

# ASTENE

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

## BULLETIN



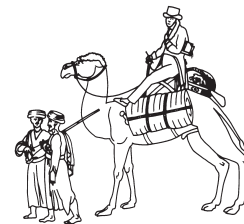
**NOTES AND QUERIES**

**NUMBER 50 : WINTER 2011-12**

# Bulletin : Notes and Queries

## Number 50 : Winter 2011–12

<b>ASTENE News and Events</b>	<b>1</b>	<i>Letters from Abroad: The Grand Tour Correspondence of Richard Pococke &amp; Jeremiah Milles, Vol. 1: Letters from the Continent (1733–1734),</i> edited by Rachel Finnegan	
ASTENE AGM 2012 Ann Revell ASTENE Website ASTENE Visit to Ireland ASTENE/OUDC Study Day: Travellers on Pilgrimage Pre-Study Day Event in Oxford Back issues of the <i>ASTENE Bulletin</i> 2011 Conference Proceedings: A Very Short History of the Battle of the Bugs The Beginnings of ASTENE			
<b>Other News and Events</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>Research Resources</b>	<b>17</b>
Institute of Egypt in Cairo Destroyed by Fire Museums and Exhibitions Conferences, Lectures and Talks		Banks' Drawings Edith Durham	
<b>Books and Reviews</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>Queries and Replies</b>	<b>17</b>
<i>Jerusalem in World War I: The Palestine Diary of a European Diplomat</i> , by Conde de Ballobar <i>Explorers of the Nile: The Triumph and Tragedy of a Great Victorian Adventure</i> , by Tim Jeal <i>John Henry Haynes: A Photographer and Archaeologist in the Ottoman Empire, 1881–1900</i> , by Robert G. Ousterhout		James Laird Patterson's Hippopotamos	
		<b>Footprints</b>	<b>18</b>
		Murray's <i>Itineraries for Eastern Turkey: 1854 to 1878</i> From Dr Madden to Dr Richardson	



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### Bulletin 50 : Winter 2011–12

Submissions for the next Bulletin must be received by **15 March 2012**. We welcome articles, queries, replies and other related matters from members and interested readers. Please send contributions to the Editors, Russell McGuirk and Sheila McGuirk (address details inside back cover).

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ASTENE Treasurer  
The Studio  
30 College Lane  
London NW5 1BJ  
or by email to [membership@astene.org.uk](mailto:membership@astene.org.uk).

# ASTENE NEWS AND EVENTS

## ASTENE AGM 2012

The Annual General Meeting will take place on Saturday, 14 July, at St Mary Abbot's Centre, Vicarage Gate, London W8. It will be combined with a visit to Leighton House, which has recently been refurbished and should look even more splendid than when members were last there in February 2007 (see *Bulletin* 31). Further details will be published in the Spring *Bulletin*. Please put this date in your diary now, as the meeting may be preceded by an EGM to vote on updates and a re-formatting of the Association's constitution. The date and venue have been chosen to ensure maximum attendance while avoiding the Olympics crush.

## Ann Revell

It is with sadness that we report the death of Ann Revell. John and Ann were early ASTENE members and travelled periodically on the ASTENE overseas trips, including to Cairo 2002, where John gave a paper on Pitton de Tournefort, and to Syria in 2007. Both attended ASTENE events, particularly the Oxford study days. Ann also contributed to the *Bulletin*, and John was a book reviewer for ASTENE. We extend our sincere condolences to John and family.

## ASTENE Website

We are pleased to welcome Tracy Walker as the new webmaster. There is still work to be done to make the website completely current, and we ask members to visit the website and report back glitches. We will pass comments to Tracy for her to make amendments.

## ASTENE Visit to Ireland, 20–27 May 2012

In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, if an Irishman went to London he was seen as an Irishman, but if he travelled overseas he was greeted as a gentleman. In consequence, many

Irishmen travelled to the Near East, including:

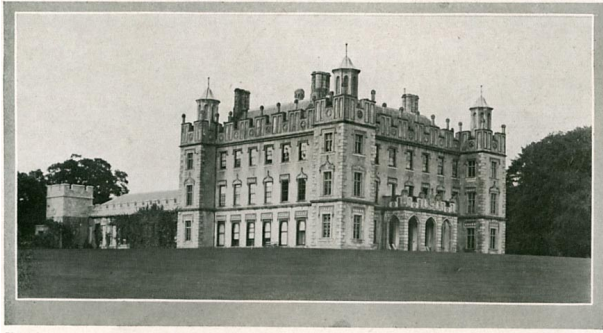
- Dr R. Richardson (doctor to the Earl of Belmore's family party from Castle Coole, and author of the book on their year-long journey)
- Dr R. R. Madden (anti-slavery champion and doctor to Henry Salt)
- Lady Kavanagh from Borris, Co. Carlow, who travelled with her severely disabled son
- Elliott Warburton, author of the famed *Crescent and the Cross* (1845)
- Robert Wood, traveller to Palmyra and Baalbec
- Ernest Misset, Consul in Egypt in the early nineteenth century.

By participating in the ASTENE trip to Ireland, members will be able to find out more about some of these Irish travellers. Here is the latest information on the programme.



*Illumination from the Book of Kells, Trinity College Library, Dublin.*





*Postcard showing Castle Borris, Country Carlow.*

*Day 1: Sunday, 20 May.* Participants make their own way to Dublin but may book tickets through the agent. Some may wish to go early or stay on (in Belfast or other parts of Ireland) after the visit. The group will be staying at the four-star Louis Fitzgerald Hotel in Dublin, which can be reached direct on the 'fly-bus' from the airport. Introductory evening talk on Irish travellers in ASTENE lands.

*Day 2: Monday, 21 May.* After breakfast you will be free to explore Dublin. The plan is to visit Trinity College Library. The organisers hope to gain access to the copyright library, and members should certainly be able to view the Book of Kells. Others may be interested in the Chester Beatty Library and collections in Dublin Castle. Dinner at the hotel, followed by a talk on Lady Kavanagh and her son.



*Mount Stewart House, home of Lord Castlereagh.*

*Day 3: Tuesday, 22 May.* Coach to Borris House, County Carlow, home of the Kavanagh family. Some of Lady Kavanagh's collection may be seen. Dinner at the hotel.

*Day 4: Wednesday, 23 May.* Travel north to visit Mount Stewart House (National Trust), home of Lord Castlereagh and others, with its outstanding garden, en route to Belfast. The group will be staying at the four-star Wellington Hotel in Belfast. Talk on Dr Richardson's account of the Belmores' Near Eastern travels.

*Day 5: Thursday, 24 May.* Visit by coach to Castle Coole, Enniskillen (National Trust), a stunning 18th-century mansion whence the Earl of Belmore and his family set out for the Near East, where they paid a visit to Lady Hester Stanhope and ascended the Nile with Consul Henry Salt. The 2nd Earl and his family spent a



*Castle Koole, Enniskillen.*

year around the Mediterranean in 1817. Possible visit to Florence House (also National Trust), home of the 2nd Earl's wife. Return to Belfast.

*Day 6: Friday, 25 May.* Free day in Belfast with suggested visits to the Museum, which holds the Armada Hoard among other treasures, and the famed gardens. As 2012 is the 100th anniversary of the sinking of the Titanic, some may be interested in the Titanic Signature Project.

*Day 7: Saturday, 26 May.* Free day in Belfast. Visit the renowned Ulster Folk and Transport Museum. Final evening talk, with many references to ASTENE–Irish travellers.

*Day 8: Sunday, 27 May.* The group will disperse with transfers to airports.

The trip is being organised for ASTENE by Brightwater Holidays of Scotland. The cost is in the region of £620 per person on a double occupancy basis, excluding flights (single room supplement £180), but this will not include all meals and entrance charges. Flights from the UK can be arranged through the same agent, as can travel insurance. However, participants are free to make their own flight and insurance arrangements. Ten ASTENE members have so far expressed a firm interest, and we hope that two members in Ireland, the Rev'd John Bartlett and Emmet Jackson, will also be participating. If you are interested and have not yet signed up, please contact Deborah Manley at [deb@dmanley.plus.com](mailto:deb@dmanley.plus.com), or telephone Brightwater on 01334 65714.

For more on Dr Madden, refer to the 2004 DNB entry. His own *Travels in Turkey, Egypt, Nubia and Palestine, 1824, 1825, 1826 and 1827* is available online through Google online (University of Michigan library copy), with a splendid portrait of Madden in his Syrian costume as a frontispiece. See also Footprints in this *Bulletin*.

### **ASTENE/LOUDCE Study Day, Sunday, 29 April 2012: Travellers on Pilgrimage (leaflet enclosed)**

The course will examine the experiences of the travellers Ibn Battuta (1304–c.1368), Cristoforo Buondelmonti (c.1380–1430) and Moses Montefiore (1784–1885), who visited holy places associated with, respectively, Islam, Christianity and Judaism. To that extent they were pilgrims,

though a purely religious motive was not the only reason for travelling. Each journey was unique, and they were widely separated in time. However, the travellers shared similar experiences, often related to the logistics of travel. The course will seek to isolate common themes.

The detailed programme is as follows:

- 9.30 Introduction
- 10.00 Ibn Battuta (1304–c.1368) on the Road to Mecca
- 11.30 Sailing Across the Aegean to the Holy Mountain: The Visit to Mount Athos of Cristoforo Buondelmonti (c.1385–c.1429)
- 13.30 Moses Montefiore (1784–1885): A Jewish Pilgrimage to the Holy land (1827–28)
- 15.00 Travellers on Pilgrimage: The Logistics of Travel.

The Rev'd Dr Robin Gibbons is Director of Studies; Professor J. Malcolm Wagstaff is Director; speakers include Rabbi Dr Andrew Goldstein, Chairman, European Union for Progressive Judaism, and Dr Paul Hetherington.

Recommended reading:

- Gibb, H.A.R. (ed.), *Ibn Battuta: Travels in Asia and Africa, 1325–1354*, George Routledge, 1929
- Gothoni, R., *Tales and Truth: Pilgrimage on Mount Athos, Past and Present*, Helsinki University Press 1994, pp. 23–25 (on Buondelmonti)
- Montefiore, M. and J., *Diaries of Sir Moses and Lady Montefiore*, edited by L. Loewe, 1890; reprinted 1983
- Speake, J. (ed), *Literature of Travel and Exploration: An Encyclopedia*, Fitzroy Dearborn 2003, vol. 2.

Please note that the lift at Rewley House is being refurbished and will be out of commission for the entire month of April 2012. There will be no disabled access during this period for courses held in the Lecture Theatre or the first floor.

ASTENE members going to Ireland may be interested to know that Dr R. R. Madden dedicated his *Travels in Turkey* to M. Montefiore Esq. and will notice from the dates that they occasionally travelled together. Four of the lengthy letters which make up the text are addressed to Mr or Mrs Montefiore.



## Pre-Study Day Event in Oxford on Saturday, 28 April 2012

There will be a pre-study day ASTENE event in Oxford comprising an afternoon visit to the Ashmolean Museum's magnificently refurbished and extended Egyptian Galleries, which have just re-opened. This will be followed by dinner at a local restaurant. If you are interested in this event, please contact Patricia Usick at [events@astene.org](mailto:events@astene.org).

### Back Issues of the *ASTENE Bulletin*

In previous *Bulletins* and on the ASTENE website, members are advised that back issues of the *Bulletin* may be ordered from the Treasurer for £5 each, including postage. This facility is still available, and the Trustees are presently looking into creating a digital repository of a full set of bulletins to enable this service to continue.

However, Dr Lisa French has a small residue of hard copies of early bulletins and is prepared to mail these to applicants in the UK only 'while stocks last'. If you want copies of *Bulletins* 1–20, please email Lisa on [lisacamb@aol.com](mailto:lisacamb@aol.com), stating which issues and how many of each issue you require. Lisa will weigh your order plus the weight of an envelope and label and advise you the value of postage required. If you then mail Lisa stamps to the correct value and a self-addressed label she will post the requested bulletins to you.

### 2011 Conference Proceedings

One of the liveliest presentations at the recent ASTENE Conference in Oxford was Amanda Heggstad's review of references to pests and bugs in the accounts travellers wrote of their time on the Nile. It was punctuated with delightful illustrations by Amanda's sister, Danielle Pringle of New Virginia, Iowa, some of which are reproduced here to accompany Amanda's précis of her talk.

#### *A Very Short History of the Battle of the Bugs*

Victorian artwork and travel guides tended to gloss over or eliminate the lingering Biblical (and other) plagues in Egypt. Nevertheless, the personal travelogues left behind by the many

Victorians who journeyed to the Nile evoke a vivid—and sometimes shocking—picture of the continuous fight against the vermin attendant upon all visitors to the Nile.

Of the 58 relevant books related to Victorian travel in Egypt which were examined in this study, only four failed to mention any pests at all. The average traveller cited more than four specific types of pests, not counting euphemisms or generic terms. Taken all together, their list of Nile nuisances included rats, dogs, jackals, bats, mosquitoes, flies, fleas, toads, mice, hyenas, wolves, ferrets, stray cats, braying donkeys, midges, gnats, lice, earwigs, grasshoppers, crickets, wasps, hornets, wild bees, dragonflies, ants, 'bugs', locusts, cockroaches, scorpions and snakes, not to mention 'other insects [...] which must not even be named in polite society' (Gadsby, J., *My Wanderings. Being Travels in the East in 1846–47, 1850–51, 1852–53*. London: A. Gadsby, 1864, pp. 219–21). Frogs, lizards, spiders, sparrows and wagtails occupied a more ambiguous category of uninvited guests; though some despised them, others viewed them as entertaining or useful visitors who might dispose of still more unwelcome guests.

To eliminate the problem, Victorians cleaned their quarters mercilessly, even sinking and





whitewashing their *dahabiehs* to rid them of pests. They used evasion tactics, relocating when the beasts were about, or ceded territory to the pests. They took up weapons to defend themselves against the sundry attackers, including (though certainly not limited to) mosquito curtains or Levinge apparatuses, bug screens, fly flaps, insect powder, infusion of quassia, camphor, fly paper, charcoal braziers, veils, whips, sticks, firearms, cats, dogs and rat traps. When this arsenal failed them, they improvised, using their bare hands, candles, wet towels or even pastries-cum-fly-traps to destroy their foe. Over the entire Victorian period, the average traveller mentioned three pest deterrent methods; one (Anonymous (A Daughter of Japhet), *Wanderings in the Land of Ham*. London: Longman, Brown, Green, Longmans & Roberts, 1858) cited as many as fifteen!

It is true, however, that, while references to pests held steady throughout the period, the proportion of travel accounts mentioning pest deterrents diminished over time: four-fifths of Early Victorian accounts, two-thirds of mid-Victorian accounts, and only half of all late Victorian accounts mention the deterrents. Furthermore, certain simple pest deterrents recommended in travel guides (such as the friendly neighbourhood ichneumon) were not mentioned once in the long list of defences used by the travellers themselves. This may be explained by the fact that more pest deterrents were in place already, and taken for granted as time wore on; but in that case one would expect



a corresponding decrease in mentions of pests. Perhaps the pest problem was overstated for dramatic effect, or only the most spectacular or comic pest deterrents were enumerated, likewise to captivate readers. In the end, these accounts of unwelcome visitors form some of the most entertaining interludes in Egyptian travel literature and, taken as a whole, tell the exciting and gory tale of the Nile's interminable Battle of the Bugs.

*Note: Members may remember an earlier reference to 'fleas and bugs' in Bulletin 19, where we printed an extract from the Royal Geographical Society's 1906 Hints for Travellers.*



## The Beginnings of ASTENE

The *Bulletin* Editors asked several of the founder ASTENE members to share reminiscences about the early days of the Association, what they have most enjoyed over the years and future directions.

Members who were at the Southampton conference in 2007 and remember *Bulletin* 35 (Spring 2008) will have heard of the shared interest of Dr Jason Thompson and Neil Cooke in certain travellers to Egypt and how Harry James put them in touch with each other and with John Ruffle at the Oriental Museum of Durham University. Neil's keynote speech for the Southampton conference and subsequent article in *Bulletin* 35 covered what many think of as the real beginning of ASTENE—the Bankes symposium at Kingston Lacey and the conference in Durham two weeks later in July 1995, organised by Janet Starkey. Deborah Manley takes up the story:

And they came: Jason Thompson, Neil Cooke, Janet and Paul Starkey, John Ruffle, Caroline



Williams, John Rodenbeck, Patricia Usick, me, Peta Rée, Jennifer Scarce and many others. That week Durham was the hottest place in Europe—and the newly installed central heating could not be turned off. It was as hot as Cairo in high summer!

In 1996 Patricia Usick went on a cruise on Lake Nasser. Who should be on the tour but me and Peta. While others listened to the tour guide, we were off looking for travellers' graffiti on the temples. Another traveller came to see what we were doing. She was Dr Lisa French, who had spent part of her childhood in Egypt, had lived in Turkey and had risen to become Director of the British School of Archaeology in Athens. We all exchanged knowledge and experiences.

Not long after, I met the Starkeys in Oxford by chance and asked Janet, 'If we had another conference here in Oxford, would you show me how to organise it?' Janet agreed, and in July 1997 people gathered from across the world, including four contributors from Egypt who are still members, at St Katherine's College and again shared knowledge of historic travel in the Near East.

At that conference we invited descendants of the travellers to join us, and descendants of Nathaniel Pearce, Edward Lane and Mehemet Ali were there. We recognised that if we wanted to continue this project we needed to set up a formal organisation. On the Sunday of the conference, those attending met to agree that such an organisation would be formed as a registered charity. Paul Starkey took on the position of Chairman, Sarah Searight became Secretary, Lisa French offered to become Treasurer. All the people involved became founder members; Janet Starkey, Peta Rée and I became committee members, Harry James was asked to be the first President, and Dr Jaromir Malek of the Griffiths Institute became Vice President. The territory of the Association for the Study of Travel in Egypt and the Near East was defined as Egypt south to include Abyssinia, the Arabian peninsula, the lands of the eastern Mediterranean, Turkey, the Ottoman Balkans and Greece.

ASTENE was to have a *Bulletin* published twice yearly and a website. In 1999 the third conference was held in Cambridge, with subsequent ones in Edinburgh, Oxford, Manchester, Southampton,

Durham and Oxford again. In 2013 we should be back in the Midlands, at Aston University in Birmingham, near both the Staffordshire Hoard at Birmingham Museum and Art Gallery and the Church Missionary Society archive at Birmingham University.

A collection of the papers from each conference published as a book is another feature of ASTENE's life, as are trips, mini-conferences and study days. The travels undertaken by ASTENE as a group have included Cairo, Cyprus, St Catherine's Monastery in Sinai, Syria (including the Krak des Chevaliers Crusader castle), the Nile on a *dahabiya*, Albania and Turkey. Excursions in the British Isles have included Hadrian's Wall, the Travellers' Club in London, behind-the-scenes at the British Museum, the Victoria and Albert Museum and the Royal Geographical Society.

The great feature of ASTENE is that it is not simply an academic society. It spreads its membership and welcome to anyone with an interest in travel in the region. Now, everyone is interested in the history of travel and travel literature, but it was not always so, and ASTENE has contributed to this resurgence.

*Deborah Manley*

For Jennifer Scarce, tracing the footsteps of earlier travellers has been a highlight of her ASTENE experience. Here's what she had to say:

I heard about the 1995 conference which was being organised by Janet and Paul Starkey through colleagues in Durham. I was interested in the European travellers who wrote about Qajar Iran and would have to travel through ASTENE lands to get there. In Durham I gave a paper on Pierre Loti. After the second conference in Oxford in 1997 I joined the meeting which agreed to formalise ASTENE into a charitable organisation. We wanted to be sure that the Association couldn't be hi-jacked by special interest groups, given the political sensitivities of the area, and I think we have achieved that. Since then I have attended every ASTENE conference and given papers at most of them. I helped with the organisation of the Edinburgh conference in 2001, where we were entertained by a delightful dancer—see picture.



For me, the great strength of ASTENE has been the meetings with interesting and stimulating people and the very varied subjects which come up at the conferences. The overseas trips and local contacts have been wonderful, especially the visit to Cairo, where I saw splendid displays of Coptic textiles, helped by the special knowledge of John and Elizabeth Rodenbeck. The tour round the Citadel of Cairo was particularly memorable. Another remarkable journey was the tour in 2010 of Albania and northern Greece in the footsteps of Colonel William Leake and Byron, which was superbly researched and led by Malcolm and Pat Wagstaff. Here, two regions previously separated by political dogma can now be easily visited. Among a feast of historical and cultural riches special highlights for me were the opportunities to visit Corfu for the first time and to see Ioannina again, where the citadel mosque, which I remember as a dump for wrecked bicycles, has been beautifully restored and now functions as an exhibition space devoted to the life and career of the despot Ali Pasha. In the early 19th century he ruled Albania and northern Greece officially as a deputy of the Ottoman Sultan but in reality as an independent ruler.

I have a great admiration for travellers such as Isabella Bird. I don't think today's travel accounts compare well in terms of thorough and detailed exposition of the things seen; rather than the thoughtful scholarship of someone like Curzon, one gets a sense of the need to make money by being amusing or attracting a particular readership. Of course the democratisation of travel is a good thing, but package tourism tends to protect the traveller from meeting the local people and seeing how they live. (Perhaps it was so even in the early days of Thomas Cook.) I have accompanied tour groups as a specialist guide and always respect and admire the people on the ground who look after us. The key to the success of the ASTENE trips is that we are like-minded travellers who want to clamber all over the battlements, not just take a quick peek over the parapet.

I think the conferences, *Bulletin* and books of conference papers will keep ASTENE going, but we need to use these more pro-actively to recruit new members. The current initiative under Hana Navratilova to revive and invigorate



*Professional belly dancer performing at the fourth biennial ASTENE conference in Edinburgh, 2001.*

the international chapters is a vital part of this. Perhaps we need to think about more regional activity here in Britain as well. Scotland is a promising outpost, through the many Scots who explored ASTENE's regions and have left as a record of their travels memoirs and even dress in museums and archives in Edinburgh, Aberdeen, Dundee and who knows where else.

*Jennifer Scarce*

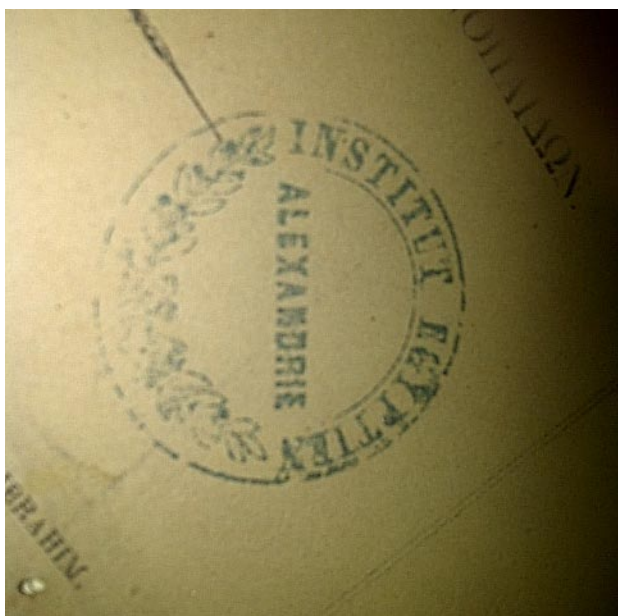
See *Bulletin* 9 for a list of Scottish travellers published in preparation for the 2001 Edinburgh conference. Further reminiscences will appear in *Bulletin* 51 from Lisa French, Janet and Paul Starkey and Peta Rée.

# OTHER NEWS AND EVENTS

## Institute of Egypt in Cairo Destroyed by Fire

Just as the editors were completing this issue of the *Bulletin* there came the devastating news that the Institute of Egypt, founded by Napoleon Bonaparte, had been burned in the latest round of violence between the Government authorities (military and police) and protesters in Cairo. The building, near Tahrir Square, is probably ruined beyond repair. Many priceless manuscripts and books have also been destroyed, either by the blaze or by firefighters having flooded the site with water. Volunteers are trying to salvage the rest, and truckloads of material are now being sorted. It is too early to know what has been lost for good, but there is no doubt that this incident is a terrible tragedy for Egypt.

A move is already afoot to prevent stolen books and manuscripts from the Institute being sold in the antiquarian book market. With the permission of NLAE Director Dr Zain Abdel-Hady, we illustrate three of the stamps that appear on the library's volumes. Further information, including better reproductions of the accession stamps used for the Institute's holdings, is available at <http://ancientworldbloggers.blogspot.com/2011/12/library-stamps-from-institut-degypte.html>.

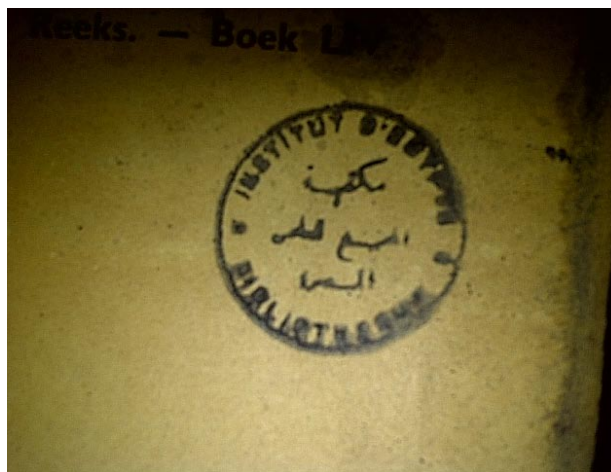


## Museums and Exhibitions

***Hajj: Journey to the Heart of Islam.* The British Museum, London. 26 January to 15 April 2012.**

This is a major exhibition that brings to life the history and personal spiritual significance of the sacred rituals that have remained unchanged since the Prophet Muhammad's time in the seventh century of our era. One of the five pillars of Islam, *hajj*, or pilgrimage to Makkah, is central to Muslim belief: every able Muslim must make the journey at least once in a lifetime. With extensive displays of beautiful objects, including historical and contemporary art, textiles and manuscripts, the show also examines the travel logistics involved over history, and how the wider operation of the hajj has changed over time.

There is a study day for this exhibition at the Museum on 8 March 2012, run by NADFAS,





the National Association of Decorative and Fine Arts Societies.

ASTENE members are invited to attend a Private Viewing of this exhibition organised by the British Egyptian Society on 8 March at 6:00 pm. Please contact Patricia Usick if interested. Donations may be made to BES secretary Noel Rands on the night. Further details will appear on the website.

***Fascinating Mummies. National Museum of Scotland, Edinburgh. 11 February to 27 May 2012.***

From the collection of the National Museum of Antiquities in Leiden.

***Karanis Revealed: Discovering the Past and Present of a Michigan Excavation in Egypt, Part II. Kelsey Museum of Archaeology, Ann Arbor, Michigan. 27 January to 6 May 2012.***

This is a two-phase exhibition exploring the story of Karanis, a village in the Egyptian countryside southwest of Cairo, which was inhabited during Egypt's Graeco-Roman period. Its excavation was initiated by the University of Michigan in the 1920s and 1930s.

Part I looks at daily life during the early centuries under the Ptolemaic dynasty; Part II follows changes that came with the Roman occupation of Egypt and, later, Christianity. The displays include collections of Roman glass, tax rolls on papyrus and the leather breastplate of a Roman soldier.

***American Research Center in Egypt Annual Meeting. Brown University, Providence, Rhode Island. 28 April 2012.***

For ASTENE members in America who missed our 9th Biennial Conference in Oxford, here is a chance to see George Mutter and Bernard Fishman's historical stereoviews of Egypt (meeting registration required). Take a Nile tour viewing 1856–70 3-D images, with a follow up visit almost 20 years later.

George and Bernard will be giving a similar presentation of these freshly digitized pictures from original stereophotographs to the Photographic Historical Society of New England on Sunday, 4 March, in Wakefield, Massachusetts.

***Vaults of Heaven: Visions of Byzantium. Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, Philadelphia. Until 12 February 2012.***

The photographs in this exhibition are by Ahmed Ertug, highlighting significant UNESCO heritage sites in Turkey, particularly churches in Cappadocia.

*We remind readers that some of these listings can be found at [www.saudiaramcoworld.com](http://www.saudiaramcoworld.com), to which they can refer for more details and information about other exhibitions which may be of interest. Our thanks to Dr Lucy Pollard for identifying some of the above events.*

**Conferences, Lectures and Talks**

***Sir Arthur Evans and Knossos: Revisiting Archaeological Myths and Realities. University of Oxford Department of Continuing Education, Rewley House, 1 Wellington Square, Oxford. Saturday, 25 February 2012.***

Arthur Evans' excavations at Knossos brought to light the largest palace site known today in the Aegean. Through his interpretations and extensive restorations, Evans dominated the field of Minoan archaeology for almost half a century.

This day school revisits some of Evans' most controversial work and considers how much our knowledge has changed from the time of Arthur Evans. See <http://www.conted.ox.ac.uk> for details.

***Encountering the Exotic: The Collecting, Trade and Exchange of Exotic Goods between Europe, Asia, Africa and the Americas, from the 16th Century to the 21st Century. XVIth World Economic History Congress, University of Stellenbosch, Cape Town, South Africa. 9–13 July 2012.***

Closing date for abstracts: 15 February 2012. For further information, contact Dr Manuel Charpy (CNRS France/University of Lille IRHIS) via email at [manuel.charpy@wanadoo.fr](mailto:manuel.charpy@wanadoo.fr), or Dr Mark Westgarth (School of Fine Art, History of Art and Cultural Studies, University of Leeds) at [m.w.westgarth@leeds.ac.uk](mailto:m.w.westgarth@leeds.ac.uk).

***Domino Effects and Hybridization of the Mediterranean.* Department of History, 29 Mayıs University, Istanbul. 5–7 September 2012.**

In collaboration with Eastern Mediterranean University, Famagusta, the University of California, Santa Cruz, and Bern University. Deadline for abstracts: 27 February 2012. Abstracts should be no more than 300 words, including three descriptive keywords. Of particular interest to ASTENE members might be the rubric ‘Saints, Pilgrims and Missionaries: Travels in the Mediterranean Hybridity [sic]’. Please send abstract and session submissions to [luca.zavagno@emu.edu.tr](mailto:luca.zavagno@emu.edu.tr) or [caykent@gmail.com](mailto:caykent@gmail.com). For more information and further details, see the conference website at <http://medworldsfour.wordpress.com/>.

***Mamluk Cairo, A Crossroad for Embassies.* International Conference, University of Liège, Belgium. 6–8 September 2012.**

For two centuries the capital of the Mamluk sultans was a crossroad for embassies arriving from the neighbouring realms and beyond. These embassies carried messages to be delivered to the sultan or sent by him through emissaries in the form of written letters, oral messages and gifts. The chancery manuals and formularies made by secretaries give modern scholars access to aspects of Mamluk administration. Details regarding the arrival of foreign embassies in the

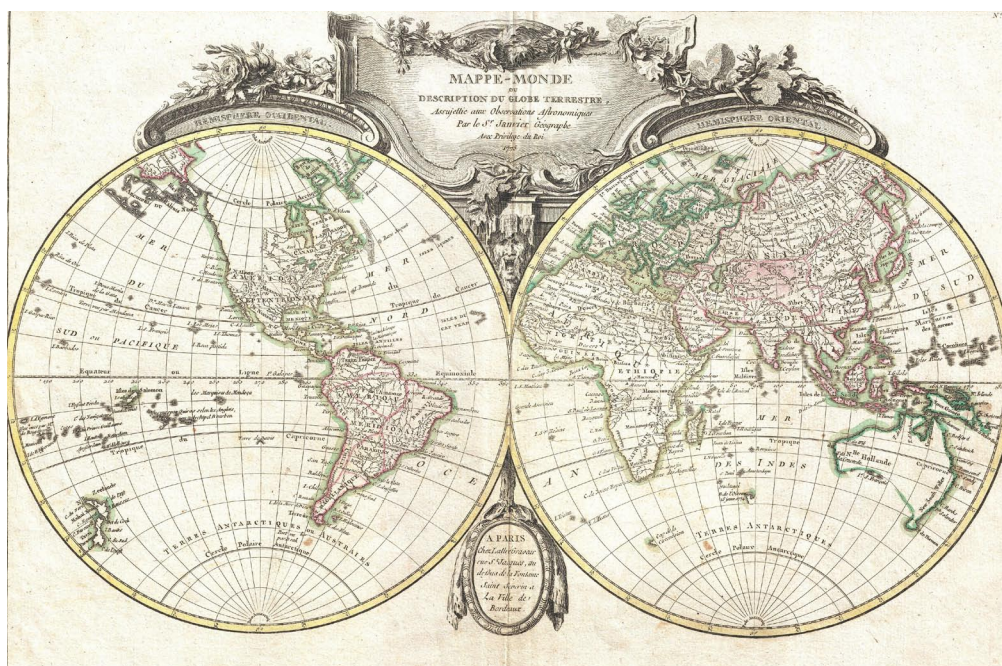
Mamluk capital and their reception by the sultan at the citadel are also provided by historical works preserved either for the Mamluk or the foreign parties.

This conference aims to investigate the diplomatic relations established between the Mamluks and other powers through the study of these sources. In order to attempt a comparative approach, it will not only focus on the diplomatic practices current in Cairo, but also those followed by the other powers when corresponding with the Mamluk sultans. Papers will include historical works (chronicles) and memoirs of emissaries, witnesses and travellers who observed the diplomatic practices of the time, which may have differed from the theoretical rules and formularies.

Although the deadline for participants offering papers was 15 December 2011, you may attend without presenting a paper but should register in advance to guarantee space is available. For more information contact Frédéric Bauden ([f.bauden@ulg.ac.be](mailto:f.bauden@ulg.ac.be)) and Malika Dekkiche ([mdekkiche@uchicago.edu](mailto:mdekkiche@uchicago.edu)).

***Mercator Revisited: Cartography in the Age of Discovery.* Ghent University and the Cultural Heritage Cell Waasland. 25–28 April 2012, in Sint-Niklaas, Belgium.**

ASTENE member Bart Ooghe is involved in this conference for map lovers. For further details, see [www.mercatorconference2012.be](http://www.mercatorconference2012.be).





# Books and Reviews

In this, the fiftieth issue of the *ASTENE Bulletin*, we look back on the Books and Reviews section of the *Bulletin*. For the first five issues there were no book reviews, but in issue 6 the editors invited a Book Review Editor to step forward. At this stage the Books section was largely a listing (19 books in *Bulletin* 6 and 24 in *Bulletin* 7) with very brief indication of contents. The listings continued for several more *Bulletins* (22 books of interest in *Bulletin* 8; 33 in *Bulletin* 9; 10 in *Bulletin* 10; and 17 in *Bulletin* 11). It was not until issue 12 that Dr Albertine Gaur (1931–2006) formally emerged as the Book Editor, though full reviews had begun to appear along with the listings. The first reviews (there were three) appeared in *Bulletin* 7; there was one in *Bulletin* 8, followed by five in *Bulletin* 9, three in *Bulletin* 10 and four in *Bulletin* 11. At this stage the pure listings stopped, but some of the reviews remained quite brief.

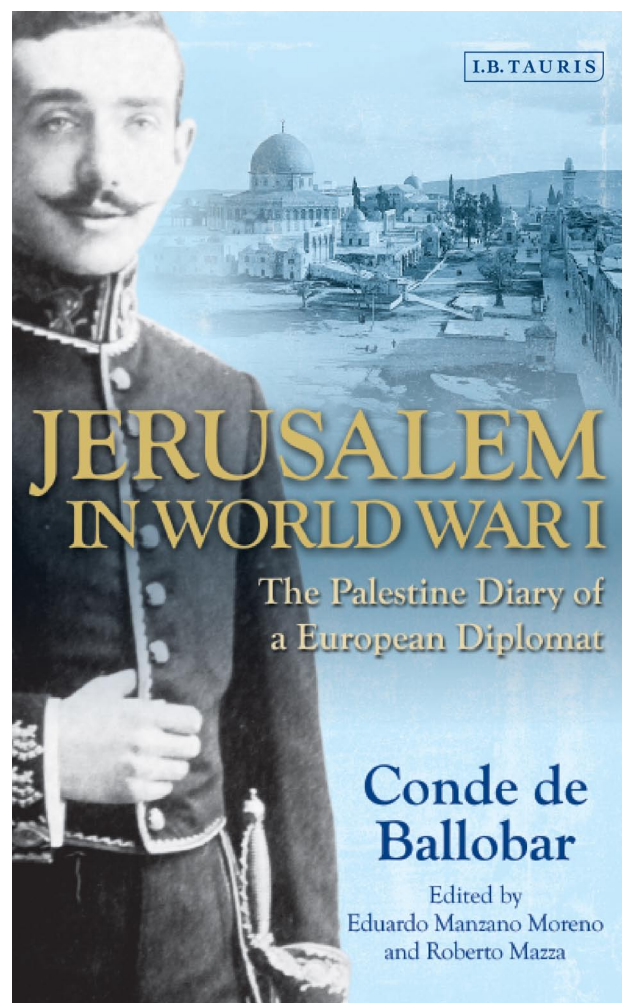
Up to and including this issue, *ASTENE* members have between them reviewed over 200 books and informed readers about another 140. It is fitting to pay tribute to the members who have edited this vital section of the *Bulletin*, which encapsulates what *ASTENE* stands for—scholarship in the broadest sense, sharing information, extending members' sphere of interest, all with a dash of humour. Since Dr Gaur first took on the role, the Books section has been edited by Barnaby Rogerson, Thomas Rees, Kathryn Ferry for Art and Literature, Edwin Aiken and now Myra Green. We thank them all for overseeing this important part of *ASTENE*'s aims.

If you would like to suggest a book for review, or if you are interested in reviewing books for the *Bulletin*, please contact Myra Green on [mg@myragreen.f9.co.uk](mailto:mg@myragreen.f9.co.uk).

***Jerusalem in World War I: The Palestine Diary of a European Diplomat*, by Conde de Ballobar, edited by Eduardo Manzano Moreno and Roberto Mazza. IB Tauris, 2011. 284 pp, ISBN 978-1-84885-632-5. £59.50.**

For the duration of World War I, Jerusalem was not, for obvious reasons, a popular destination for travellers in the *ASTENE* region. Indeed, the city saw the mass withdrawal, and sometimes removal, of sections of the population. This mass disruption of ordinary life did not make it an especially fun place in which to live, whether one was a foreign diplomat or not.

One of the most exciting things about coming across a new diary, from the point of view of an historian or researcher, is that one never knows in advance what one is going to find. Will the diary turn out to be a waste of time, dull and uninformative, with a series of entries that fail even to tell us something about the author or the world around him? Or will it turn out to be a text that opens up a view of a time and place that



one could never have hoped to gain by any other means?

Ballobar's wartime diary falls easily into the latter category. It is a wonderful book that in less than 300 pages gives the reader a treasure trove of detail and insight into life in Ottoman Jerusalem. One finds here a great deal more insight than one might otherwise find in a standard history of the same period. Ballobar arrived in Jerusalem in October 1914 and did not finally leave until May 1919, so one really gets the whole sweep of the war's history here.

With many of his fellow foreign diplomats recalled to their home countries at the start of the war, Ballobar found himself responsible for the citizens of more and more European nations, including the numerous members of an almost equally numerous number of Christian religious orders.

One of the biggest difficulties for Ballobar was his sense of isolation. His entry for 16 November 1914 includes the plaintive lines, 'Will I conclude these notes? Will the terrific announcements one can hear everywhere come to pass? I do not know, but in any case I am so alone, so isolated,, that lacking a family to tell my life to, I'll tell it to my distant family ... [if I die] I would like to think that these notebooks will get to their hands.'

The details and anecdotes, the reports of rumours that changed daily, if not hourly, all feed into the pages of Ballobar's diary, providing an honest account of what it felt like day by day, before the passage of time allows embellishments and false memories to creep in. This is the beauty of a good diary: it reveals the hopes and worries that would otherwise be overlooked, providing important insights that might not otherwise be seen so many decades after the fact, but which were important enough for the author to relate.

*Eamonn Gearon*

***John Henry Haynes: A Photographer and Archaeologist in the Ottoman Empire, 1881–1900*, by Robert G. Ousterhout. Cornucopia Books, 2011. 148 pp, ISBN 978-605-62429-0-8. £20.00.**

The work of John Henry Haynes (1849–1910) is not well known, and in this beautifully illustrated book Robert Ousterhout sets out to explain the reasons for Haynes' obscurity and attempts to

redress his reputation as a photographer.

Haynes did not come from a privileged background. His father, a farmer, died young, leaving the young John Henry to look after the farm and his younger siblings. At 21 he enrolled at Drury Academy, crammed a four-year course into two and was then able to enter Williams College, where he helped to pay for his studies by working for the institution while studying. Although in later life colleagues sometimes complained of the slowness of his work, this was clearly through painstaking effort rather than laziness, and he was undeniably dependable. He graduated in 1876 and went into school teaching.

In 1880 he met Charles Eliot Norton (1827–1908) who, as first president of the Archaeological Institute of America, recognised Haynes' interest in the ancient world and secured him a place on an excavation in Crete. The Cretan work was to be led by William Stillman (1828–1901) a rather flamboyant figure, a devotee of pre-Raphaelitism and one time American consul to Crete. In this latter post he had championed Cretan independence from the Ottoman Empire, and this led to his expedition of 1881 failing to gain a firman.

With this disappointment Stillman left Crete for Athens, accompanied by Haynes, and during their sojourn of some two months there, Stillman taught Haynes the newly emerging skill of photography. Ousterhout is at pains to point out that while Stillman was heavily influenced by John Ruskin (1819–1900) and his views on the picturesque, Haynes had no such academic interest in art. He simply knew how to take a good photograph and had picked up the principles of composition from his tutor.

We are also told that Haynes was not especially competent with the technical aspects of photography and often had difficulties in making plates and prints. However, this seems rather unfair. It is clear from the text that he was often supplied with mediocre materials and was working in extremely difficult conditions. It is equally apparent that he was at great pains to ensure that his photographic plates and other equipment were extremely well cared for, to the extent that his plates were undamaged despite being dropped from a donkey so heavily that the



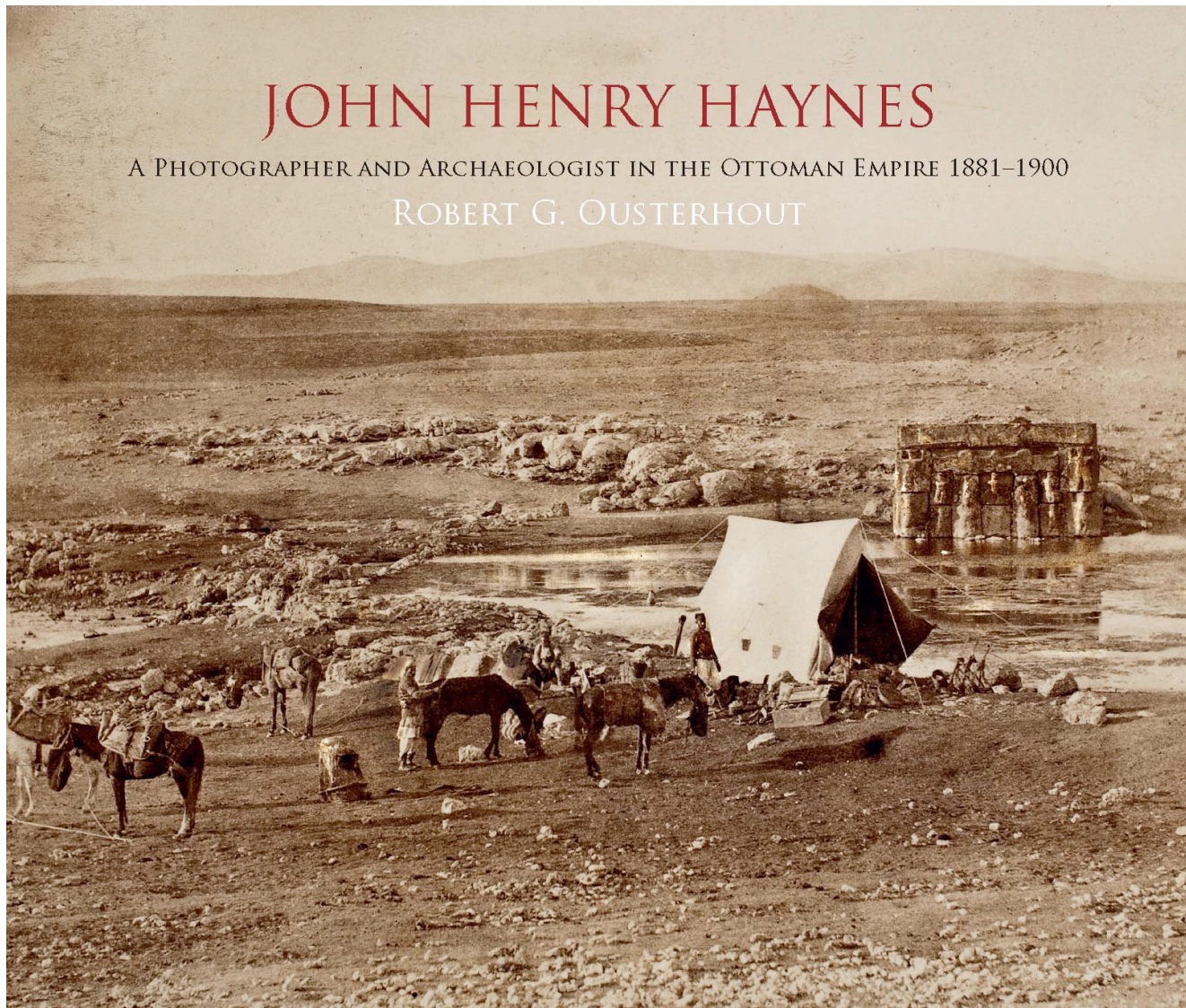
wooden packing around them broke.

As one might expect, the majority of this book is devoted to high quality reproductions of images by Haynes, taken from his work at various archaeological sites. He also travelled widely within the Ottoman realm and learned the rudiments of archaeology.

It is worth noting that few if any of the photographs in this book might be considered as 'archaeological site photographs in the modern sense, for a recognition of the need to photograph excavation trenches with features and finds *in situ* had not yet arrived. Rather, the views are of the monuments or parts of them—sometimes with workmen—in their landscape. Ousterhout makes much of the composition of some of the views, as for example in Plate 14, in which a rock-cut grave at Assos is apparently mirrored by the position of a workman posing

with a black umbrella behind his head. This may be a deliberate reflection of the form of the grave, but it could equally be to help the figure stand out against the background. I am not entirely convinced by some of the compositions seen by Ousterhout, but that does not in any way detract from the book.

Haynes was particularly fond of photographing in Cappadocia and produced some impressive views of the region. He was fascinated by the idea that the 'fairy chimneys' might be very early dwellings, much earlier than the Byzantine date now ascribed to them. However, he seems to have felt that his lack of formal education, when compared to many of those with whom he worked at Assos and elsewhere, disadvantaged him, reducing him simply to a technician rather than a true archaeologist. He did not, it appears, appreciate the artistic merit of his work but rather





saw it as a tool within archaeology; he wanted to be credited as an archaeologist.

His opportunity arose when the University of Pennsylvania was unable to obtain a field director for their third season of work at Nuffar/Nippur (1893–96). Haynes did his best here in very difficult conditions. Not only was he isolated and unqualified as a field archaeologist, but he was also under constant criticism from colleagues, notably the German scholar Hermann Vollrath Hilprecht (1859–1925), who arrived on site at the end of the project, claimed the credit for finding a great ‘library’ of cuneiform tablets, and wrote off Haynes’ work as incompetent. Hilprecht was himself eventually censured, but not before Haynes had suffered mental breakdown and the ruin of his health.

Overall, Haynes comes across as an intelligent and dependable individual who was often placed in situations for which he was not properly qualified, but who, nonetheless, did his best in them. While he may have wanted to be known as the archaeologist who discovered the Temple Library at Nippur, he is clearly going to be best remembered for the outstanding images he produced, which are used to such good effect in this book.

*Paul T. Nicholson*

*Cornucopia is offering ASTENE members a special discount on purchases of this book. For details see <http://cornucopia.net/astene.html> .*

***Explorers of the Nile: The Triumph and Tragedy of a Great Victorian Adventure*, by Tim Jeal. Faber and Faber, 2011. 528 pp, ISBN 978-0571249756. £25.00.**

In a previous work—*Stanley: The Impossible Life of Africa’s Greatest Explorer* (2007)—Tim Jeal demonstrated his ability to produce a fresh study of an ostensibly well-known story. *Stanley* was a tightly written and engaging example of non-fiction at its best. In *Explorers of the Nile: The Triumph and Tragedy of a Great Victorian Adventure*, Jeal has repeated his earlier achievement, even more successfully. Here, the story of 19th-century European exploration in Africa is written with such verve that readers can race through its more than 500 pages as easily as though they were handling a magazine.

As remarkable as it seems today, in 1850 the source of the River Nile remained unknown to Europeans. This ignorance, which likewise troubled Ptolemy in the 2nd century, proved irksome to the Victorians, who found themselves better placed than their forebears to do something about abolishing this gap in geographical knowledge. The journey towards wisdom was by no means an easy one, with local conflicts, gross geographical obstacles, adverse climatic conditions—both sweltering summers and rainy seasons—and attendant tropical diseases killing off most of those who set off to search for the Nile’s source.

While the main thrust of Jeal’s story may be the rivalry between Richard Burton and John Hanning Speke, he also allots room to other imperial greats of geographical and other exploration. These include Samuel Baker, David Livingstone, Henry Morton Stanley, Mungo Park, Richard Lemon Lander and Alexine Tinné.

The rivalry between Burton and Speke is sure to be familiar to ASTENE members, who may already find themselves in the camp of one or the other of the two men. Regardless of any imagined familiarity with the material, there is much in Jeal’s account that will appeal, not least the first full-throated defence of Speke for a generation or more.

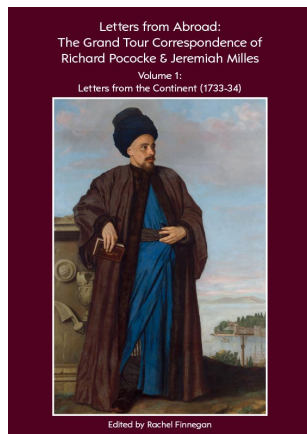
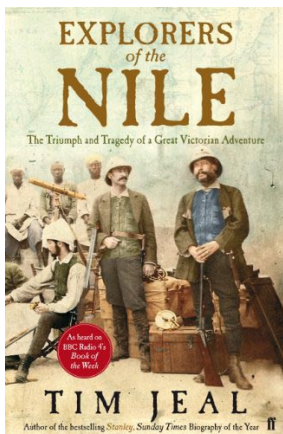
The shooting accident that saw the death of Speke in advance of his public debate with Burton as to the route of the Nile was tragic; the behaviour of Burton in its wake was unforgivable. The passage of time and his other achievements do not exculpate Burton’s guilt in spreading the rumour that Speke had committed suicide, which suggestion was far more disgraceful than it might be today. Had Speke lived, it is not clear that he would have convinced the world that he was right about the source of the Nile. After his death he had no chance against the publicity-hungry machine that Burton drove through Victorian London and beyond. Burton seemed to relish the free hand fate had dealt him, never passing up an opportunity to speak ill of Speke.

In 1886, two years after Speke’s death, a granite obelisk was erected in Hyde Park, with the rather insipid inscription: ‘In memory of Speke, Victoria Nyanza and the Nile 1864’. While not carved in granite, Jeal’s book is in many ways a



more fitting memorial, and one upon which, one hopes, more readers will cast their eyes, rather than passing by the stone in Hyde Park.

*Eamonn Gearon*



***Letters from Abroad: The Grand Tour Correspondence of Richard Pococke & Jeremiah Milles, Vol. 1: Letters from the Continent (1733–1734), edited by Rachel Finnegan. Piltown, Co Kilkenny, Pococke Press, 2011. Pb, 336 pp, ISBN: 978-0-9569058-0-2. €18.***

The Grand Tour was a finishing school for many young men of means for almost 200 years from the late 17th century until the advent of rail travel in the mid-19th century. For the sons of the aristocracy and the landed gentry, especially in Britain and Ireland, the Grand Tour was a rite of passage that completed their liberal education.

They followed similar routes, with their valets, guides and cooks, as they learned about painting, sculpture and the Classics and spent time in Venice and Rome. They returned with crates of art, books, paintings, sculpture and other items that displayed their acquisition of taste, culture and knowledge. Thus the Grand Tour symbolised wealth and freedom and marked a ritual entry to genteel society in the British Isles.

Irish aristocrats whose accounts of the Grand Tour have come down to us either through their published works or their architectural legacy include James Caulfeild (1728–99), 1st Earl of Charlemont, and Frederick Hervey (1730–1803), Bishop of Derry and 4th Earl of Bristol. Later, Howe Peter Browne (1788–1845), 2nd Marquess of Sligo, met Byron in Athens, brought a ship full of antiquities from Greece to Westport

House in Co Mayo, including the 3,000-year old columns from the so-called Treasury of Atreus at Mycenae, and gave the name Delphi to his private fishery.

Now Dr Rachel Finnegan, who lectures in cultural and heritage studies in the Waterford Institute of Technology, is working on the previously unpublished Grand Tour correspondence of Richard Pococke (1705–65), later Bishop of Ossory, and his younger cousin Jeremiah Milles (1714–84), later Precentor of Waterford Cathedral (1736), Dean of Exeter 1762 and President of the Society of Antiquaries. They set out in 1734 and 1736 on two tours of continental Europe, which they recorded in their travel journals and 53 surviving letters, including 22 letters from Pococke to his mother and many more from both cousins to their uncle, Thomas Milles, Bishop of Waterford and Lismore.

Some years ago, the Rev'd Professor John R Bartlett, former Principal of the Church of Ireland Theological College, published an account of Pococke's travels in Lebanon in 1738. But Dr Finnegan's planned series promises much more. In the first volume of a three-volume collection she reproduces the edited Grand Tour letters of that first voyage (1733–34). Their tour was cut short when Milles decided to return to Ireland to become Treasurer of Lismore Cathedral in his uncle's diocese. The second and third volumes promise to follow their second tour of continental Europe (1736–37) and Pococke's continuing tour of the eastern Mediterranean (1737–41), beginning with his arrival at Leghorn.

This volume also includes biographies of the two correspondents and of the recipients of the letters: Pococke's mother, Elizabeth, who lived near Southampton, and her brother, the Bishop of Waterford and Lismore.

Dr Finnegan was previously at the British School of Archaeology at Athens (1989–91), and worked at the Royal Irish Academy (1991–95). She has written on the connoisseurship of the 2nd Earl of Bessborough, the Divan Club, Richard Twiss's Tour of Ireland in 1775, and Bishop Pococke's improvements to Saint Canice's Cathedral, Kilkenny. Now in these three volumes she promises to rescue Pococke from a previous description as 'the dullest man that ever travelled'.

Finnegan has gone through the letters from Pococke and Milles in the British Library (and has found three further letters in the Gloucestershire Archives). She has carefully reconstructed the passages deleted by either Pococke or his mother, giving us fresh insights in matters from his problematic financial dealings with an Irish banker, to his careful attention to his wigs and his wardrobe, to his petty observations of the great and powerful: the Doge of Venice was 'like an old woman', the Pope, then 84, was 'blind, they say, but looks well'.

The Bishop of Waterford and Lismore was totally unfazed during these years by the fact that his nephew was absent from his diocese for such a lengthy period, even though he was Vicar-General of Lismore, Precentor of Lismore Cathedral and the incumbent of at least nine parishes. Indeed, the bishop may have financed the tours. Certainly, Pococke was typical of the many pluralist and absentee clergy of the day, though better travelled. Absence and neglect were no hindrance to preferment, and he went on to become Archdeacon of Dublin (1746), Bishop of Ossory (1756) and Bishop of Meath (1765). In Kilkenny, where he spent almost a decade, he is best remembered as the founder of the Pococke School, now amalgamated with Kilkenny College.

At first, Pococke may have decided not to publish his letters and journals because of the scathing attacks and disdain he endured from fellow travellers, but he later wrote up his travels in two volumes called *A Description of the East* (1743 and 1745).

Apart from leaving letters and papers, Pococke also left mummies, both human and animal, which he had acquired in Egypt. How did he come to acquire them? To know this and to learn about his travels in the eastern Mediterranean, including Greece, Turkey, Lebanon and Egypt, we must wait for the later volumes, and Volume 3 in particular, promised in 2012.

*Patrick Comerford*

*The reviewer lectures in Anglicanism and Liturgy at the Church of Ireland Theological Institute and Trinity College Dublin.*



*Column from the temple to Amon and Mut, Jebel Barkal, Sudan.*



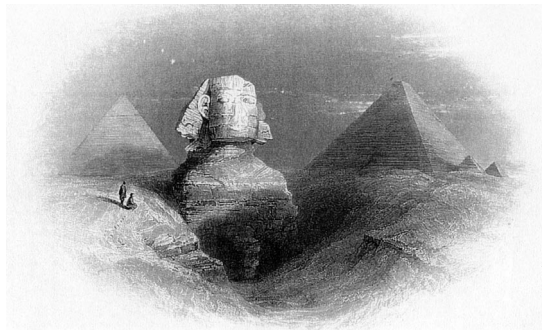
# Research Resources

## Bankes' Drawings

For the Southampton Conference in 2007, ASTENE had laser scans made of some Bankes' drawings. Francesca Radcliffe had been storing these but has now been able to deposit the scans at Kingston Lacey, where they will be displayed and then kept in better conditions.

## Edith Durham

Members who missed the Pitt Rivers Museum exhibition on Edith Durham's photos and drawings for her book *The Struggle for Scutari* (1914) may like to know that her papers are held at the Royal Anthropological Society in London, though several of her photographs are in the Pitt Rivers' historic field photo collection.



# Queries and Replies

*Deb Manley writes:*

On 18 December 1851 James Laird Patterson recorded in his *Journal of a Tour in Egypt, Palestine, Syria and Greece* [right through ASTENE-land] that he went to look at the Consul General's young hippopotamus, which he planned to send to England the following summer. Patterson thought it 'the oddest looking creature I ever saw, not unlike the Regius Professor of ..... [left blank] in the face. It follows one about and dubs its nose against one like a large puppy. It wallows in a muddy tank, but comes out to see anyone who enters the yard.'

The word 'dubs' is correct from the text—I know what it means; don't you?

Does any reader know if this hippo ever reached England and where it lived there?



# Footprints

## **Murray's *Itineraries for Eastern Turkey: 1854 to 1878***

*At the ASTENE conference in Manchester in 2005, Lisa French gave a paper on Murray's Itineraries for Eastern Turkey: 1854 to 1878. As it was not published in the subsequent collection of conference papers, we are presenting an abridged version here; it is a perfect complement to the review of the latest guide to eastern Turkey printed in Bulletin 49. Map redrawn from Murray's 1854 original.*

The first two editions of Murray's *Handbook for the East* covered the whole of Greece and the eastern Mediterranean parts of the Ottoman Empire. In 1854 a third edition of this *Handbook for Travellers* appeared, 'revised and greatly enlarged'. In it Turkey was separated from Greece and the Ionian Islands with a third book covering the Levantine provinces of the Ottoman Empire. The guide to Turkey included for the first time a section on the routes through the east of the country and a remarkably good map. Eastern Turkey is a world unto itself, very different from the column-strewn landscape of Asia Minor. As recently as 1994 the *Rough Guide* called it 'the hitherto invisible back half of Turkey'. It was an area you needed a good reason to visit—usually in order to reach the lands beyond. This is an area we think we know from Xenophon, from campaigns by Caesar and Corbulo and the poems of Catullus. In 1960 I experienced the culture shock that travel here causes in one used to the Aegean area, and my own background as a Classicist was similar to that of our 19th-century travellers.

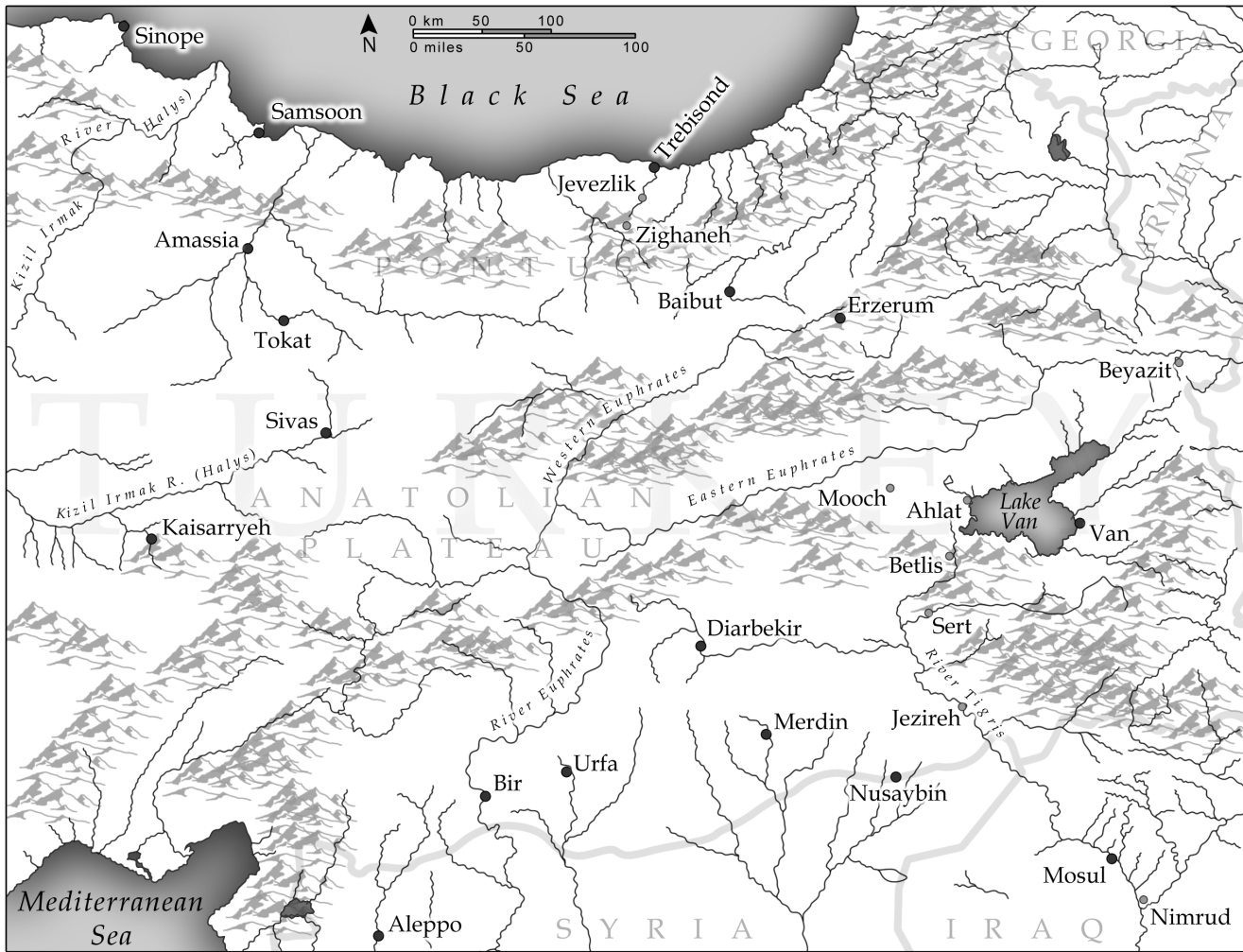
Murray had himself created the opportunity to treat Turkey separately when he published Austen Layard's *Nineveh and its Remains* in 1849 and *Nineveh and Babylon* in 1853. Layard was not in England when his first book was published, as he had left to take up a post in Constantinople. But he had already been honoured by Oxford and received the gold medal of the Royal Geographical Society, and his book was very

successful. In the preface to the 1854 *Handbook* Murray thanked Layard as one from whom specific information had been obtained.

On his first journey to Mosul, Layard travelled via Aleppo, taking 24 days. He eschewed the most direct route across the desert and travelled through the foothills to the north through what are now Birecik and Urfa, to Nusaybin on the modern frontier between Turkey and Syria. He did not describe his return route. Three years later Layard obtained funding to excavate in the area of Mosul. He travelled by sea from Constantinople to Samsun and then in 12 days, using post-horses, through Pontus, across the open uplands of the Uzun Yayla and beyond that into the Tigris valley.

This route from Samsun via Amasya was an official Ottoman route, shown by the availability of post-horses. Modern Samsun is very un-photogenic, but the old postcards from the beginning of the last century show it where it belongs among the traditional Black Sea ports. Amasya was a favourite with the Ottoman Sultans and remains charming. From here Layard went on to Tokat (which a later edition of Murray's *Handbook* says had a 'first class post house'). So far the journey had been through Classical 'Pontos', but soon after this the traveller would reach the broad spaces of the Anatolian plateau. Layard's crossing of the Kizil Irmak, the ancient Halys, was probably at Sivas. What he terms 'the great steppes of the Usun Yilak' stretch between here and the Euphrates valley and form the watershed between the Black Sea and the Mediterranean. Descending through 'the high lands into the valley of the Tigris' he passed through Diyarbekir with its black granite walls and thence to Mosul, to the site he first thought was Nineveh but which he later realized was Nimrud. This was a well-provisioned and long-known route, so Layard did not describe it, but apparently by the time he returned from that trip the countryside was 'very insecure'; though Layard was an intrepid traveller even he accepted an armed escort!





In his second book Layard described another route at greater length. Because they were now a large group, travelling to the renewed and enlarged excavation, they had to travel 'in caravan', but he still wished to 'avoid the usual tracks'. They left Constantinople on 28 August and reached Trabzon in good enough weather to use the easternmost route, which was the shortest but the most precipitous and least used of the routes to the South, through the Tchairler (upland pastures). He made a nice sketch of the church at Varzahan and said dryly, 'Uninterrupted rain for two days tried the patience and temper of those who for the first time encountered the difficulties and incidents of Eastern travel'. The route ran across country to Ahlat, skirting the western shore of Lake Van to reach Bitlis. In Erzerum he had stayed with Mr Brant, the British Consul, and with him called on the Governor. From here his route was chosen 'both on account of the novelty of part of the country in a geographical point of view

and its political interest as having only recently been brought under the immediate control of the Turkish government'. Layard's account is vivid with copious descriptions; he had become a skilled travel writer.

The routes given by Murray in the 1854 *Handbook* occupy some ten pages of text. Itineraries 59 and 60 ran from Trabzon to Beyazit via Erzerum and continuing to Persia, essentially the route I myself followed in 1960. There are three possible variants on the short section south between Jevezlik and Bayburt, the two not described by Layard being the central via Kara Katan and western through the Zigana pass. Possible traces of the Roman road have been identified on the Zigana route, the one followed by the modern E100 road. Itinerary 61, from Trabzon to Baghdad, is that described in detail by Layard in his second book, *Nineveh and Babylon*, where he argues that it is largely the route taken by Xenophon and the 10,000. Somewhat surprisingly, Layard's earlier Samsun-

Tigris route was not described, though it was marked on the map.

Murray was able to produce his guides because of personal input by people such as Layard. It was a system that Murray developed assiduously, collecting individual itineraries from one and all. The next edition of this *Handbook* appeared in 1871 and comprised some 60 pages of itinerary text, including over 20 varied routes. This was a marked expansion from the thin listings of the 1854 edition. There were two maps in end pockets, one for the west and one for the east, the latter showing more detail to the south but not extending further east than Trabzon. Detail was added to the itineraries given previously; for example, the Zigana route was measured carefully by pedometer. The range of sources was diverse: Dr Van Lennep, a missionary; well-known names such as Texier and Svoboda; military men such as Major Champain RE and a Dr Springer. One who attracted my interest when I used to check the British Institute at Ankara Library once a year was R. G. Watson of the Legation in Persia. A five-page verbatim account of his journey from Tehran to Constantinople via Trabzon in midwinter was included in the *Handbook*. Watson travelled with the monthly English courier and a post-boy who changed at each station. Travelling in this way, a journey to India 'need not cost more than a passage in one of the steamers of the Peninsular and Orient company from Southampton to Alexandria and a passage thence to Bombay by Suez and Aden,' he said.

By 1871 the shortest route to Mosul was said to be that of Itinerary 86: by steamer from Constantinople to Trabzon and then via Erzerum, Mus, Bitlis, Sirt and Jezirah; not quite but very nearly Layard's 'caravan' route. The 1871 edition was revised in 1878. Additions largely concerned the recent excavations by Wood at Ephesus and Schlieman at Troy and the founding of the railway system. However, in the preface the editor waxed lyrical on the east of the country: 'The great valleys of the Euphrates and Tigris, through which may ere long run a highway to India, have been for the first time opened up to the Traveller'—note the capital T. There were interesting alterations to the section by Watson on costs. It was moved from the text

of an itinerary to the introduction to this part of the *Handbook* and was expanded to two full pages as 'the result of enquiries,' Watson said.

Even for professional travel these routes suffered from two disadvantages already met by Layard: banditry and disease. In Tokat I came upon a tombstone in the courtyard of the Medrese Museum. It was inscribed in impeccable English to mark the grave of a military doctor who had died there on his return journey from India. But the steep decline in these routes was not from such hazards but from progress, particularly the long distance railway built by the Russians across the Caucasus from the Black Sea. By 1895 the *Handbook* (which my father acquired when he first travelled in Turkey in 1902) had been entirely rewritten, restructured and elaborately indexed. The world it portrayed was very different from that which Layard had described.

*Lisa French*

#### **From Dr Madden to Dr Richardson**

In his *Travels in Turkey, Nubia and Palestine, in 1824–27*, Richard Robert Madden creates each chapter as a letter to various people, this one being addressed to Dr Robert Richardson, the Earl of Belmore's doctor.

Dear Sir,

On the base of one of the colossal statues which bears the name of Memnon, and which is covered with the inscriptions of ancient Greeks, in attestation of the statue's salutation of the sun, among the names of many enlightened travellers of ancient and modern times who have recorded on that monument their visit to the most celebrated city of all antiquity, I had the pleasure of reading your name, and that of Mr Salt (the Consul General). In other places I found the names of Bruce, Burkhardt, Belzoni, and many far-famed individuals. Some of them written with a pencil, others scratched with the point of a knife; many, after half a century, are as legible as ever, lightly as they were traced, their characters are un-effaced; but the hands which formed them have long since forgotten their cunning.

Thebes [Luxor], August 29, 1826



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