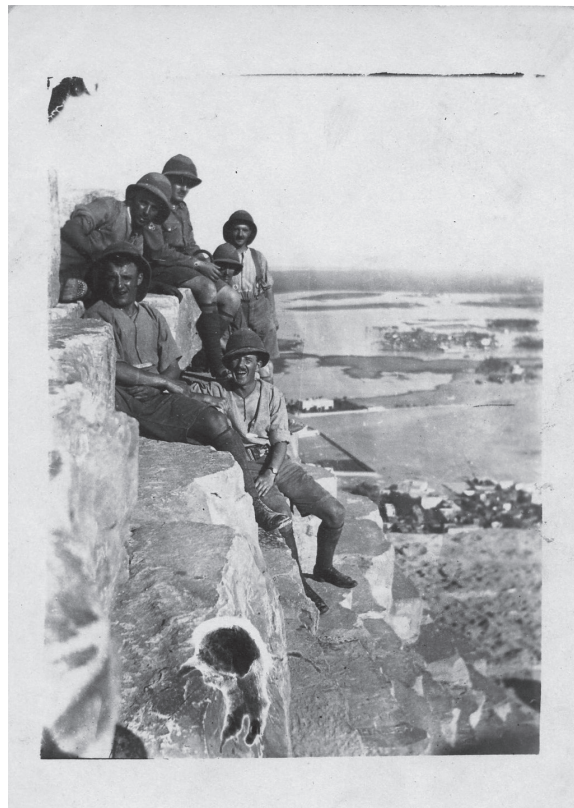


ASTENE

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

BULLETIN



NOTES AND QUERIES

NUMBER 70: WINTER 2016

Bulletin: Notes and Queries

Number 70: Winter 2016

Editor: Cathy McGlynn

ASTENE News and Events	1	Articles	10
ASTENE Biennial Conference 2017	2	Paul Nicholson, Steve Mills & Hilary Rees,	10
ASTENE/Library & Museum of Freemasonry/ Palestine Exploration Fund study day	2	Views of an Antique Land: some results	
Reminder: Travellers in Ottoman Lands: the Botanical Legacy	3	David Kennedy	13
John Lowell Jr. Correction	3	Western Travellers to Petra in 1857	
Other News and Events	4	Roger de Keersmaecker	16
Books and Reviews	6	Dimitrios Papandriopulos	
		Queries and Replies	19j
		Footprints	24

Bulletin 71: Spring 2016

Submissions for the next Bulletin must be received by **1 March 2017**. 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).

Opinions expressed herein are those of the contributors or of the Editor(s) and do not necessarily represent the views of ASTENE. All items are ©2015 The Association for the Study of Travel in Egypt and the Near East and its contributors.

All advertisements have been accepted by ASTENE as a service to members and in good faith. The Association is in no way responsible for any services performed or goods supplied by its advertisers. ASTENE reserves the right to refuse any advertisement at its discretion.

Subscriptions and Membership Renewal

Membership is open to all at the following rates:

Individual Membership:

£35 with hard copy of the Bulletin and Bulletin as emailed PDF.

£30 with Bulletin as e-mailed PDF only.

Joint Membership:

£40 with hard copy of the Bulletin and Bulletin as emailed PDF.

£35 with Bulletin as e-mailed PDF only.

Student Membership:

£20 with hard copy of the Bulletin and Bulletin as emailed PDF.

£15 with Bulletin as e-mailed PDF only.

Library Membership:

£30 with hard copy of the Bulletin and Bulletin as emailed PDF.

Payment must be in pounds sterling. Please see the ASTENE website for application forms and further details:

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

Cover: Group of 6 soldiers seated near the top of the Pyramid of Khufu at Giza. The inundation can be seen in the background. No date. Donor Paul Nicholson

ASTENE NEWS AND EVENTS

ASTENE Biennial Conference 2017: Call for Papers



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

ELEVENTH BIENNIAL ASTENE CONFERENCE

21-24 July 2017 at the University of East Anglia, Norwich



CALL FOR PAPERS

Deadline for abstract submission is 19 February 2017

Please e-mail your offers of papers to conference@astene.org.uk together with a working title, a brief abstract of not more than 250 words, and the names of authors and their affiliations. We also welcome the offer of pre-organised panels of up to four speakers on specific themes, similar to the John Frederick Lewis panel at Exeter.

Participants will be informed about the acceptance of their paper by 17 March 2017

Conference Bursaries are being offered – please consult www.astene.org.uk for the Application Form.

Those receiving a Bursary will be expected to give a paper at the Conference.

Contributions of papers to the ASTENE Conference are welcome from a wide range of disciplines and interests connected with travel to and from the Near and Middle East. It is envisaged the conference will cover many themes – including, but not be limited to:

- Harriet Martineau, an original thinker, traveller & writer, born in Norwich
- Travel as education, and educators as travellers
- Arabian Peninsula travels and travellers, explorers and visitors
- Travellers in both directions: visitors from the Middle East to Europe, America and elsewhere, and visitors from Europe, America and elsewhere to the Middle East
- European farmers visiting the Middle East to learn about new crops and farming methods
- Artist Travellers to the region: did they have to hide what they were doing
- Freemason Travellers to the region
- Different approaches to reading and interpreting travelogues ...
- ... and more.

The Conference will include a visit to the Norwich Castle Museum and Art Gallery for talks about the Colman Collection of ancient Egyptian artefacts and the watercolours made by local man the Reverend Edward Daniell during his travels through the Near East. Daniell was a friend of J M W Turner, and David Roberts encouraged him to visit Egypt. The day includes a visit to How Hill, the former home of a Colman family member where the wherry 'The Hathor' will be moored. The wherry is a local shallow draft sailing craft used in the 19th century for transporting goods but 'The Hathor' was built for the Colman family to commemorate the family member who died in Egypt and is named after the boat they hired for their journey along the river Nile. The wherry's Egyptianised interiors have yet to feature in any books about Egyptomania or exhibitions about Egyptian Style.

The Conference Booking Form and Bursary Application Form will be available on www.astene.org.uk in December 2017. If possible please book before 23 March 2017 – at the latest by 19 June 2017.

ASTENE is a Charity registered in England and Wales Charity Commission Registration No. 1067157

**ASTENE/Library & Museum of Freemasonry/
Palestine Exploration Fund study day, 29
October 2016: Freemason travellers to
Ottoman Palestine**

This was a fascinating afternoon. We heard from three very different speakers, each of whom packed so much information into their half-hour talks that I can't begin to summarise them here. So I will just try to give a flavour.

We heard first from Dr Kevin Shillington about Charles 'Jerusalem' Warren (1840-1927), who gained his commission in the Royal Engineers at the age of 17 and thereafter worked in Gibraltar, Palestine, southern Africa and Singapore: a fearless man, always eager for new challenges. Unfortunately, his grandson, who wrote a biography of him, subsequently burned Warren's private papers – of course one never knows in such circumstances how much valuable information has been lost. In his early years, as well as being a devout Anglican, Warren was an active freemason, and his interest in the biblical sites of Jerusalem, some of which he excavated in the 1870s, came partly from this. When he was excavating parts of the central area of Jerusalem, he suffered constantly from lack of funds, and had to supplement his finances by showing tourists around. As an engineer, one of his principal methods of excavation was the digging of deep shafts, in an attempt to understand the sites by getting right down to bedrock if possible. In later life, he became commissioner of the Metropolitan Police, in which role he failed to catch Jack the Ripper – ironically he is probably better known for this than for his many achievements as an engineer and archaeologist. Shillington has almost completed a new biography that will surely redress this.



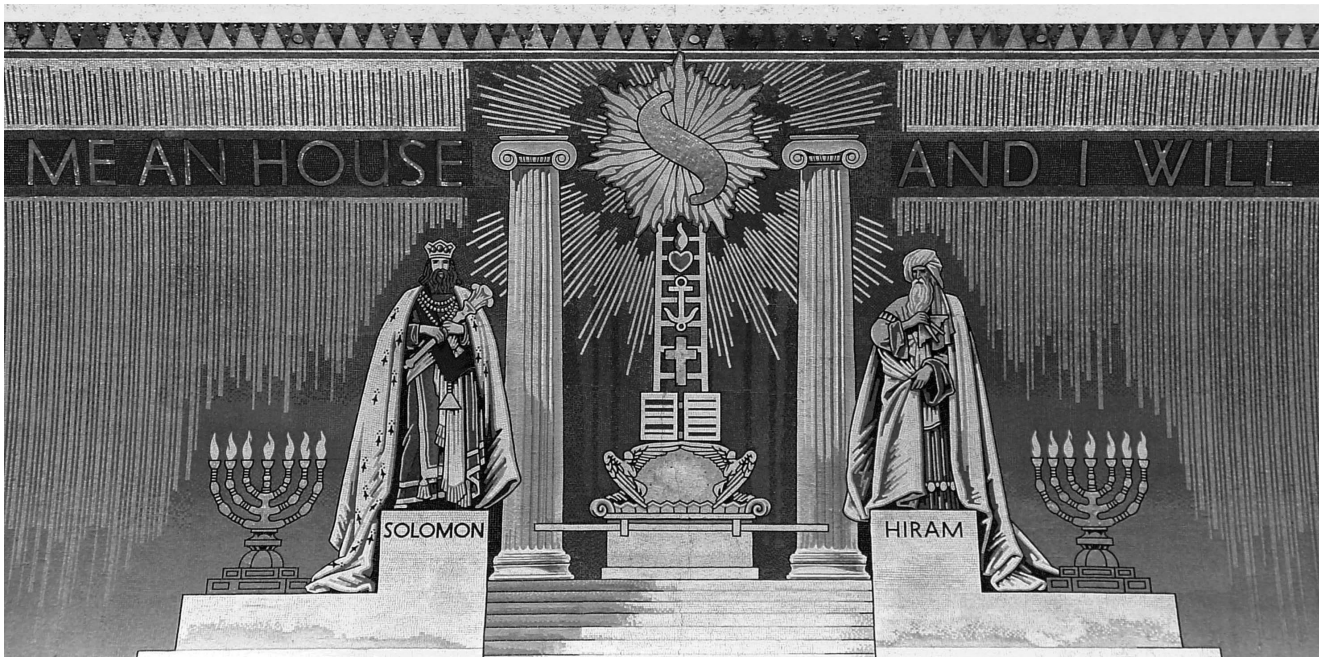
Warren, Barclay, Philips and Eaton in Jerusalem. The group's dragoman, Jerius, stands behind. The Library and Museum of Freemasonry.

The second speaker was Felicity Cobbing, from whom we learnt about William 'Crimea' Simpson (1823-1899). He came from a poor Glasgow background, but was a voracious learner all his life. He was trained as an artist, and spent much of his career in illustrative reportage, working for example for the *Illustrated London News*: even when photography was being used for archaeological purposes, it was not suitable for underground work, and Simpson's sketches in Jerusalem were invaluable in such an environment. Unfortunately, a shadow was cast over both Simpson and Warren by the controversy with the architect James Fergusson about the identity of the site of Solomon's temple. It was Simpson's time in Jerusalem to cover Warren's work – a stay of only two weeks – that introduced him to freemasonry, which became an important element of his life, enabling his career and giving him entry to a world of philanthropy that might otherwise have been closed to a man of his background. Simpson was far from being just a jobbing illustrator, and thanks to Felicity we were able to admire high-quality reproductions of his beautiful watercolours.



PEF-PI-12: "The Gate of Huldah the Prophetess. Jerusalem." Signed "W. Simpson, 1871". The Library and Museum of Freemasonry.

The third traveller of the day, American Rob Morris, the subject of the talk by Dr Aimee Newell, was very different from the other two. Morris, part of a wave of post-Civil War travellers, was an evangelical



Cornice from the Temple meeting room showing Solomon and Hiram. The Library and Museum of Freemasonry.

freemason whose trip to Palestine in 1868 was financed by his lectures and the sale of souvenirs on a grand scale, to Masonic audiences but also to churches and educational institutions for use in teaching about the bible. Opinions about him in his own day varied: was he only interested in his own fame, or did he genuinely want to spread the light of freemasonry more widely? The jury is out. Newell showed us fascinating examples of some of the souvenirs: it was possible to buy a whole box full of such things as earth from the garden of Gethsemane, pieces of stone from ancient buildings, phials of water from the Dead Sea, olive wood, shells, plants. Morris was a promotor of tourism to Palestine, and was convinced that it was there that the origins of freemasonry lay.

The afternoon ended with a short tour of the Freemasons' Hall in Great Queen Street, Holborn, and there was also an opportunity to look at the museum and the exhibition 'Three centuries of English freemasonry'. Altogether an informative and rewarding day.

Lucy Pollard

**Reminder: Travellers in Ottoman Lands:
The Botanical Legacy**

A TWO-DAY SEMINAR

Saturday May 13–Sunday 14, 2017, Royal Botanic Garden Edinburgh

Presented by the Association for the Study of Travel in Egypt and the Near East (ASTENE) in

conjunction with the Centre for Middle Eastern Plants, part of the Royal Botanic Garden Edinburgh.

Contributions are welcome from a wide range of disciplines and interests. It is envisaged that the Seminar will cover many fascinating subjects on (though not restricted to) the following main themes:

- Travellers' accounts related to the botanical legacy of any part of the former Ottoman Empire (e.g. present day Turkey, the Levant, Egypt, the Balkans, Arabian Peninsula etc.)
- The flora of the region, including their heritage, preservation and medicinal uses
- Bulbs of the region, especially tulips, and their cultural significance; Tulipomania
- Ottoman garden design and architecture
- Floral and related motifs in Ottoman art, including textiles, ceramics etc.
- Culinary aspects of the botanical legacy of the region
- Literary, pictorial and photographic depictions of any aspect of the botanical and horticultural legacy of the region
- Orientalism as applicable to any of the seminar's main themes

The Seminar Booking Form and the Draft Seminar Programme will be available on Eventbrite in early January 2017 with the deadline for bookings being 15 April 2017. Tickets will also be available at the event. In the meantime, any enquiries should be addressed to ottomanlandsastene@gmail.com

Please email your offers of papers to ottomanlandsastene@gmail.com together with a working title, a brief abstract of not more than 250 words, and the names of authors and their affiliations. We also welcome the offer of pre-organised panels of up to four speakers on specific themes. Participants will be informed about the acceptance of their paper by 15 February 2017. Seminar Bursaries are also offered: please contact treasurerastene@gmail.com for information. Deadline for submission of abstracts: Sunday 15 January 2017

John Lowell Jr. correction

Following Roger de Keersmaecker's piece in Bulletin 69, Andrew Oliver has been in touch to say that John Lowell Jr. did not in fact travel to Teflis and Teheran. In his 'Memoir of John Lowell Jun', Edward Everett having described Lowell's proposed travel plans in detail, then explains that '*Such, it will be observed, was but the introductory portion of the*

tour which Mr. Lowell projected, of which the most important and considerable part was to commence with his arrival on the western coast of the peninsula of Hindostan. Events, to which I shall have occasion presently to allude, caused a departure from a considerable portion of the route here sketched out. Later in the 'Memoir' we learn that Lowell changed his mind about visiting Teflis and Teheran because of the possible incidence of plague at Constantinople. Instead he set off for Alexandria and travelled along the river Nile as far south as Khartoum. While in Egypt Lowell also considered trying to approach Teheran by a route from the south through Syria but again was put off by the news of the plague being in Cairo and wanting to keep his distance. Everett's 'Memoir' covering the travels of John Lowell Jun can be downloaded from Google Books. It is a short read but the section describing Lowell and his servants being shipwrecked on the way to Mocha gives one a sense the hazards of travel in the mid 1830s.

OTHER NEWS AND EVENTS

PEF FREE LECTURE SERIES 2017

IN ASSOCIATION WITH THE BRITISH MUSEUM DEPARTMENT OF MIDDLE EAST JOINTLY WITH CBRL

Olga Tufnell: Life of a Petrie Pup

4pm, 12th January 2017, BP Lecture Theatre, Clore Education Centre, British Museum.

To book, contact the British Museum Box Office: 020 7323 8181 or www.britishmuseum.org and go to the 'What's On' option at the top of the BM homepage. Then choose the 'Events Calendar' and scroll down the page to see events listed by date and time.

Olga Tufnell (1905-1985) was a distinguished British archaeologist whose work was focussed on the Middle East. She was born into a wealthy and privileged family and the lecture will outline her early life and education. As a young woman, she was appointed as an assistant to Sir William Flinders Petrie at University College London, where she worked on the preparation of exhibitions and similar

tasks. Her contributions were apparently valued by Petrie and he invited her to join his last excavation in Egypt and later the excavations at Tell el-Fara and Tell el-Ajjul in Palestine. Having gained considerably in experience and knowledge, she then joined James Starkey at the excavation of Tell ed-Duweir (Biblical Lachish). Following the death of Starkey in 1938, the task of writing the extensive excavation report fell largely on Tufnell. In later life, she developed further her interest in costume, jewellery and amulets, and she spent the last 25 years of her life in a collaborative study with William (Bill) Ward on the Bronze Age scarab seals of Palestine. The lecturer will attempt to convey Olga Tufnell's scholarship, commitment to her subject and her many personal qualities.

John MacDermot is a retired Professor of Medicine and Therapeutics and former Head of Undergraduate Medicine at Imperial College London. During his professional life, he served as Academic Registrar and later International Director of the Royal College of Physicians. He also served on many government committees and grant committees for the Medical Research Council, British Heart Foundation and other funding agencies. Since

retirement, he was worked as a volunteer at the British Museum and the Palestine Exploration Fund. He assists the PEF Curator as an assistant archivist and is a trustee and member of the PEF Committee. He serves also as the Hon. Secretary of the PEF.

24th International Congress of the German Middle East Studies Association (DAVO) combined with the 33rd Deutscher Orientalistentag (DOT)/German Oriental Studies Conference of the German Oriental Society (DMG)

Friedrich Schiller-University, Jena, 18-22 September 2017.

The Deutsche Orientalistentag (DOT) is the largest professional meeting of Oriental Studies in Germany and one of the most important scholarly Orientalist congresses in the world. The theme of the DOT 2017 is "Asia, Africa and Europe." By this, the organizers wish to emphasize two main topics:

- The transfer of knowledge between East and West, especially Eastern influence on Europe in antiquity and the Middle Ages
- The rising interest of Western scholarship in Oriental cultures and history, including the history of Oriental research in more recent times.

The theme is intended to promote contributions addressing these topics, but papers, panels, and workshops devoted to other branches of scholarship are equally welcome. All colleagues are cordially invited to present the results of their research, and to discuss them with an expert audience.

Panels on specific topics can be organized within a special section as well as interdisciplinary. The submission of panels is now possible via the DOT homepage. For organizational questions, please contact the preparation team at dot2017@uni-jena.de, for technical questions, please contact the panel and abstraction at abstract@conventus.de.

Shifting Sands: Lawrence of Arabia and the Great Arab Revolt

October 2016 - Spring 2017

The mud and blood of the First World War's Western Front scarred a weary British nation. So when an American reporter stumbled upon a dashing British soldier in Arab dress in distant Jerusalem, the publicity machine went into overdrive. Soon the glamorous story of Lawrence of Arabia and his dazzling exploits spread across the world.

But who was this larger-than-life character who fought with the desert tribes during the Great Arab Revolt to help topple the Turkish Ottoman Empire? How much of Lawrence's story is true? How did the events he took part in shape today's war-torn Middle East?

Discover the extraordinary tale through artefacts, testimony and the results of years of research by a team of intrepid archaeologists in Jordan.

National Civil War Centre,
Newark Museum,
Nottinghamshire, NG24 1JY
www.nationalcivilwarcentre.com

National Army Museum Saves Lawrence of Arabia's Dagger, Robes and Kaffiyah for the Nation

The National Army Museum has saved T.E Lawrence's dagger, robes and kaffiyah for the nation thanks to two grants from the National Heritage Memorial Fund (NHMF) totalling £113,400.

Lawrence was given the dagger, known as a jambiya, by Sherif Nasir in 1917 after the victory of the Arabs at Aqaba in modern day Jordan. It had been sold to an overseas buyer in 2015, but an export licence bar was made on the recommendation the Reviewing Committee on the Export of Works of Art earlier this year. The dagger was secured by the National Army Museum with a £78,400 grant from the NHMF.

Few British soldiers have a greater legend attached to them than T.E Lawrence. While his military and diplomatic efforts attracted some distinction, it is Lawrence's immense cultural impact in the century since his wartime achievements that has resulted in the most attention.

Lawrence's military exploits are well documented. His approach to working with the Arab tribes, of full integration and the abandonment of British dress, delivered great success. Wearing a jambiya was customary for men at the time and would have helped Lawrence further ingratiate himself with his Arab allies. It helped complete his transition from the khaki-clad British soldier to Arab leader.

As impressive as his military feats were, the image of Lawrence wearing the robes and dagger was one that he and others cultivated to greatly further his reputation and seal his legend in popular culture.

In all his representations, both documentary and fictionalised, Lawrence's preference for Arab dress feature centrally to the legend, enigma and representation of Lawrence and all that he achieved.

The robes are intrinsically linked to Lawrence and a vital part of his mystique. Designed to be a lightweight ensemble, perfect for the desert environment, Lawrence himself said that, 'if you can wear Arab kit when with the tribes, you will acquire their trust and intimacy to a degree impossible in uniform.' The robe was one of two given to the mother of Arthur Russell, who enrolled in the Tank Corps with Lawrence. Lawrence told her to cut them up and make dresses out of them but luckily Russell managed to save this one from her scissors. The kaffiyah was given to the artist Cosmo Clark by Lawrence after he sat for a portrait in 1922. Clark was one of the illustrators for Lawrence's book, *The Seven Pillars of Wisdom* and *Revolt in the Desert*. Both items were acquired thanks to a further NHMF grant of £35,000.

The depiction of Lawrence's role in the history of the First World War in the Middle East through films and portraits made Lawrence a media star, a prototype for the cult of celebrity that we see so strongly in modern Western media. But it also ensured a far greater recognition for a theatre of

conflict in the Great War beyond the Western Front in France and Belgium. The legacy of Britain's role in reshaping the Middle East in the aftermath of the collapse of the Ottoman Empire, to which Lawrence was a direct observer, continues to affect us today and influence the world around us.

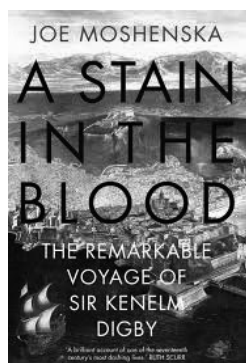
Sir Peter Luff, Chair of National Heritage Memorial Fund, said: "TE Lawrence was a remarkable man and is an enduring figure in popular culture. These items are a vital part of his wartime identity which should not be lost to the nation. That is why the National Heritage Memorial Fund decided to step in to help the National Army Museum to buy them".

What makes the dagger and robes so significant, and such an important part of British heritage, is the way in which they have featured in the cultural memory and legacy of Lawrence and the Middle East campaign of the First World War. The dagger and the robes even became important narrative features at the heart of David Lean's epic film *Lawrence of Arabia*, which has shaped and dictated how we in modern Britain, and elsewhere in the world, think of Lawrence of Arabia and Britain's role in shaping the region."

For more information please contact
Eloise Maxwell on emaxwell@nam.ac.uk or
020 7881 2433 / 07843 588 634

BOOKS AND REVIEWS

Moshenska, Joe, *A Stain in the Blood: the Remarkable Voyage of Sir Kenelm Digby*. London, Heinemann, 2016, 9780434022892, 554pp, £20.



Kenelm Digby (1603–65) is one of the most colourful of the English Mediterranean travellers of the seventeenth century: his story has been a long time finding a narrator, but this book has been worth waiting for. At its core, as the title implies, is the story

of the voyage to the Mediterranean undertaken by Digby in 1627-9, when he was in his mid twenties, but the author also tells us a good deal about his early life, and sketches out the later part. Moshenska's premise is that the voyage was the pivotal event of a life that was full of interest from beginning to end, extending his natural curiosity and challenging his inherited culture: in view of this it would have been interesting to have had a more detailed account of the post-voyage years and of Digby's contribution to science, but no doubt there were considerations of space.

In fact it is untrue to say that Digby's tale has waited so long to be told, since he told it himself, in two versions: he kept a journal of his voyage, and, partly inspired by Philip Sidney's *Arcadia*, he wrote (during a lull in the voyage) a fictionalised account of his secret marriage and its place in his life, which he called *Loose fantasies*. Neither the journal nor the novel was published during his lifetime. From an early

age Kenelm showed a passion for books and book-learning, and Moshenska's narrative method – each section is prefaced by a paragraph or so from *Loose fantasies* – emphasises the way in which fact and fiction are blurred in his life, both by the novelistic character of many of its events and by Kenelm's own interior life, constantly informed by his reading.

Digby was the elder son of one of the Catholic gunpowder plotters, and his father was executed for treason when Kenelm was a small child: this is the 'stain in the blood' of the book's title. Kenelm and his brother were brought up quietly in Buckinghamshire and educated by their devout Catholic mother. Moshenska demonstrates vividly how in the early part of his life Kenelm was driven by the need to try to wash out this stain and prove himself both brave and loyal. Thanks to the patronage of his distant cousin, John Digby, later Earl of Bristol, in 1617 the 14-year-old found himself in Madrid, where Digby was ambassador. This was the start of his passion for the sights, sounds and tastes (he was interested in food and cooking, in art, and in languages, all his life) of foreign places. It was here that he watched the extraordinary fiasco of the visit by Prince Charles and Buckingham, who arrived incognito to take a look at Charles's prospective bride, the Spanish Infanta, but found it difficult to leave again on account of the breach of protocol: it was the stuff of farce, but also a serious diplomatic incident. However, from that time Charles was kindly disposed to Kenelm, although Buckingham in his later role as belligerent Protestant, put obstacles in the way of the planned Mediterranean voyage.

The narrative method is one of the strengths of this book. Another is the skilful way in which Moshenska sets the personal story in its complicated historical context, political, religious, and intellectual: born in the year of James I's accession, Kenelm lived through Charles I's reign, the Civil War and the Interregnum, and the Restoration. In 1630 he converted to Anglicanism under the influence of Laud, and of the interests of his own career, but reverted to Catholicism five years later. He secretly married Venetia Stanley, whom he had met when he was in his early teens, and had two sons with her before their marriage became public knowledge, although rumours abounded. From his days at Oxford as a young teenager, he was fascinated by astrology and alchemy, and after Venetia's sudden early death in 1633 he moved to Paris and spent much of his time doing chemical experiments. He was an early fellow of the Royal Society.

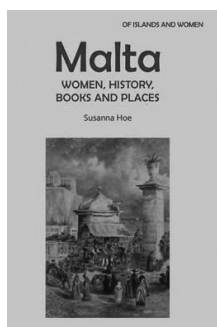
Kenelm had an official commission from Charles for his voyage, but frequently behaved like a pirate: Moshenska conveys well the blurred lines between state-sponsored war, privateering and piracy. Kenelm was clearly a very brave man, as well as one of great personal charm: he had some spectacular successes, notably freeing fifty English slaves from Algiers. He managed, very unusually, to meet some women in Algiers: it would be fascinating to know how he was able to do this. His voyage contributed to making him open-minded about people whose lives and views were very different from his own: in the Ottoman Empire he recognised that there was a porousness between Islam and Christianity that was in strong contrast to the black and white view portrayed in the English theatre, for example. Later in his life he became friends with two fiercely Protestant men, Oliver Cromwell and John Winthrop. Curiosity was one of his defining characteristics.

There were places where I found the fictionalising unnecessary, for example in sentences like this: 'He turned from the shelves and shuffled slowly towards the doorway, glancing as he went into the adjoining chambers' (6). There are some irritating gaps in the references: Moshenska doesn't tell us where the allegorical portrait of Venetia is, for example (the National Portrait Gallery) – nor does he tell us that this portrait is thought to be posthumous. And I would love to know what happened to the huge tome that Kenelm left to his only surviving son, containing 'the History of the Family of the Digbys', but perhaps its fate is unknown. The map is inadequate. It would have been helpful to explain that Delphi and Delos were confused at that time (the site of Delphi had not yet been discovered). Personally, I found the subdivision by date in the index unhelpful: the book is arranged chronologically, so the index needs to be broken down in a different way. There are also too many long strings of references that have not been subdivided.

Overall, however, this is a book to appeal greatly to ASTENE readers. Moshenska's concluding section raises something that I have felt strongly in relation to other seventeenth-century travellers (e.g. John Finch, Restoration ambassador to the Porte): 'both intimately familiar to me and insuperably alien' (370). Perhaps the very name we give to the period, 'early modern', is an indication of the fascinated ambivalence with which we interact with its characters.

Lucy Pollard

Hoe, Susanna, *Malta: Women, History, Books and Places*, Holo Books, 2015, 420pp, 10 0957215355, 13 9780957215351, £19.99.



In her book *Malta: Women, History, Books and Places*, Susanna Hoe takes the reader on a journey through time, by writing about women and their role in shaping the history of the Maltese Islands, namely, Malta and Gozo (hereby referred with the collective term, Malta). Her work is an important contribution in recreating the history of Malta, that is traditionally marked with events that emphasise battle, conquest and rule, hence, highlighting the stereotype of men in power. As Hoe writes in the preface, the female perspective in rewriting history often requires one to take on the laborious task of searching for details. She has succeeded in doing this by presenting a reference source for scholars and others who would like to access a good overview of the women whose names remain significant for their contribution and presence in the ever changing Maltese social fabric. The book is also enriched with constant references to other specialised works which are well organised in a subdivided bibliography of: works written by and about women; historical articles; internet sources; and other general references. As the title of the book indicates, Hoe also gives due importance to 'places', of which descriptions enrich the context of the women's sojourn or activities, especially when they are sourced from the women's own memoirs.

The chapters are organized chronologically, ranging from the female representations of prehistoric times to women's active participation in the political scene of the mid-twentieth century post-war period. Hoe begins from the Neolithic and Megalithic periods and the Bronze Age, where one gets the first pictures of how life for women could have been. An overview of archeological studies in view of representations of femininity is presented within a background of the gender perspective in archeological discourse and material culture interpretations.

Non-native women who left a mark in Malta do actually make up the majority of the names mentioned in the book. Indeed, one could easily get the impression of invisibility of the local women since reference to them is relatively minimal. However, one needs to understand this in the context of Malta as a colonised country until its accession to independence in 1964. Before this year, Malta had passed through centuries of occupation by different colonisers, mainly due to its strategic geographical position between the orient and the occident. The image of a colonised country thus stands out throughout the book, and Hoe makes us aware of this when she discusses her choice of coverage up to the mid-twentieth century. One would have to revert to other authors in order to learn about the participation of Maltese women in the public scene of post-modern times.

Being an island, Malta's ports and cities served to offer a temporary sojourn to the many travellers crossing the Mediterranean. Hoe takes the reader through various episodes of the comings and goings of women, and brings to light interesting episodes of Malta as a host country. For example, reference to the Russian refugees after the Russian revolution in 1919, and to refugees (including repatriated Maltese) arriving from Smyrna (now Izmir) in 1922, shows that Malta has to some extent always been a receiving place for varying types of travellers. These and other accounts of mobility may challenge the contemporary discourse on migration flows in the Mediterranean as being a post-modern phenomenon.

Another recurring theme in the book is that of women as carers. Hoe shows how women members of the more affluent society of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries were active as philanthropists and used their own financial and social capital to set up organisations that provided shelter for prostitutes; for unmarried mothers; and supported young women who were brought up in orphanages. This was no small feat considering the predominant conservative Catholicism of the islands. Later, in the early twentieth centuries, the female caring model emerged as women pursued professional careers, becoming, for example, at the forefront of reforming nursing in Malta. In this case, there is an intersection with the previously mentioned theme of Malta as a host, this time round, for the sick and the wounded during the major wars. The Maltese traditional historical narrative does in fact make constant use of metaphors that depict Malta as

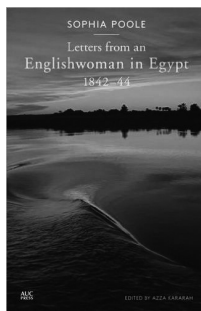
'hanina' (caring); 'rebbieha' (victorious); and 'Nurse of the Mediterranean', the nickname with which Hoe opens her chapter devoted to 'Women and Medicine 1846-1909'.

As much as the 'caring' model is consistent, it is however not exclusive, and Hoe shows this by referring to other women who specialised in other sectors. An interesting discovery was to learn that there were quite a number of female archeologists involved at the beginning of the twentieth century in carrying out excavation works in Malta. They hailed from the colonising country of that time, Britain. The chapter 'Women and Work 1803-1900', is dedicated to women, including locals, who pioneered in their artistic talents; in the introduction of different handicraft skills, such as lace-making; in their entrepreneurship; and in other aspects that are mainly how women have always worked and strived to sustain themselves, their families, and their communities.

As the chapters of the book progress towards the mid-twentieth century, the narrative revolves around issues related to class consciousness, and national identity. Women in politics is in fact the final main theme, which is skilfully intertwined with the description of the emergence of party politics in Malta. Hoe thus remains consistent in presenting sociological and feminist perspectives that are embedded in historical evidence, and her work should be given its due importance by social scientists and historians alike, in researching further about women in Malta.

Nathalie Grima

Poole, Sophia, *Letters from an Englishwoman in Egypt, 1842-44*. Edited by Azza Kararah. Cairo, New York: The American University in Cairo Press, 2016, xix -257 pp, paperback copy, isbn 978-977-416-762-1



Sophia Poole, the sister of Edward W. Lane, pioneering Egyptologist and Orientalist, with her

two adolescent boys, accompanied her brother to Egypt on his third and final trip, 1842-1849, to devote himself almost hermit-like to work on his Lexicon of the Arabic language. Poole writes in her Preface that it was Lane who had suggested she collect information "accessible only to a lady ...into the mode of life of the higher classes of the ladies." At the same time Lane would make accessible to her his own "notes" of his unpublished *Description of Egypt*. Sophia, thus, was given a project. A determined and energetic lady, in addition to coping in a new language and a new environment, seeing to her brother's domestic wellbeing and insulation as well as to the education of her boys, Sophia set about immediately to write, not only the letters of the book's title, but an additional eleven letters from January 1845 to March 1846 – forty-one letters in all. The original title of her book was to be *Letters from an English Harem in Egypt*.

One approaches the contents of the paperback edition of this book with a touch of temporal dislocation. How else to interpret the ambivalence suggested by the cover's vivid and swirling colors of a setting sun over the Nile, a scene which in no way conveys to the reader a sense of the book's contents. Do the colors suggest new material for the Victorian audience, or is the setting sun emblematic of Egypt's past?

For the 19th century reader Poole's point of view was novel and instructive. As a descriptive witness, she published the first English account of harem life in Egypt which became one of the classic studies of Middle East women. Poole, unlike other contemporary and later lady commentators (Harriet Martineau, Florence Nightingale), was no casual visitor. She resided in Cairo and could speak Arabic although not the Turkish of the upper class. Her friend Mrs. Alice Lieder provided her with the introductions to the harems of Muhammad Ali's wives and daughters that she wrote about. She described wedding processions ("so gay, so brilliant and so strikingly Eastern" (p. 143) and wedding gifts and "Eastern magnificence" (p. 230), for whose imagery she had to resort to the Thousand and one Nights. Mrs. Poole also had her brother's authoritative unpublished text on Cairo and Egypt from which she appropriated whole chapters or letters (V, VI, IX, XVI, XXVI, XXVIII, and Letter VI of May 1845). All of this was novel and exciting material for the 19th century reader.

Also new to her readers were the corrections she made to the licentious over-imaginings and

commercially appealing scenes with which Western artists depicted the harems of the Oriental despot. Poole was impressed by the harmonious co-existence among plural wives in the harem system (p. 126), by the inmates' courtesy and grace of manners (p. 133), by their strict morality (p.137), and by the generational respect for elders (p. 182). For Poole, the worst features of harem life involved the suffering to wives by the threat of divorce and consequent expulsion (p.145), that the wishes of daughters about marriage were not considered (p. 142), and the "grossly indelicate" language used by lady inmates unmodulated by the male presence (p. 185)

In the twenty-first century Poole's descriptions are perhaps read with less edification. She herself was aware of the pitfalls of her endeavor: "In examining the effects of the peculiar position in which females are here placed, I have endeavoured to divest myself of prejudices; but altogether to lose sight of our English standards of propriety has been impossible" (p. 184) "...I shall therefore content myself with offering to you [the reader] detached sketches...to resemble a dissected map...and you may amuse yourself by trying to put them together" (p. 185). But her Victorian and Christian influences are hard to mask. She had no intimate Egyptian informant, her female intermediary being Mrs Alice Lieder of the Missionary Society. Thanks to Jason

Thompson's research on Edward W. Lane, not only is Lane's *Description of Egypt* available, but so also is Thompson's biography of Lane in which he devotes almost a hundred pages to these very years (1842-45) providing a context for Sophia's time and efforts in Cairo.¹

When her book appeared in England in 1844 Sophia was not happy with the many mistakes and misprints. Are the misprints in Ms. Kararah's version a faithful replica of the original mistakes or did they slip by unintentionally? For example on page 200, Mrs. Lieder is referred to as "dead" instead of "dear", and on page 201, instead of Muslim she refers to "Muslin parents."

Cairo, and the life of its citizens has greatly changed in the one hundred and seventy years between Poole's then and the current reader's now. Her appreciation of the past is still enjoyable as in her description of the view from a window in Muhammad Ali's palace on the Citadel: "The cemetery of Kaïd Bey lay beneath...Never did the majestic beauty of that group of mosques and tombs so charm me, and never did the deep solitude and solemn stillness ever reigning among those monuments seem to me so deep and still."

Caroline Williams

¹ Edward William Lane: *Description of Egypt*, edited and with an introduction by Jason Thompson, The American University in Cairo Press, 2000, and Jason Thompson: *Edward William Lane, 1801-1876: The Life of the Pioneering Egyptologist and Orientalist*, The American University in Cairo Press, 2010, pp. 495-590

ARTICLES

We are delighted to be able to publish a selection of papers from the 2015 ASTENE conference at Exeter. The first of these focuses on the 'Views of an Antique Land' project at Cardiff University.

Views of an Antique Land: some results

The Views of an Antique Land project, which is based at Cardiff University and funded by a grant from the *Heritage Lottery Fund* seeks to collect images of Egypt and Palestine which were taken during the First World War. It is hoped that the project will serve as a pilot study for a wider project looking at images of these regions over a longer period, perhaps from the birth of photography through to the 1970s and 1980s as in this way it

will be more readily possible to chart the changes to archaeological sites as well as towns and cities and to record details of changes which have taken place almost imperceptibly and have not been properly recorded.

One of the advantages of the current project is that the images it collects come from a closely defined time period – 1914-1918/19 and in the case of images which have been taken by service personnel themselves they are often more closely dated, sometimes giving not only a year but the day and month too. These images are valuable not only in terms of what they can tell us about archaeological sites but also about military history.

It was always expected that a majority of images submitted to the project, usually via one of our roadshow events, would be military in nature. However, we had not expected to see the range of military subjects which have emerged. This is particularly surprising since there was, theoretically, a ban on photography by soldiers. This was issued with the Western Front in mind and it seems that it was really only in that theatre that the ban was upheld (with varying degrees of success). The themes which have come into the project are those which are reflected in Western Front images - namely soldiers relaxing, views of military hardware, destruction of landscapes and, more rarely, of the dead. There is, however, another group of images which are perhaps peculiar to Egypt and Palestine - namely views of a land which was known to the soldiers from their religious upbringing. It is very common to see albums which have postcards or photographs of the places associated with the Bible or which relate to well-known Egyptian pharaohs. One could argue that this is simply the equivalent of buying postcard of a well-known European cathedral or chateau for those on the Western Front, but the text of some of the cards makes it clear that there is a real, and often religiously inspired, connection between the place and the sender.

Because the soldiers are not usually well informed about the archaeological sites they visit they sometimes take views which a professional photographer or archaeologist might not, sometimes using the monument simply as a backdrop against which to show friends and colleagues. These views, we hope, might be particularly valuable in documenting areas of ancient monuments which are not usually recorded.

The Views of an Antique Land project has the aim not only of recording images of archaeological sites and landscapes but of providing a site which commemorates those whose people who served in Egypt and Palestine during the First World War and which makes accessible to their descendants images showing where those people served. There are plenty of such sites for those whose ancestors were on the Western Front but the Palestine campaign is very poorly served.

Our aim is to collect, digitally, photographs from private archives. These we try to identify where we can and make available via our website (<http://sites.cardiff.ac.uk/ww1imagesegypt/>). The site, which is currently nearing its finished form, will then allow

users to submit information to supplement those descriptions provided by our team. The digital versions of photographs and postcards provided by donors and available on the website are covered by the Creative Commons License that permits sharing for non-commercial purposes. It is not unlikely, given the depth of information on some images, that users may be able to identify relatives in some of the pictures or at least to identify some of those individuals with whom their ancestors served. Similarly, some of the military sites and actions are likely to be identifiable to the many keen military historians who form part of our intended user group.

So, what have we learned so far, apart from the fact that the ban on photography was ignored in the Palestine campaign? Amongst the photographs so far donated we have a large number showing soldiers seated on camels in front of the pyramids and sphinx. This is hardly a surprise, given the same kinds of photographs are taken with tourists to this day. It is still less surprising perhaps given that there were military camps in the area of the pyramids - most notably the Mena camp.



Group of soldiers in camp, possibly the Mena Camp. 1915.
Donor Paul Nicholson.

However, what we see regularly is that some of the images show the servicemen alongside a small sign with a number on it. This was the means by which the local photographer identified the individuals in the picture and knew to which group to come with his printed photograph in order to make a sale. There is usually an Egyptian guide in the photograph, often holding one of the camels and the same individual features in several of our images. This was clearly a well organised industry and operated in much the same way as it did until recently, when photographs of visitors were brought along to local hotels to sell to particular tour groups. Among the groups we have a well dated example showing 63 wounded soldiers from the Mena House,

well-known as a grand hotel, which served as a hospital during the war. It would be interesting to know how many of the original Mena House hotel staff might have continued in employment while it served as a hospital and might therefore have been in a position to advise servicemen on places to visit and suitable short itineraries.



63 wounded soldiers from the Mena House in front of the sphinx. 16 May 1916 (date photograph taken written on back). Donor Paul Nicholson

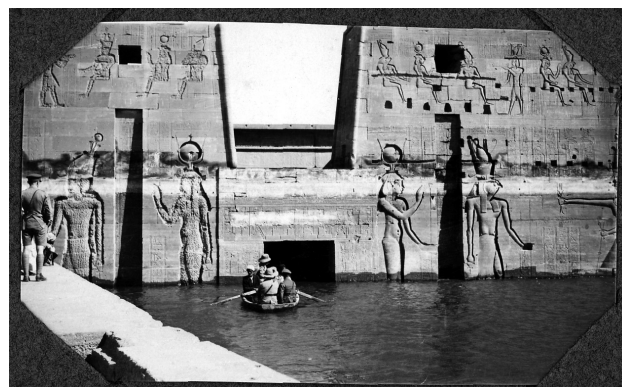
As well as the photographing of troops at the pyramids themselves some photographers evidently went into the camps and photographed the soldiers during their leisure time. Such images are sometimes stamped with a crudely made rubber stamp declaring 'Souvenir of Egypt 1915' or similar.

Beyond the pyramids and camps however, it is common to find pictures which were taken by the soldiers themselves. Whilst cameras were expensive the Vest Pocket Kodak, which was marketed as 'the soldiers camera' from 1915 was fairly common and it and more expensive models were certainly common amongst officers. We have found that some officers evidently had accounts with photographic dealers in Cairo who would send film to them in Palestine so that they could continue their photography after they had left Cairo. We have an example of such an order written on official army order-paper making it clear that the prohibition of photography – if it was ever intended to apply more widely than the Western Front – was ignored.

The soldiers with their personal cameras often made an interesting record of their leisure visits. There are lots of pictures featuring Ezbekiah gardens and the Cairo zoo which were popular and accessible tourist destinations for all ranks (and remained so during the Second World War). Exotic zoo animals were particularly popular subjects. Soldiers sometimes seem to have followed the kind of visitor

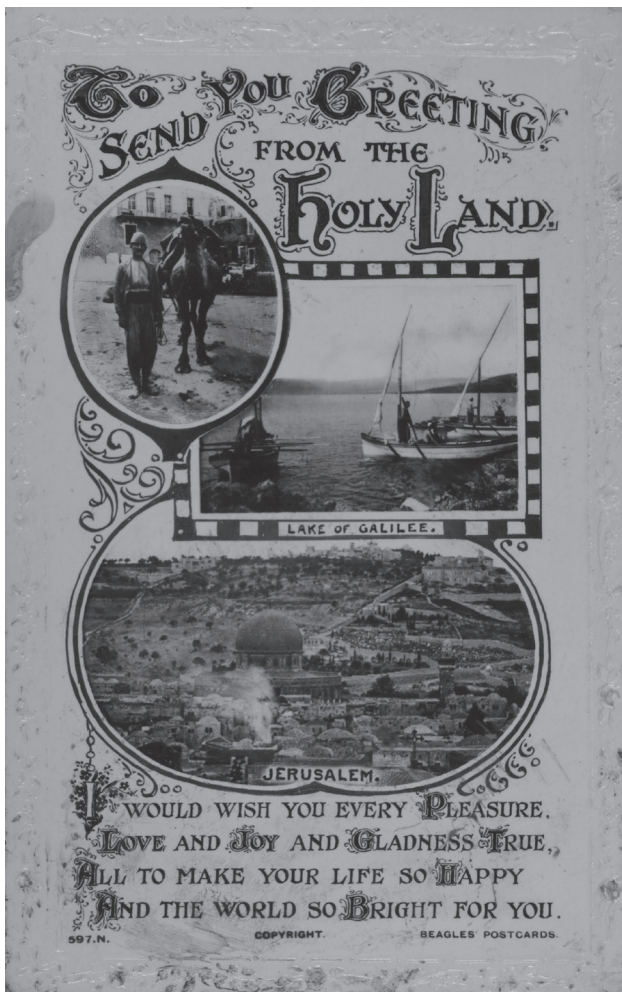
itineraries that were already established for visitors before the war. For example, for soldiers based near Cairo, a trip to see the obelisk at Heliopolis would usually also involve a visit to the Virgin's Tree at Matariyeh and the nearby ostrich farm. All of these are well represented in both postcards and personal photographs.

Some individuals – most of them officers – seem to have had the resources, or possibly duties, beyond the usual realms of Cairo and Alexandria. As a result we have a number of images showing Karnak and Luxor temples, some of them annotated with historical information. The Valley of the Kings and the temples of the West Bank also feature, suggesting that officers in particular may have had either protracted periods of leave during which they were able to make long journeys from Cairo or that they were posted to these areas. Sadly we do not always have sufficient information on an individual photographer to be sure which was the case. This is something which may in part be resolved by the contribution of users of the website who are more familiar with the regimental or individual postings than are we.



Officers on a guided visit by boat to Philae, the great temple of Isis. From the collection of photographs taken by Major H.J. Butchart, Scottish Horse. No date. Donor James Black.

Aside from the kind of tours which would have been open to tourists before the war, we have sometimes been able to track individual tours of duty by particular servicemen. One example is that of Private Horace Lewis, who served in the Welsh Regiment and regularly sent postcards back to his sister in south Wales, whose journey can be traced from Egypt, through Palestine and back to Britain via Marseilles. His is one of the collections where the photographs and postcards are very well dated and help to provide some context for untitled and undated images from other donors.



Postcard from the Holy Land sent by Private Horace Lewis, Royal Welsh, to his sister in south Wales. Christmas 1918 (written by Private Lewis on the back). Donor Mary Lister.

For those individuals who did not have cameras with which to photograph the monuments and sights of Egypt and Palestine there were postcards. These had the advantage of mass availability, having been taken by professional photographers and included captions providing information about location which can be helpful in identifying uncaptioned images. Postcards, however, also present a particular problem for the project in that although many are dated the date refers only to the time they were sent and not to the date at which the picture was made. Some of the images are very definitely pre-war and are known from postcards made at the end of the nineteenth century. Sometimes the format of the card is changed but the image is many years out of date. As a result these are used with caution and we hope that users of the website will help us to identify images which were still in circulation long after they were originally photographed.

Paul Nicholson, Steve Mills & Hilary Rees

Members of ASTENE are invited to submit relevant images and information to the website and participation in identifying images at all stages of the project is very welcome. The project members can be contacted directly at ww1imagesegypt@cardiff.ac.uk.



Our second article from the conference is by David Kennedy:

Western Travellers to Petra in 1857

“Of a Sunday, Wall Street is deserted as Petra; and every night of every day it is an emptiness” (Herman Melville *“Bartleby, the Scrivener: A Story of Wall Street”*, 1856 (1853): 65).

The years following Johann Burckhardt’s rediscovery of Petra in 1812 saw a trickle of further western adventurers. The publication in 1830 of Léon de Laborde’s detailed and profusely illustrated volumes from his visit of 1828 gave a significant impetus to interest and a number of ‘firsts’ – the first woman and first American (both in 1836), the first negro (also American), the first scientific expedition (1837) and the first westerner to visit twice (1837, 1857). Indeed, after 1835 it was rare for there to be no visitors to the ancient city in any given year. A few travelled south from Palestine through the Wadi Arabah or through Moab; most, however, undertook the long ‘desert route’ on camel from Cairo via Suez, Mt Sinai, Aqaba then Petra and on to Hebron and Jerusalem. A gruelling journey of about 40 days but a tempting add-on for some of the large numbers regularly visiting Egypt.

Two lists are available of those known to have visited Petra between 1812 and 1914. The first was published in 1904 and is based on the record made in 1897 of the scores of graffiti left by some of the westerners on the walls of monuments at Petra, especially the Khazneh. Combining these names with a literature search produced a valuable tabulation unsurpassed for a century. The late (ASTENE stalwart) Norman Lewis drew up a list in 2004 which he generously circulated privately and is now ‘published’ on the internet (<http://www.jordanjubilee.com/history/petra-bibliography.htm>). Neither list made any

pretence to completeness; indeed, the citing of a published account by an individual was made in the full knowledge that the work frequently included references to other western travelling companions. Nevertheless, the two lists may give a misleading impression of the scale of this tourism and risks underestimating the impact of these travellers and their economic impact on the often desperately poor people they employed or encountered. Even in the dozen years since Lewis' list was compiled, the resources and tools available to researchers have developed dramatically through the opportunities created by internet search engines and the digitisation of so many old books, magazines and newspapers, and unpublished records. The following is a summary of recent research into western travellers to Petra in a single year picked at random from the entire 1812-1914 period.

The two lists are in agreement about western visitors to Petra in 1857 – one 'party' consisting of a single individual, the German J. B. Roth. There were certainly more as Roth's brief article explicitly says that he timed his rapid visit from Palestine with news from Egypt that other westerners had already set off across the desert who – he hoped, would attract the attention of the beduin and spare him their attentions. The following year – 1858, saw the publication of the first edition of *Murray's Handbook for Travellers in Syria and Palestine* which included a brief section on Petra which reports (1858: 1, 41):

During the spring of the present year [1857] travellers have encountered more than usual difficulty in their visits to Petra. It appears that the 'Alawin were engaged in some war in the interior of the desert, and could not be got to 'Akabah to form an escort. The Fellahin too, who inhabit the defiles of Wady Musa, showed an insolence and a rapacity far beyond even all former experience. Whether this was owing to the absence of the 'Alawin it may be difficult to say; but I rather think it is just a part of that spirit of insubordination which is creeping over the whole of Syria. Be this as it may, no party, I believe, was permitted to remain more than about 24 hrs amid the ruins, and during that time they were exposed to every species of outrage and violence. Every traveller was 'dogged' from cave to cave, and from glen to glen, by parties of armed savages, shouting and yelling, and often putting knives to his throat and guns to his breast, while they demanded bakhshish: some were not permitted to visit certain prominent buildings except by paying a large extra fee: articles of dress, tent furniture, and arms were openly snatched from

others, and only given up on payment of a ransom: and one large party, for attempting to resist the exactions of these ruffians, were deliberately fired upon in their tent, and had a servant dangerously wounded.

In short, there were evidently other 'parties' apart from Roth who was there very briefly and essentially untroubled, and one at least was 'large'.

Several publications (books, a magazine article and a newspaper report), can now be mustered to fill out the details of these other parties. Although published in the 19th century, none of them were known to either of the previous list-compilers. In addition there are four diaries/ journals by participants; one has been published just recently (2010, 2012) but the others remain only as archival manuscripts. Between them they permit the establishment of a very busy year with eleven or more parties – some travelling as groups, comprising at least 57 travellers including five women.

Group/ Party	Route to Petra	Dates Petra	Number	Comment
French Party	Jerusalem – Hebron – Petra – Hebron - Jerusalem	1?-3 January	2	
American Party	Jerusalem – Hebron – Petra – Hebron - Jerusalem	2-3 January	5-10?	'... one large party ...'
English and American Group	- Aqaba – Petra -	1-3 April	c. 12 (1F)	'... about twelve English and Americans ...'
Anonymous Group - Anonymous English Party - Anonymous Party 1 - Anonymous Party 2 - Lunt Party	Cairo – Mt Sinai – Aqaba – Nakhl – Petra – Hebron - Jerusalem	2-4 April	21 (3F) 10 (1F) 11 (2F)	
Roth Party	Jerusalem - Hebron - Wadi el-'Araba - Jabal Harun - Petra - Wadi el-'Araba - 'Aqaba - Hebron - Jerusalem.	19-20 April	1	
Robertson Group - Robertson Party - English Party - Bolen Party	Cairo – Mt Sinai – Aqaba – Petra – Hebron - Jerusalem	22-23 April	18 10 6 2 (1F)	
TOTAL			57-62+ (3F)	
?Lord John Scott Group? - Lord John Scott Party - Irish Party	Cairo – Mt Sinai – Aqaba –	Arrived at Aqaba 17 April	5+ (3F) 1+ 4 (3F)	

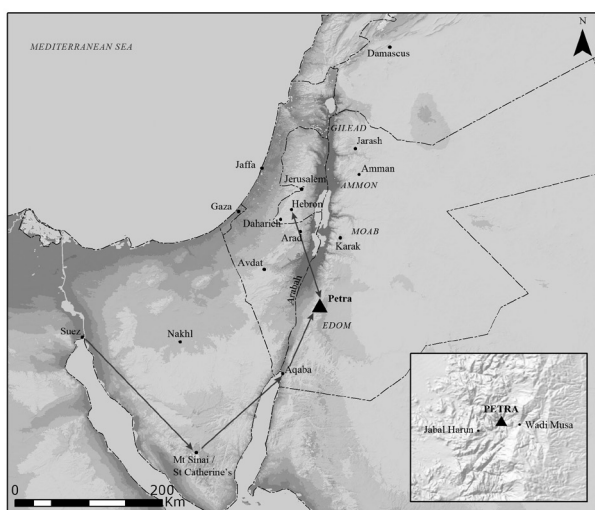
Table 1: Western visitors to Petra in 1857

The people involved in these visits have stories to tell about their experiences and their impressions. In some cases the experience was an adventure and rather too exciting. Not just hardship of c. 40 days on camels - a beast unfamiliar even to people accustomed to riding horses, but injury and illness, danger from threatening and at times violent beduin and the people of Petra. Of the three score westerners tabulated above, one – an American, died at Aqaba a few days before his party reached Petra; a second - an Englishman, was too ill at Petra to explore and died a few days later in the Wadi Arabah. Despite the hardships, most would have agreed with the

handful who actually published their accounts, that it was all worth it. To pick out just one amongst many, the unpublished account of Archibald McIntyre Robertson, the son of Scottish immigrants to the USA, can serve as an example. Robertson gives an account of the occasion he struck the neck off a bottle of ‘porter’, which exploded firing fragments of glass in all directions, including one piece that cut open his face across his mouth and to the gums. He was sewn up by a colleague but for many subsequent days could take only liquids and those sucked through a piece of dry macaroni. He was clear, however (retaining his spelling):

Just as we were about entering its gigantic walls [the Siq], we were suddenly surprised by coming tête à tête with the most beautiful and perfect specimen of Roman architecture I ever looked upon. ... I thought I never saw anything half so handsome, it consisted of a temple cut entirely of the face of the mountain. I am not given much to exclamation of delight or surprise but I must confess I did give utterance to a “How magnificent” ... my visit to Petra will be one which I will never forget, I consider it the gem of the Desert. Without this I would have (I am sorry to say) voted this whole trip a grand bore, ... (Robertson MSS 183, Tuesday 22 April, 1857).

There may well be more travellers yet to discover though this tally is already remarkable for the large numbers involved. Indeed, it may, in part at least, be the scale of the enterprise, all of it in a space of less than four months, which gave rise to some of the troubles encountered. These westerners were plainly – in the eyes of the deeply impoverished Beduin and even the semi-Beduin of Petra, rich, offering scope for their own enrichment. Moreover, even to this day, Beduin and rural people in Jordan,



are quite convinced western archaeologists expect to find gold; indeed, may be digging precisely for that. How much more so a century and a half ago when British, Americans, French and a dozen other western nationalities put themselves to considerable expense and very real hardship, to visit Petra. It could not possibly be solely for something as improbable as seeing the ruins of Petra.

Westerners naturally have long been interested in the ‘reception’ of the reports, drawings, paintings and photographs brought back from Petra. Illustrations were soon widely published in books and inexpensive magazines, and what the earliest lacked in accuracy was made up for in the evident magical nature of the place. One traveller explicitly tells us of a fellow traveller – a Scotsman who insisted even at Petra in wearing his native costume, who could be seen standing in the upper seats of the theatre, comparing his view with the sketch by Laborde in 1840. But the impact of these westerners on the societies they encountered in Sinai, Edom and at Petra itself, needs attention. Most obviously it was economic – people whose everyday life was at subsistence level now saw an additional and substantial stream of income which impacted on their lives but also stoked dissension. More than that, people who were often poorly clothed and reliant on outdated and often defective equipment - including their guns, encountered western costume, sophisticated equipment (including state-of-the-art guns) and a great range of all of these as the equipment lists published in some contemporary accounts set out. And they encountered western women. A few who had been to Cairo or Jerusalem would have seen westerners before but now large numbers of people met them in the heart of the desert and at Petra.

The evidence for this year and for western visitors to Petra is rich and varied. A detailed account will form part of a book in preparation (*East of Jordan: Travel and Western Travellers in Nineteenth Century Jordan*) which will explore the problems caused by language, culture and religion and the economic and political impact; visitors included famous people (Edward Lear, Richard Oglesby and the Rev. Dr Lyman Coleman); and – a rare occurrence, four unvarnished journals have survived from members of the same party which give a rather more frank account of the relationships and dynamics of travellers thrust together for several weeks in immensely difficult conditions.

David Kennedy, University of Western Australia

Roger de Keersmaecker's latest article on graffiti focuses on Dimitrios Papandriopulos:

Papandriopulos Demetrio

Dimitrios Papandriopulos was born in 1798 on the island of Lenos. He was the son of a merchant. His father spent most of his time in Cairo. At age ten Dimitrios Papandriopulos decided to go see his father. On 7 August 1809 he boarded a ship on Lenos and reached Cairo on 11 September. He spent twelve months with his father who taught him the trade of a merchant. He was named after his father Thanasis (in Greek Θανάσης) Gianni tou Thanasi (in Greek Γιάννη του Θανάση = Giannis, the son of Thanasis), from which was derived the Italian form Giovanni d'Athanasia, under which name he became known. Giovanni d'Athanasia attended school for two years, first in Cairo and then in Alexandria.

In March of 1813 he began working as an interpreter for the English Consul General Colonel Ernest Missett. On 13 March 1815 he accompanied him to Alexandria to meet Henry Salt, the successor of Missett. Giovanni d'Athanasia decided to work for Henry Salt as a translator for Arabic and Turkish in the future and not to go to Italy with Missett. Through the Swiss Jean Louis Burckhardt Henry Salt met the Italian Giovanni Battista Belzoni, who would later assist him in finding ancient Egyptian art treasures. Since Belzoni had a hard time making himself understood during his first expedition to Upper Egypt, he got Giovanni d'Athanasia and Mr Beechy to assist him. In March of 1817 they left for Luxor but, apart from the huge head of Ramses II in the Ramesseum, they hardly found anything noteworthy. Afterwards, they went to Abu Simbel and freed the entrance from sand so they could examine the inside more closely. On their journey back to Luxor, they also visited Philae. During excavations in the Valley of the Kings they eventually discovered the tomb, KV30, which held an alabaster sarcophagus. Contrary to his assignment, Belzoni decided to dig near the Pyramids of Giza on his own initiative. So he and d'Athanasia went to see the competent Bey and pretended to be acting on behalf of the English Consul General. They obtained authorisation and workers and tried to find the entrance to the Pyramid of Chephren.

On 2 March 1818, after 15 days – d'Athanasia had been leading the excavations from time to time –

they first found two columns of the causeway and then the entrance itself. After a few more days of exploration, Henry Salt finally made his appearance at the excavation site and was informed of the unauthorized action by Belzoni. Discussions arose between Henry Salt and Bernardino Drovetti following the alleged discovery of Berenike by the researcher Frédéric Cailliaud. In 1818, an expedition, led by Belzoni, went into the desert to the east of Esna. In the mountains they discovered an Egyptian temple near a Ptolemaic emerald mine. The foundation walls they unearthed in the vicinity were identified, contrary to Cailliaud, as the huts of mine workers. They journeyed further to the coast of the Red Sea, where a native gave d'Athanasia the vital clue that ultimately led him to find the right Berenike. In 1819, Giovanni d'Athanasia, along with William John Bankes, Henry William Beechey, Alessandro Ricci und John Hyde, embarked on a perilous journey to Dongola. The Sheikh of Nubia, Hassan Kaschef, gave them camels as well as a letter of recommendation addressed to his brother Mohammed Kaschef.

The group first visited the Temple of Semnis. After that, they intended to cross the Nile to get to Mohammed Kaschef. But since the camel-drivers were afraid to lose their animals during the crossing, they fled with their camels. When they finally made it to Amara and met with Mohammed Kaschef, they handed him the letter and received a generous welcome. However, Kaschef demanded a firearm from John Hyde, who refused as they did not want to do without on the perilous journey. From then on, they were treated poorly by Kaschef and he provided them only with a donkey and camel to continue their journey. They still visited the Temple of Amara and then returned to Egypt.

Since Henry Salt had terminated the collaboration with Belzoni, d'Athanasia was the one who supplied him with artefacts now. In this way he bought up numerous papyri. From the tomb KV11, the tomb of Ramses III he retrieved the granite sarcophagus, which is now on display at the Louvre museum. In 1820, he discovered the tomb-chapel of Nebamun. Many scenes from the well-preserved murals were removed by d'Athanasia for the collection of Henry Salt. As a consequence, they have been destroyed to such an extent that they can no longer be clearly identified. In 1821, Giannis found a Greek papyrus in a tomb from the Greek period. In 1824, he found a tomb which contained the mummies of three musketeers along with their instruments, a

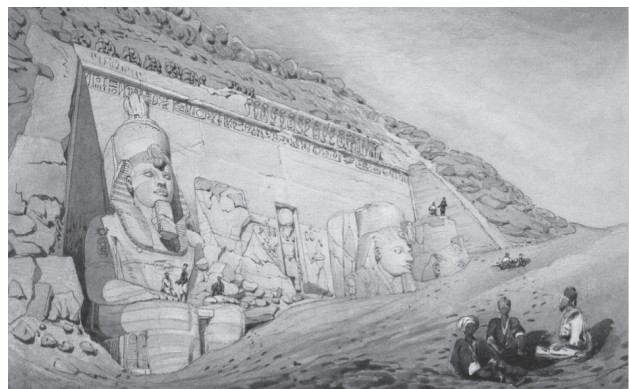
harp with 22 strings, a drum made of copper and a type of mandolin. Together with Henry Salt, he discovered a Nilometer on Elephantine Island in the Nile. Shortly before Henry Salt's death, he sent his art treasures collected in Egypt to his brother-in-law Pietro Santoni. In 1827, d'Athanasios travelled there and took them to London. In 1836, he put parts of them up for auction. In 1837, at an auction at Sotheby's which lasted seven days, several hundred artefacts were sold.

D'Athanasios returned again and again to Egypt and was now supplying the new Consul General John Deal Barker with antique artefacts. Anne Lohrli presumes that the Turkish friend of Charles Dickens, who is said to have collaborated on Turkish Poems on the War, was in fact Giovanni d'Athanasios. On 19 December 1854, d'Athanasios died a poor man in a London hostel. Already in 1830, he had borrowed 50 scudi from the Danish sculptor Bertel Thorvaldsen. On 3 November, Johannes Riepenhausen wrote to Thorvaldsen that he needed more time to settle the debt and offered him a few antiquities. It was not until 1837 that he managed to repay the sum. Giovanni d'Athanasios lived in a house in al-Qurna for a while, in the immediate vicinity English artist and architect. He was born London 27 February 1799, son of John James Catherwood, and Anne. He died in the sinking of ss"Artic" off Cape Race, Newfoundland of the Tomb of Night, which had not yet been discovered at that point. He became friends with John Gardner Wilkinson, who also lived there. Through the close contact with the locals he became acquainted with their customs. This allowed him to develop a good relationship with the men, whom he needed for his expeditions in the area. During his excavations in Western Thebes he opened a great many tombs and became an expert in the field of mummification, burial rites and tomb construction. He reported that he had met with Jean-François Champollion in Spain, and that they had talked about demotic papyri from tombs. D'Athanasios complained about the behaviour of a few Europeans; he reportedly showed Frédéric Cailliaud a tomb and allowed him to make copies of the murals. The latter, however, began cutting the frescos out of the wall with hammer and chisel. He had agreed with Joseph Bonomi to make a copy of a mural for Henry Salt, but that one never got it. Karl Richard Lepsius did not know that Giovanni d'Athanasios and Dimitrios Papandriopoulos were one and the same person and was surprised there was a sarcophagus on display at the Berlin Museum that was allegedly discovered

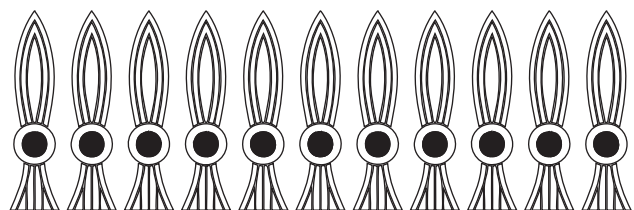
by both persons. (Source for the above: Wikipedia der freien Enzyklopädie, German translated in English, by Peggy Pooters).

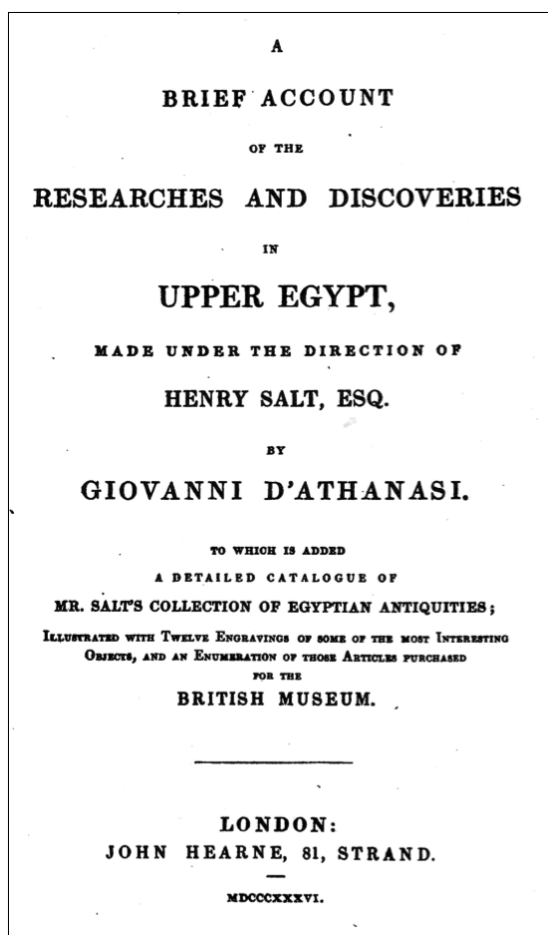
The following four names are written on the outside of the great temple of Abu Simbel, with the date 1824, and one with the same date 1824, Demetrios Papandriopoulos probably written by their guide. The four companions were at Abu Simbel (Absisbol), from 27th Tuesday January 1824, until Wednesday 4th of February. They were:

- **Frederick Catherwood** English artist and architect. He was born London 27 February 1799, son of John James Catherwood, and Anne. He died in the sinking of ss"Artic" off Cape Race, Newfoundland , 27 September 1854.
- **Henry Parke:** English architect and draughtsman. He was a son of John Parke an oboist and Hannah Maria, born 25 December 1790 and died in Oxford 31 January 1884.
- **Joseph John Scoles:** Born London 27 June 1798, son of Matthew Scoles and Elisabeth Starling. Died in London 29 December 1863. Scoles married, in 1831, Harriott, daughter of Robert Cory of Great Yarmouth. Four sons and eight daughters survived him.
- **Henry Westcar:** Born 26 June 1798 son of Henry Westcar and Elizabeth Weatherstone. Died at Brenchley, Kent 18 October 1868.



Frederick Catherwood, Victoria and Albert Museum, London.





- Heike C. Schmidt, *Westcar on the Nile*, A Journey through Egypt in the 1820s, Wiesbaden 2011
- Morris L. Bierbrier, *Who was Who in Egyptology*, Fourth revised edition, London 2012, p. 573, p. 497-498, p. 416, p. 107-108, p. 28,
- Michel Azim, *Karnak et sa topographie (vol. II), Les relevés anciens du temple d'Amon-Rê de 1589 aux années 1820*, Paris 2012, p. 27 (passim), p. 503
- Robert G. Morkot, George Hoskins, *Travels in Ethiopia and the History of Meroe*, p. 102
- John H. Taylor, *John Madox: A Diligent Traveller and his Scattered Legacy*, in Diane Fortenberry Edited, *Souvenirs and New Ideas*, Oxford 2013, p. 182, 183, 186.
- Jason Thompson, *Wonderful Things, A History of Egyptology, 1. From Antiquity to 1881*, Cairo and New York 2015, p. 147,182.
- Jason Thompson, *Wonderful Things, A History of Egyptology, 2. The Golden Age: 1881-1914*. Cairo New York 2015, p. 79, 188.

Addendum

PAPANDRIOPULO
 BLASICH
 1845

RDK 1704

PHILAE

Temple of Isis, pylon, entrance

Bibliography

- John James Halls, *The Life and Correspondence of Henry Salt, Esq. F. R. S. &c.*, in two volumes. London 1834. Vol. II. P. 185, 186, p. 185.
- Louis-A. Christophe, *Abou-Simbel et l'épopée de sa découverte*, 1965 Bruxelles.p. 227, note 29
- Ronald T. Ridley, Napoleon's Proconsul in Egypt, London 1998, p. 75, 146, 290, 325, note 48.
- Deborah Manley and Peta Rée, *Henry Salt*, London 2001, p. 88 (passim).
- Patricia Usick, *Berths under the Highest Stars: Henry William Beechey in Egypt 1816-1819*, p. 13, 16, 18;
- Sahar Sàbhi Abdel-Hakim, 'Silent Travellers, Articulate Mummies', in *Egypt through the Eyes of Travellers*, Edited by Paul Starkey and Nadia El Kholi, Durham 2002, p. 125, 127.
- Patricia Usick, *Adventures in Egypt an Nubia, The Travels of William John Bankes*, London 2002, p. 76, 77, 98, 125, 127, 195.
- Guichard Sylvie, *Lettres de Bernardino Drovetti*, Paris 2003; p. 201 (passim).
- Peter Marson, Belmore, *The Lowry Corrys of Castle Coole 1646-1913*. Belfast 2007, p. 149, 151.
- Peta Rée, *A Paire of Interlopers*, York 2011, p. 229, 271, 276, 346.

John Bonello

Birth: Malta

Date: Estimated between 1845 and 1905

Death: Unknown, Burial: Unknown

Husband of Mathilde Bonello Blasich

Mathilde Blasich

Birth: Slovenia

Date: Estimated between 1845 and 1905 ?

Death: unknown, Burial: unknown

Children

Raymond Aldo Bonello

Birth: 10 December 1910, Cairo Egypt

Death: 10 November 2004 (93).

Caringbah, NSW, Australia, Woronora, Sutherland, NSW, Australia

Yvonne Overend (Bonello)

Valerie Overend (Bonello)

Roger O. De Keersmaecker

QUERIES AND REPLIES

The following query comes from Caroline Simpson:

I am still searching for pieces of the Qurna history jigsaw. There are many missing bits that might only be found in libraries and personal collections outside Egypt. Please can you help me find a photo of the earliest mosque in Qurna?

The 'Amr Mosque was a small building to the south-west of Seti 1 Temple. By the early 19th century it was already a ruin, and did not have a visible minaret, but the space was still visited by worshippers for decades until the new mosque, now called 'Abd er Rahman Mosque', was built in the same place in 1983. The 'Amr Mosque would have been passed by many tourists walking from the back of Seti Temple taking a short-cut towards the hillside tombs and temples. It may have been photographed by a keen tourist, or an interested archaeologist.

It was the ruin of a mud-brick, walled building, which probably (but not definitely) originally had a dome. It was and looked like a ruin, with collapsed big mud-brick walls, but probably had simple prayer mats inside. Close to its south side there were two wells and a *saqieh* (water wheel). With the comings and goings of local people collecting water and irrigating, and others coming to the mosque, it would have been an interesting 'native' site to take a photo of – the sort that many travellers enjoyed recording. It was on the edge of the cultivated area.

As far as I am aware it was not surveyed or recorded in any way prior to its re-development. It is a small part of Qurna history, but local tradition says it was built by the earliest Muslims to come here under Amr in the AD 642-3. It is said that the soldiers camped in the area of Seti Temple itself – which we know was a Coptic settlement. My personal theory, based on the geography of the area, is that this specific site was chosen because it gave a vantage point to existing holy sites. From the roof of any simple building here you can see the holy sites of both the previous religions – various Coptic monasteries and numerous temples. If you move further South you could not have seen Deir el Bakhit monastery on top of Dra abu'l Naga, and if you move further North you lose the view of many temples and monasteries. I believe that in building a mosque at this particular site the architects were staking a theological claim – however small and simple a building it would have been a widely visible symbol of the new faith.

Please can you look in any photo collection you have access to? Please do bear this in mind if you flick through an old photo album of holiday snaps.

Caroline Simpson (caroline@qurna.org)

From Paul Rollins:

I am engaged in writing a biography for publication. My subjects were English cotton merchants in Alexandria, Egypt in the mid- nineteenth century:

- William Allen, born in 1821 in Prescott, Lancashire, England, spent 23 years in Alexandria, Egypt (and/or Ramleh), from 1841 to 1864. He was a very successful “independent” cotton merchant. He married Englishwoman Emily Jane Bell, born in Alexandria in 1840, on 8 August 1859 in Alexandria.
- Thomas Bell, Emily’s father, an English cotton merchant, a director of the import-export house, Peel and Co., in Alexandria from the early 1830s until his death in Alexandria on 23 December 1859.

Other than their vital statistics, I know nothing about the lives these expats might have lived in Alexandria. I am hoping the ASTENE Membership can assist by helping me put my characters in historical context. Toward that end, I know nothing about their personal or professional lives in Alexandria – their work, where they lived, social life, governmental contacts, etc. Any member assistance will be gratefully acknowledged upon publication.

Thank you,

Paul Rollins (PROL205066@Aol.Com)

From Jacob Rosen:

I am a retired Israeli diplomat who is collecting books about Lawrence of Arabia and also writes about him (google me!). Recently I read the book Lawrence of Arabia's War by Neil Faulkner where he makes a reference to "The Sanusi's Little War" concerning a code/cipher Lawrence developed. Although Lawrence was multi-faceted it seems too unreal that he may have had knowledge in this domain at the early stages of WW1. I wonder whom I can consult about this episode. I lived in Cairo between 1987-9 and also published an article about "The Legacy of Lawrence and the Arab Spring".

Hope to hear from you soon

Jacob Rosen, Jerusalem

Replies to bulletin editor: bulletin@astene.org.uk

FOOTPRINTS

Thanks to Cathie Bryan for sharing this entertaining story from the New York Times!

'Ah, Finally, Ancient Clay Tablets for Dessert'
By JENNIFER A. KINGSON, Nov 14th, 2016



If you spend your days amid ancient clay tablets with one of the earliest forms of written language, the thought might occur to you: Wouldn't it be fun to bake your own tablets out of gingerbread for the office holiday party?

It did to Katy Blanchard, 38, who is in charge of the Near Eastern collections at the University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology. The museum has one of the world's largest collections of cuneiform tablets from early Mesopotamia, many of them written by ancient scribes who used a reed stylus to etch pictograms into clay.

Ms. Blanchard, whose passions are archaeology and baking, used chopsticks, a fish knife and a gingerbread recipe that came packaged with a Coliseum-shaped cookie-cutter she once bought. Not only did her cuneiform cookies beguile her colleagues at the office party, they also gained some measure of internet renown after a Penn Museum publicist posted an article about how she made them. (Sample comment from the public: "Mine will probably taste more like the Dead Sea Scrolls.") From there, cuneiform cookies started to become - as the newspaper *The Forward* put it - "a thing." Bloggers were enthralled, including one who said she was taking a class in Hittite and opted to practice on shortbread. ("The writing took a surprisingly long time," she observed.)

The archaeo-culinary trend also exposed an odd subculture of people who are consumed with ancient languages, like the guy who uses the Twitter handle @DumbCuneiform and runs a business that will

translate your tweets and texts into cuneiform characters and etch them in a hand-held tablet. (No, you cannot make this stuff up.)

"People have made some amazing tablets, much more complete and creative than mine," Ms. Blanchard said. "Some people made full sentences. Mine just say, 'God,' 'build,' 'bird' and 'sun.'" Cuneiform, which is pronounced "cune-AY-uh-form" and means wedge-shaped writing, was devised by the Sumerians more than 5,000 years ago and survived until about 79 or 80 A.D. It emerged at roughly the same time as early Egyptian writing, and served as the written form of ancient tongues like Akkadian and Sumerian, which thrived in what is now southern Iraq. Because cuneiform was written in clay (rather than, say, on papyrus) and important texts were baked for posterity, a good amount of it survives today.

Although Ms. Blanchard surmises that shortbread might also be a good medium for cuneiform, it was the gingerbread that went viral, inspiring copycats online. Inspired by Ms. Blanchard's cuneiform cookies, Esther Brownsmith, a Ph.D. student in the Bible and Near East program at Brandeis University who has been studying Akkadian for years, went all out: For a New Year's party, she baked four tablets of gingerbread, each on a 13-by-18-inch pan, and copied part of the *Enuma Elish*, a seven-tablet Babylonian creation myth, onto them. A stunning step-by-step description of this feat has drawn thousands of "likes" on her Tumblr blog.

Now that she is teaching freshmen, Ms. Brownsmith has assigned (in English) one of the two best-known texts written in cuneiform: the *Epic of Gilgamesh*. (The other is the *Code of Hammurabi*.) *Gilgamesh* was a mighty king from the Mesopotamian city of Uruk, the name of which is thought to have morphed into Iraq. And Ms. Brownsmith has translated part of the epic into snacks.

"I like baking for my students, mostly to bribe them in to office hours," Ms. Brownsmith said. "So cuneiform cookies seemed like a great way to feed them while also giving a tangible link to the subject of *Gilgamesh*."

<http://www.nytimes.com/2016/11/15/science/cuneiform-tablet-cookies.html>

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

Honorary President: Dr Jaromir Malek

Honorary Vice-Presidents:

Dr Elizabeth French

Professor Malcolm Wagstaff

Executive Committee 2016–2017

Chairman

Neil Cooke FRGS
Holly Cottage
4 Church Street
Old Catton
Norfolk
NR6 7DS
chairman@astene.org.uk

Secretary

Dr Hana Navratilova
enquiries@astene.org.uk

Treasurer

Dr Janet Starkey
treasurer@astene.org.uk

Membership Secretary

Carey Cowham

Bulletin Editor

Dr. Cathy McGlynn
bulletin@astene.org.uk

Events and Outreach Officer

Cathie Bryan
events@astene.org.uk

Book Reviews Editor

Dr Lucy Pollard
lucypetica@gmail.com

Website and Newsletter Editors

Emmet Jackson
Tessa Barber (Assistant Editor)
web@astene.org.uk

Committee Members

Dr Jacke Philips
Dr Morris Bierbrier
Faye Kalloniatis
John Chapman
Lee Young

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

Membership correspondence to:
membership@astene.org.uk

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

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

ISSN: 1461-4316

Bulletin 70