water thundering between granite boulders. 'Until I had seen it and calculated the power required I should imprudently have said it could not be effected... Between rocks (barely) wide enough to let our boat pass the men standing on the rocks, shouting, plunging into the water, swimming

across the top or bottom of the fall, getting under the boat to push it off the rocks, all with an immense expenditure of noise, apparent confusion and want of plan – yet, on the whole, properly and successfully.'

Sadly, a winter in Egypt did not restore the health of Isambard Kingdom Brunel, who died of a stroke in September 1859. Robert Stephenson attended his large funeral at Kensal Green Cemetery, and died himself a few weeks later. Stephenson's funeral was a grand affair, and his remains are deposited in Westminster Abbey.

Cathie and Tony Bryan



Trajan's Kiosk at Philae, by Francis Frith



Cathie Bryan pictured in front of Brunel's monument, on a walking tour in Kensal Green Cemetery, 2012.

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