

ASTENE

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

BULLETIN



NOTES AND QUERIES

NUMBER 78: WINTER 2019

Bulletin: Notes and Queries

Number 78: Winter 2019

Editor: Robert Morkot

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Bulletin 79: Spring 2019

Submissions for the next Bulletin must be received by **30 April 2019**. We welcome articles, queries, replies and other related matters from members and interested readers. Please send contributions to the Editor, Cathy McGlynn (bulletin@astene.org.uk).

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Cover photo:
45 and 46 Bedford Square, London, home to the Baillie family

ASTENE NEWS AND EVENTS

Apology

Apologies to Peta Rée whose name slipped off the end of her article 'Natty on the Nile' in the previous Bulletin: fortunately, it did appear in the contents list.

Subscriptions

Thank you to all those members who have renewed their membership already for 2019. It would be helpful if you could let me know on membershipastene@gmail.com if you plan to pay your subscription alongside your conference fee, so that I do not send you unnecessary reminders.

Carey Cowham
Membership Secretary

ASTENE Treasurer

ASTENE is seeking a new Treasurer. Janet Starkey's term came to an end at the AGM of 2018, but she has nobly and efficiently carried on. Please can we have a volunteer! Janet is only too happy to initiate the prospective Treasurer into the mysteries.

Request for contributions

The Editor is happy to receive articles, short notes, queries etc for the Bulletin. There have been very few offers for the past two Bulletins, so if you have something you wish to share, or ask, please do! This is your Bulletin – so please contribute.

Thirteenth Biennial ASTENE Conference 2019 CALL FOR PAPERS

**Friday 12 July – Monday 15 July 2019 at the
University of York and the Railway Museum, York**

Deadline for abstract submission is 15 March 2019

This updates the information in the preceding Bulletin.

We are very pleased to give you more details about the thirteenth ASTENE biennial international conference to be held at the University of York from Friday 12 July to Monday 15 July 2019. This will include an afternoon session at the Railway Museum, York on Sunday 14 July and a planned excursion to York Minster and to Castle Howard on Monday 15 July. The prices are very similar to those for the Norwich and Exeter Conferences.

Registration

The Conference Booking Form and Bursary Application Form will be available on www.astene.org.uk from 16 January 2019 with the deadline to submit bookings by 15 March and no later than the 20 June 2019 if possible. Bursary applications by 1 March to 2019yorkastene@gmail.com

Call for Papers

Offers of papers are beginning to arrive and indicate that we will be able to offer an interesting and stimulating programme. Now is the time to send in your ideas, titles and abstracts — ideally by 15 March to 2019yorkastene@gmail.com or to jcmstarkey@gmail.com.

Please send an abstract of not more than 250 words on or before 15 March 2019 for consideration by the Conference Committee. Please give your name, email address, proposed title, and a short abstract. As a rough guideline, presentations will be for 20 minutes, with an additional five minutes for discussion. Participants will be informed about the acceptance of their paper by 7 April 2019.

Suggested Topics

As usual, we welcome papers from a wide range of disciplines and interests connected with travel to and from the Near and Middle East. We would love to hear from anyone who might be interested in contributing a talk about Orientalist Art, on Lady Mary Wortley Montagu (who lived near York at one time); on travel in classical times and during the Byzantine Empire; on Crusader travellers; on travel from India and the Far East to or throughout the Middle East and Egypt; on pilgrimages and pilgrims as travellers.

Do any of you have a paper to offer about exploring archaeology and/or ancient monuments through travel accounts? How about a session on botanical-travellers, on those to or from Ottoman lands? It would be interesting to run a session on fictional travellers in the region (John Mandeville, *Vathek* and the like), on different approaches to reading and interpreting travelogues ... and more. For the session at the railway museum, we welcome papers on steam and rail travel in Egypt,

Sudan, and the Middle East including Iran and North Africa.

Focus Sessions and Round-Table Discussions. The Committee is happy to consider possible Focus Session proposals for discussions to include a maximum of four papers. We also welcome ideas for more informal Round-Table Discussions with a clear focus, with the explicit purpose to promote discussion on specific issues or work currently in progress, the current state of scholarship, issues involved in the application of new approaches and models, etc. If you would like to propose a Focus Session or a Round-Table Session, please send us a summary of up to 200 words and the name of the person coordinating the session.

Posters

Sometimes researchers are not yet in a position to present a full paper but may want participants to hear all about their project(s), so a poster is an excellent and interesting way to present your ideas. The Committee is happy to receive submissions for the presentation of research posters (anything from A1 to A4). The deadline for the submission of poster abstracts is 31 May 2019. For further information please contact us on 2019yorkastene@gmail.com

Publication

As usual, we will be selecting a group of papers to be reworked and resubmitted for publication to appear in time for the next ASTENE conference in 2021. Only those papers that are actually presented at the Conference will be considered for publication, and they will be subject to editorial and peer review. Further details about the process will be available on-line in July 2019.

Conference Bursaries

Three Conference Bursaries are being offered – please consult www.astene.org.uk after 15 January 2019 for the Application Form or contact treasurerastene@gmail.com for further information.

The Venues

The conference is to be held in Vanbrugh College, University of York, Heslington, York YO10 5DD. Several of us have visited the venue and are very impressed. Everything is integrated and there are no steep hills to negotiate or long distances between the accommodation, the lecture rooms and the dining room. We plan a film night on the Friday evening and a conference dinner on the Saturday. To discover more about the York University venue go to

<https://www.york.ac.uk/colleges/vanbrugh/>
and about their conference facilities go to
<https://yorkconferences.com/>

The Conference trip on Monday 15 July will be to the York Minster area (<https://yorkminster.org/>) in the morning followed by a visit to Castle Howard with its curious pyramids in the afternoon www.castlehoward.co.uk. We hope we will be able to view relevant archives at these venues. Members will be able to buy their own lunch at Castle Howard which has excellent facilities.

Map

For a map of the York campus, go to <https://www.york.ac.uk/map/>

Railway Museum, York

For the afternoon from lunchtime on Sunday 14 July sessions will be held at the Railway Museum, York. Apart from some ASTENE presentations, there will be opportunities to view video footage of Middle Eastern railways, discover relevant items in the collections in the stores and generally enjoy the atmosphere of this unique museum. If you are interested in seeing any particular object in their collections, please search <https://collection.sciencemuseum.org.uk/> and send the relevant details to 2019yorkastene@gmail.com or to jcmstarkey@gmail.com by 30 June 2019. For more on this wonderful museum see www.railwaymuseum.org.uk/

Directions

Transport links to York are excellent but it pays to book early. The following website www.york.ac.uk/students/new/international/travelling-to-york/ gives basic information for students travelling to the University of York by air, rail, bus and car, with maps and advice.

Parking

Parking on campus should not be a problem during the conference as the university term will have ended for the summer. For those members who will be travelling to York Campus by car, free parking is available on the Saturday and Sunday and from 18.00 each evening through to 08.00 each morning. On Friday and Monday please use the parking meters provided. Currently the pay and display charges are £1 per hour for up to 4 hours or £6 for up to ten hours.

York as a wonderful and historic venue. You can find plenty of information about York with its Roman

and Viking past; its wonderful Minster, around 30 museums, and famous town wall; great shops and restaurants. For examples, go to www.visit-york.org/

ASTENE and its connections with York

Morris Bierbrier and other ASTENE members have discovered that there are several travellers from Yorkshire who travelled to Egypt. These include:

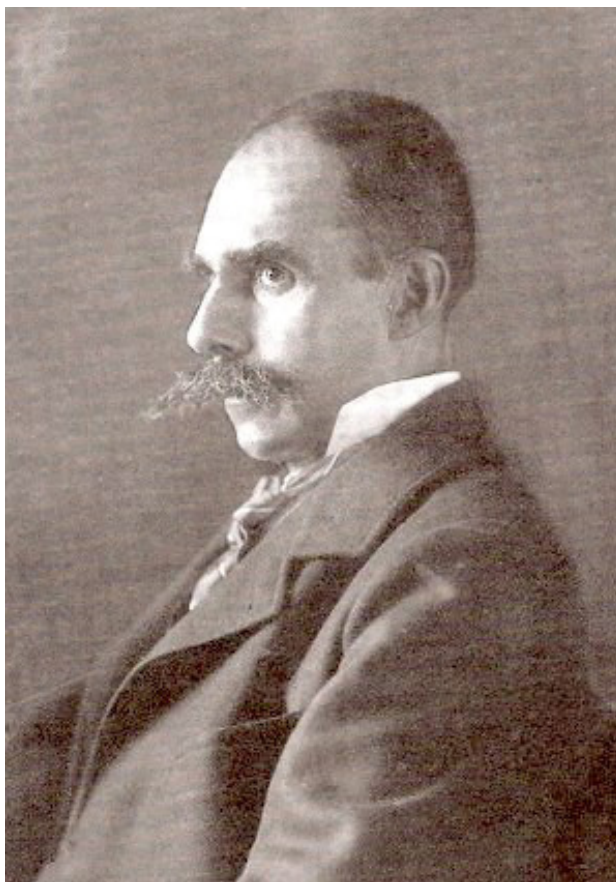
1. George Sandys (1578–1644), son of the Archbishop of York. He was born in Bishopthorpe Palace, the residence of the current Bishop of York. Visited Egypt and explored the pyramids as well as travelling throughout the Ottoman Empire.
2. Robert James Gordon (1786–1823). Born Bantry, Yorks. Naval officer. Explored Egypt and the Sudan
3. Thomas Pease (1816–1884). Born in Leeds. Was in Egypt 1845–1846. Formed a collection.
4. William Arnold Stewart (1882–1953). who taught arts and crafts in Egypt (www.griffith.ox.ac.uk/gri/4stewart.html)
5. William Osburn (1793-1875). Merchant, Egyptologist, writer from Leeds who wrote on Egyptian subjects (www.thoresby.org.uk/content/people/osburn.php)
6. <http://britishhistorybreaks.com/explore/middlethorpe-hall/> indicates connections with Lady Mary Wortley Montagu but it is now a premium hotel so probably won't have much left from the 18th century to attract ASTENE interest!
7. John B. Sawrey Morritt (1772–1843) of Rokeby Hall in Yorkshire, and two companions, crossed the Carpathians from Transylvania into Wallachia in carriages drawn by oxen. He travelled in the Ottoman Empire in 1794.
8. Sir Edward Barton (c.1562–1598) was from Yorkshire; he worked in Constantinople for the Levant Company from 1578 and was Ambassador to the Ottoman Empire from 1588 to 1598, appointed by Queen Elizabeth I of England.
9. In Ripley Castle, Yorkshire is a painting of Constantinople by the Dutch artist Jan van der Steen, who travelled with a group of Englishmen to Aleppo in 1780 after ten years working at the Swedish Embassy in Constantinople and then on to India; he died in Bengal in 1782
10. Sir Mark Sykes (of Sykes-Picot Agreement fame) (1879–1919) was brought up in Sledmere House. Most winters he travelled with his father Sir Tatton Sykes (1826–1913) around the Ottoman Empire

11. When Agatha Christie went missing for 11 days in 1926, claiming amnesia, she was found in a hotel in Yorkshire!

We have discovered that there are Turkish Baths at Harrogate, opened in 1897 when the *Yorkshire* spa was very popular! No doubt ASTENE members can discover more connections with York and Yorkshire. Please let us know via 2019yorkastene@gmail.com

Next ASTENE Tour

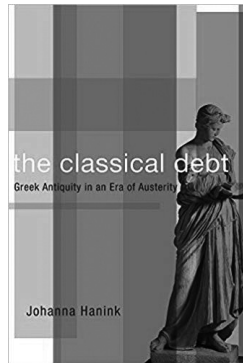
A number of suggestions have been made for the next ASTENE Tour (with projected date of 2020). Ethiopia has been proposed – but will probably be expensive; similarly, Sudan (with added uncomfortable element). Two Grecian options have been suggested: Malcolm Wagstaff a visit based on Chios; and Elisabeth Woodthorpe a tour through northern Greece, flying into Thessaloniki, then via Philippi, and Delphi to Athens. Malcolm has retired from organising, so someone else would need to take control! Any offers to organise or other proposals, to the editor please.



Jan Herman Insinger (see reviews)

BOOKS AND REVIEWS

Hanink, Johanna, *The Classical Debt: Greek Antiquity in an Era of Austerity*. Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts and London, England, 2017, 337 pp., £21.95, ISBN: 978 0674971547.



This book is not all about what the ancient Greeks did for us, but that's part of the story. The author, an Associate Professor of Classics at Brown University, lived in Greece from February 2014 to June 2015 and observed the suffering that took place during the economic crisis. Hanink noted that what she saw contrasted starkly with the Greek and international media's coverage of the crisis. Cartoons that appeared in the press used iconography representing ancient Greece to depict the modern "Greek Tragedy", showing Greek banks as classical ruins, etc. Could the financial crisis be said to exemplify Greece's 'captivity in the golden prison of a classical ideal'?

The introductory chapter, *Champions of the West*, sets forth the author's objectives and provides an overview of the structure of the book. The classical debt of the title is not just the long-established view that ancient Greece was the source of modern Western civilisation, which provided it with the principles of democracy, rationality, mathematics, philosophy and art. There is also an abstract notion of Greek debt that originated in the 19th century: a symbolic debt that Western culture owes to modern Greece for its classical inheritance. She quotes Stephen Fry's contribution to the debate about return of the Elgin Marbles in 2012 as a prime example of the understanding of this symbolic debt: "... no matter how much the sovereign debt crisis means they owe us, we will never repay the debt we owe Greece."

Hanink explores the birth and development of Europe's fascination with ancient Greece and deconstructs certain views that came to be held about it as the source of Western civilisation. She mentions the hypothesis of an Eastern 'flaw of corruption', whereby the Greeks took on negative Eastern attributes under Byzantine and Turkish dominion that made them less noble than their classical ancestors. This was evidenced in criticisms of Greece during the economic crisis, which she preliminarily discusses. Hanink makes a case that the Greek ideal is 'untenable' and 'overdue for death'.

The author asks key questions that are at the heart of the book: 'How much does the Western world continue to owe the Greek people for things that their ancestors did thousands of years ago? Is the idea that Greek antiquity is the root of the modern West just a mirage, or has Brexit proved that an admiration of ancient Greece is actually a stronger bond among Western nations, especially in Europe, than fragile modern political coalitions such as the European Union and NATO? Finally, if the 21st century is proving that we are not all Greeks after all, then who are we?' The ensuing chapters of the book trace and examine how the idea of the "classical debt" to Greece arose and evolved.

In the excellent and well-argued chapter 2, *How Athens Built Its Brand*, Hanink contends that many people falsely imagine an idyllic ancient Greece. Athens of the fifth century BCE is seen as a 'peaceful city of marble temples and civilized conversation'. Hanink presents a convincing scenario for how this ubiquitous belief came to prevail.

Ancient Athenian propaganda created an idealised image of the city and the Athenians. The idealised image was embodied in Pericles' imperial building program to restore the Acropolis and rebuild the Parthenon, and in other achievements in the visual and literary arts. The attributes of Athens' "national brand" were: Athens saved Greece from "barbarians"; Athens is unique; Athens is home of the arts. Hanink suggests that in addition to influencing contemporary thinking about extraordinary Athens, these messages laid the conceptual foundation for the idea of an abstract debt to Greece. However, a negative brand attribute of Athens crept in against

the background of the Peloponnesian War with Sparta (431 – 404 BCE). Related to nostalgia for the generation that led Greece to triumph over Persia, the perception was that Athens was better in the past.

The subject of the next chapter is disillusionment with Greece and negative impressions of the Greeks held by some travellers and collectors of antiquities in the 17th and 18th centuries. The reality of Greece could not stand up to their idealised views of ancient Greece, and the Greeks were deemed 'unworthy successors of their ancient ancestors.' Views held and published by travel writers and antiquarians during the period rationalised the removal of ancient artifacts for better safekeeping and display outside Greece.

The travellers briefly profiled start with the visit to Athens in 1668 by Evliya Çelebi from the Ottoman court. He was very impressed with Athens, and in his *Book of Travels Evliya* wrote one of the earliest accounts of the Parthenon's Periclean-age sculptures. The accounts of Athens by George Wheler and Jacob Spon continue to be valued today because they preserve descriptions of the Parthenon as it looked before it was blown up by the Venetians in 1687. Greece was not included as part of the Grand Tour before the 19th century, and most European visitors to Ottoman-held Greece went for commercial, diplomatic or, as in the case of the English Dilettanti, antiquarian reasons. *The Antiquities of Athens* by James 'Athenian' Stuart and Nicholas Revett, published 1762 – 1794, was acclaimed for its accuracy of detail of the monuments depicted.

In chapter 4, the "classical debt" emerges in its modern form during the late 18th through early 19th centuries as a result of three complementary developments that came together with start of the Greek War of Independence:

1. European scholars invented the impossible fantasy of the "Greek ideal", ostensibly the ancient Greek aesthetic but really an ideal of ancient Greece itself.
2. A Romantic notion took hold that contemporary Greeks were descendants of the ancients who had invented and lived that ideal.
3. Greek independence came to be seen as the first essential steps toward widespread revival of the ancient spirit.'

Greek revolutionaries may not have believed all this, but they recognised its usefulness as

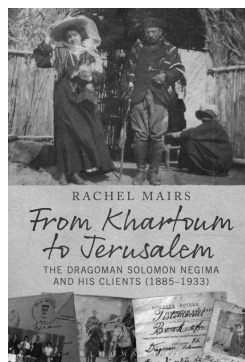
persuasion to Europeans to support the cause of independence, which was successfully presented as an old favour being called in for "Mother Greece". Hanink traces the basis for the development of the updated understanding of "classical debt" through the contributions of six influential figures: classical scholars Johann Joachim Winckelmann and Friedrich August Wolf, Greek revolutionary thinkers Adamantios Korais and Rigas Velesinlis, Lord Elgin and Lord Byron. The author's observations and arguments within these case studies are both perceptive and convincing.

Chapter 5 leaps ahead to developments in Greece from the 1830s through to the early 21st century and the opening of the new Acropolis Museum. The penultimate chapter is about the Greek financial crisis, which is illustrated with a number of political cartoons using ruined classical temples, damaged sculpture, mythological characters and other symbols of ancient Greece. The final chapter, *We Are All Greeks?*, after philhellene Shelley's quotable line from the play *Hellas*, revisits debates about the return of the Elgin Marbles and questions the future of the "classical debt". In the Epilogue, Hanink suggests that educators introduce 'a more honest and realistic perspective to accounts of Greek antiquity.'

The notion of an abstract classical debt owed to Greece, traced over time, is fascinating and enlarges our understanding of classical Greek contributions to Western civilisation beyond the cliché. The author never loses sight of her objectives: exploration of the "Greek ideal" and the "Greek debt". Hanink argues her case in order of the attributes of the ancient Athenian propaganda most effectively in chapter two. For other chapters, her summary of the state of play of the objectives is followed by case histories or historical highlights relevant to the main points of the chapter. The book should appeal to a wide audience: its foundation is academic but it is well-written in a style aimed at the general public. Definitions are provided within the narrative, such as the difference between the philhellenes and the Hellenists. *The Classical Debt* is a good reference in itself, and the Notes and annotated References allow the reader to trace back to source or pursue further reading. The book is well-indexed and appropriately illustrated in black and white. ASTENE members should find the book of great interest, whether or not they decide to delve into modern Greek history and the economics of the financial crisis.

Cathie Bryan

Mairs, Rachel, *From Khartoum to Jerusalem: the Dragoman Solomon Negima and his Clients (1885-1933)*, London/Oxford/New York/Delhi/Sydney: Bloomsbury, 2016, pp. xvi + 261, figs. 49, ISBNs: (HB) 978 1 47425 500 4, (PB) 978 1 35005 412 7, (ePDF) 978 1 47425 502 8, (ePub) 47425 501 1 978 1, 978 0 85773 759 5, print and e-books, online: £59.50, £20.29, £21.91.



Those of us who attended the July 2018 ASTENE AGM in Reading were treated to Rachel Mairs' fascinating lecture entitled 'Solomon Negima, a Palestinian dragoman and his clients'. It was an all too brief overview of her subject, but she very conveniently had already written the far more comprehensive volume here under review. Her research – and this book – extends beyond conventional travel literature, focussing not on an individual traveller or tourist group via their accounts and interactions, but instead on a single dragoman who was hired by them all over a career of more than two decades. Solomon Negima not only intersected with his numerous clients but, as her research highlights, sometimes his clients interacted with each other elsewhere, in ripples inherent in 'six degrees of separation' theory. I find his 1890 clients, the Tremletts, resided in Dedham, Essex, the following year (p. 227, SN 63). My aunt and uncle have lived in Dedham for more than 40 years, and I am a regular visitor. The Tremletts' Dedham residence is now a hotel where I have enjoyed family dinners, and was my cousin's daughter's wedding reception venue. Therefore, I personally am linked to Solomon by only three degrees and, through me, ASTENE by one more.

Mairs has painstakingly pieced together Solomon's life and activities via his 'testament book' of recommendations/attestations from his clients over several decades, together with an associated packet of loose letters and documents. As she notes, her book could not have been written without the

internet. Indeed, it would not have even begun, for she found and purchased online Solomon's book from a shop in Oregon. As with any research dependant on existing documentation, one can only work with what one unearths and can access, and this is testament itself to the wider research accessibility inherent with the internet. Solomon's testaments begin in 1885, with Wolseley's attempt to rescue Gordon at Khartoum, and continue until 1905 in Jerusalem (hence the subtitle). Each testament is numbered, transcribed and footnoted. As much as possible, she has assiduously traced each author's identity and outlined their lives and activities, to varying degrees of certainty and speculation. Some clients wrote detailed memoirs of their trip or their entire biographies in later life, some even published, and here she has focussed on several individual and group clients to flesh out Solomon's professional life as a dragoman. Others are more difficult: 'In the absence of any other information, I have found it impossible to identify [the authors]' (p. 142; SN 8).

She then follows Solomon's later life and relationships with friends, colleagues and acquaintances until his death in 1933, based on the packet of loose letters and other documents. Her research continues into the lives of his children, some of whom emigrated to the US where their descendants still live (and aided her research). I am deliberately not outlining Solomon's life here – you will have to read it for yourself if you were not at the Reading AGM.

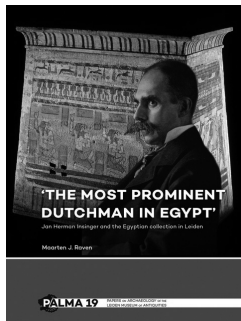
The final result is incredibly wide in scope, and highlights the extent to which a single 'ordinary' person touched and intersected the lives of so many, however briefly. His testaments encompass multiple nationalities, backgrounds and social levels, from British lords and MPs to freed American slaves and former slave owners, all of course financially able employ him. Many clients were traced through newspaper mentions, accounts and official records, and are discussed as fully as these records allow and with some (acknowledged) licence and occasional speculation. They include an unsurprising number of clergymen, some of whom were quite famous in their day and their biographies consequently lengthened, even to a full chapter for Rev. Charles T. Walker. While for many, the Holy Land was their intended destination, others seized a golden opportunity. After a lifetime of judicial service in India, Mr. Tremlett and his Ceylon-born wife interrupted their return to England (and Dedham

house purchase) for an eight-week tour of the Holy Land with Solomon.

All in all, this is an eminently 'dippable' as well as dedicated read. While I would have preferred to see a family tree and list of associates, more client photographs (surely also available on the internet), and more on Solomon's life before 1885 included, I can only admire the dedication inherent in this volume's contents and results.

Jacke Phillips

Raven, Maarten J., *The Most Prominent Dutchman in Egypt: Jan Herman Insinger and the Egyptian Collection in Leiden*, Sidestone Press, 2018, 94 pp, ISBN: 978 90 8890 551 3. €29.95.



From the photograph of Jan Herman Insinger on the cover of this excellent and very helpful monograph about a less well-known Egyptologist and traveller, it is easy to see why the Egyptians gave him the nickname *Abu Sharab*, 'father of the moustache.' The impressive shape, bulk and width of Insinger's moustache are very reminiscent of the pediment found at either end of a Greek temple. His moustache is also a great help for spotting him in other photographs, particularly when many men in them are also sporting the then fashionable amounts of facial hair.

Jan Herman Insinger is one of several wealthy European and American traveller collectors who feature in the background to the history of Egyptology. Often these people suffered from tuberculosis and developed their interest in antiquities when over-wintering in Egypt where they hoped a less strenuous lifestyle and the dry warm climate would ease the debilitating effects of their disease. In Insinger's family, three of his older brothers had already died from tuberculosis, and he is thought to have caught the bacterial infection drinking contaminated milk when a child, therefore,

it is easy to understand why he may have taken up the option of spending the remainder of his life in Egypt.

Insinger arrived in Egypt in 1879 and began his residence in the country living part-time in hotels and on a dahabiyah he hired and renamed *The Mermaid*. He then bought a small steamboat, on which he sailed up and down the Nile so he could visit the ancient sites and learn more about the ancient Egyptians. Having decided that living permanently in Egypt was best for his health and after marrying, in 1881, Mariam Mansour Hanna Daraoun from Lebanon, Insinger decided in the late 1880s, to build a house at Luxor for his wife and growing family, naming it *Palmenburg* or *Palm Castle*, a play on the name *Pijnenburg* or *Pine Castle*, his family's country estate in the Netherlands. The two houses could not have been more different in appearance or setting. Insinger designed *Palmenburg* himself and, not surprisingly, being so large its construction occupied many years.

My own interest in Insinger began when I first saw a black & white photograph in a book of the 'striped' house he built for himself and his family at Luxor. Working as an architect I was fascinated by this unusually large and at the same time rather bland house and was intrigued to discover the colour of the darker stripes, which for some reason I imagined could be red in colour. (*A website now offers a colourised version of another black & white photograph of the house showing the darker stripes in red, but does not include the facts on which this colour is based.*)



Jan Herman Insinger's house in Luxor

Also, because from outside the house closely resembled a striped cardboard gift box, albeit with a tiny turret at one end corner, a stumpy tower

in the centre modelled on the Palazzo Vecchio in Florence, and a large fortified gateway at the entrance end based on the Puerta del Sol in Toledo, I also wondered what it might have been like on the inside. As there were so few windows on the exterior façades, was the house built around a shaded internal court that directed sunlight into all the rooms, and was the living accommodation for the family only at the first floor level with every room at ground floor used for storage, or more realistically to ensure that all the living areas of the house could sit happily above the annual floodwaters of the Nile.

Insinger died in 1918, having lived in Palmenburg for almost thirty years and within months his wife and children left the house and Egypt never to return. The house was bought – or as some believe was ‘taken’ – by the Egyptian royal family and became the second and summer home of Sultana Melek, the second wife of Sultan Hussein Kamel, who also had a similar moustache of pedimental proportions. The house was renamed Sultana Melek Palace, which conjures up the notion that the interiors Insinger had chosen for Palmenburg may have been rather grand. Following the 1952 Revolution, the house was used for a time as a girl’s school and for its final years it was used as a store for watermelons.

Years later when I first visited Luxor I made every attempt to find Insinger’s house, believing that it must still stand beside the river Nile. Alas, I could not find the house but after making enquiries was told it was demolished in the 1960s and had stood on a piece of land to the south of what is now the site of the Iberotel Luxor hotel on Khaled Ibn Al Walid street. As nothing had been built on the land to replace this extraordinary looking building I found it disappointing that Insinger’s house had not been retained for everyone to see and perhaps used as accommodation for present day archaeologists.

Over his time in Egypt, Insinger became an accomplished Egyptologist and eventually he moved in terms of familiarity and equality with other key practitioners of the day such as Gaston Maspero, with whom he often travelled, and Emil Brugsch. Insinger also frequently sailed the river Nile with the American, Charles Edwin Wilbour, who could not find enough good things to say about him.

Insinger was accepted into Maspero’s circle as being a trustworthy friend and therefore given unprecedented access to new finds. Because he

was such an avid photographer, Insinger was also allowed to document many important moments of discovery. Maspero even allowed Insinger to photograph the royal mummies soon after their discovery in the hidden cache at Deir al-Bahari. These unique photographs are now kept in the Rijksmuseum van Oudheden archives.

Living in Egypt, Insinger, a banker’s son and therefore of independent means, became one of the more respectable dealers in antiquities. But being more interested in antiquity for its own sake and not for financial gain, he often sold his artefacts for nothing more than he had paid for them. In this way his activities greatly benefitted the Rijksmuseum van Oudheden in Leiden. Having maintained a correspondence with Willem Pleyte, director of the museum, over many years, Insinger developed a keen sense of what the museum needed and was able to make use of its limited financial resources to help grow its Egyptian collection.

Insinger’s name will forever also be linked with an important demotic Wisdom Literature papyrus from the early Roman period that he purchased. It was first offered to the Louvre, when the papyrus was intact, but the museum refused to pay the high asking price and returned it to Egypt. By the time it was seen and acquired by Insinger in 1895 it was, sadly, the worse for wear from shipping and handling. The papyrus is now in the collection at Leiden Museum of Antiquities.

Although Insinger is mentioned by many of his contemporaries in their diaries, letters and publications – including by Gaston Maspero, Emil Brugsch, and Charles Wilbour – any biographical references about Insinger are rarely longer than one or two sentences and these are often inaccurate. So it is timely that his monograph by Maarten J Raven, Curator of the Egypt collection in the Dutch National Museum of Antiquities, has set out to bring together the true facts about Insinger’s life, his family, and his Egyptological activities.

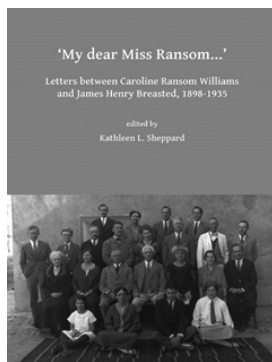
For his text, Raven has gathered information from Insinger’s own published travel accounts, letters and manuscripts in the Archives of the Rijksmuseum van Oudheden (RMO) and in the National Museum of Ethnology, both in Leiden, and from the former archive of the Aardrijkskundig Genootschap (Geographical Society), now in the Amsterdam University Library. Raven has also made use of details for Insinger’s travels in the southern Egypt

in his only published work *'In het land der Nijl-cataracten, Februari-Maart 1883'*, published by the Geographical Society in 1885. The diary Insinger kept while travelling in southern Nubia on the eve of the Mahdi's revolt has recently been edited and published. He would have been travelling in that area at a particularly dangerous time for a European. Raven's monograph is arranged in sections that provide the reader with a concise biography of Insinger's life, details of the antiquities he collected for the Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, and a study of his involvement in the antiquities trade at the time he was in Egypt. These sections are followed by two appendices that firstly list in detail those acquisitions to the museum that came from Insinger, and secondly offers transcriptions of letters written by him to the directors. If one more thing could have been added, it would have to be a map that shows Insinger's different travel itineraries – because he was a man who clearly did not stand still for very long.

After Insinger died in Egypt, his body was transferred to the Netherlands to be buried in the village of Lage Vuursche, very close to Pijnenburg, the family estate where he had spent most of his youth, and where the house still stands. Later a monument incorporating Egyptian design motifs was erected over his burial site, comprising a large sarcophagus with a gabled lid backed by a blank rectangular stele with a cavetto cornice. Panels on the sides of the sarcophagus have relief carvings of a kneeling religious officiant facing a papyrus bush, on one side holding a lotus over their shoulder, and on the other raising a finger to their lips.

Neil Cooke

Sheppard, Kathleen L. (ed.) *'My dear Miss Ransom...': Letters between Caroline Ransom Williams and James Henry Breasted, 1898-1935.* Oxford: Archaeopress, 2018, 308pp, ISBN 978174917821, £24.00.



Edited by Kathleen Sheppard, associate professor of history and political science at University of Science and Technology (Missouri), *My dear Miss Ransom...* represents the collected correspondence between the famed James Henry Breasted (1865-1935) and the very first American female Egyptologist, Caroline Ransom Williams (1872-1952).

These letters, which currently reside in the Oriental Institute (Chicago) (which Breasted founded in 1919), chronicle a long-standing companionship between Ransom Williams and Breasted, her academic mentor and dear friend, established at the beginning of her studies in Egyptology in Chicago in 1898 and lasting until Breasted's passing in 1935 (letter 0239 and 0240 being the last letters between the pair).

This book presents 239 of the letters kept in the Oriental Institute archives which have been studied and painstakingly transcribed by Sheppard. Presented here in chronological order (numbered 0001-0242) these are largely unaltered though lightly edited. With copious explanatory notes, this volume aims to provide not only a demonstration of Ransom Williams' scientific contributions which Sheppard states are not widely recognised in the field of the history of science, but also the nature of her relationship with Breasted. To this end, not all of Ransom Williams' correspondence has been included; for instance, letters to other staff members at the Oriental Institute including Charles Breasted (1897-1980), Thomas George Allen (1886-1951), Harold Nelson (1871-1948) etc., have been omitted. However, additional correspondence which throws light on her relationship with Breasted, such as Ransom Williams' letters (0007 & 0010) to Breasted's wife Frances Hart Breasted (1872-1934) (which James likely read), and those to his son Charles Breasted, following his death in 1935 (letters 0241 & 0242), to whom she declared: *'[...] I never had a truer, kinder, more helpful friend than your father had always been to me from the time in 1898 when I first became his pupil.'* (letter 0242; Sheppard 2018: 280-1) have been included.

This is the first book-length discussion of Ransom Williams' life and career and this collection of letters detail an important period of Ransom Williams' life, spanning close to four decades and beginning with her first foray into the world of Egyptology.

Caroline Louise Ransom Williams (née Ransom) (1872-1952) was born and raised in Toledo, Ohio.

She began her studies in her home state, at Lake Erie College (formerly Lake Erie Seminary) in 1890, where she would return to teach in 1896, after obtaining her BA in Art History from Mount Holyoke College, a women's liberal arts college in South Hadley, Massachusetts.

Although Breasted would become her lifelong mentor, the first archaeologist to inspire Ransom Williams was her aunt Louise Fitz-Randolph (-1932) (after whom she was named), a professor of Archaeology and Art History at Mount Holyoke College. Between 1890-2, before Ransom Williams pursued her undergraduate degree, they travelled around Europe together, extending their trip to accommodate a visit to Egypt. Time spent in the land of the Nile inspired Ransom Williams to pursue a career in Egyptology and destined her to become the first American woman to professionally train in the field.

In 1898, Ransom Williams applied for admission onto the newly established degree program in Egyptology at the University of Chicago. The very first letter presented in this volume (letter 0001 – dated 31st January 1898), is one which informs Breasted of her application and asks him to help plead her case: *'I venture to write to you, hoping that you may be interested to say any good word that you can to further my cause.'* (Sheppard 2018: 15). As the first woman to be accepted onto the program, she showed an easy capacity to grasp the study material. Her next letter to Breasted (0002 - 17th March 1898), asks for his advice as to the correct pronunciation of the Egyptian words 'Ra', 'ka' and 'ba' over which she was in disagreement with her tutor (Sheppard 2018: 15-6). This period of her life is not well-documented in the archive, but the development of a close acquaintance is evident in her letters of thanks to Breasted and his wife for their support of her academic pursuits (e.g. letter 0003).

Ransom Williams graduated from the university in 1900 with a Masters in Classical Archaeology and Egyptology and Breasted encouraged her to further her studies, first at the American School of Classical Studies in Athens and later at the University of Berlin (where Breasted had obtained his PhD). Between 1900-1903, she studied under renowned German Egyptologist Adolf Erman (1854-1937) (with whom both Ransom Williams and Breasted continued to correspond throughout their careers, see: letters 0050, 0101, 0212, 0217 etc.) and became

an assistant in the Egyptian Department of the Berlin Museum in 1903. Continuing her trend as a pioneering woman in the field, she was one of the first women to train in the discipline of Egyptology on the continent and may have been Erman's first female student.

Breasted also served as her academic supervisor whilst she pursued her PhD in the History of Art and Egyptology in Chicago and in 1905, she became the first American woman to obtain a doctorate in the field. Her thesis: *Studies in Ancient Furniture: Couches and Beds of the Greeks, Etruscans, and Romans*, was published by the University of Chicago Press that same year.

After completing her studies, Ransom Williams went on to hold a number of important scholarly positions and worked with various museums where she studied and catalogued their ancient Egyptian artefacts.

She began her career working as Assistant Professor of Archaeology and Art at Bryn Mawr College (Pennsylvania) in 1905, where she taught Egyptian Art and Art History courses and became chair of her department in 1910.

In 1909, she became the first female correspondent of the Deutsches Archäologisches Institut and was also a member of the Deutsche Orient-Gesellschaft; between 1909-10 she served as vice-president of the Pennsylvania chapter of the Archaeological Institute of America.

In 1909, Ransom Williams was able to travel once again to Egypt accompanied by her mother and aunt, the events of which she detailed in a letter to Breasted's wife Frances (letter 0007).

Ransom Williams went on to spend much of her career working with the Metropolitan Museum of Art (MMA) in New York. In 1910, she became assistant curator in the museum's newly established Department of Egyptian Art, working under the direction of the department's first curator Albert Morton Lythgoe (1868-1934). She co-authored the *Handbook of the Egyptian Collection of the Museum* in 1911 and between 1913-16, supervised the instalment of the Tomb of Perneb (whilst Lythgoe excavated in Egypt, see letter 0011); one of her best-known works: *The Tomb of Per-neb* was published in 1916. During the period spent in New York, Ransom Williams continued to correspond with Breasted, to ask for professional advice and to

keep each other updated about their personal lives (letters 0008-0064).

For much of her career, Ransom Williams remained romantically unattached, allowing her to pursue her academic work freely. However, in 1916 at the age of forty-four, she married real estate developer Grant Williams, a long-time suitor from her hometown and moved back to her native Toledo. Despite proclamations to Breasted that she would not cease her academic work (letter 0065), family commitments and her need to care for her aging mother, meant she was no longer able to commit herself to major scholarly projects.

Although unable to commit to projects which would require her relocating elsewhere (Breasted repeatedly requested for her to teach in Chicago, see letter 0182 for example), easy rail connections between Toledo and New York allowed her to continue to work with the MMA. She also began to work with the New York Historical Society (NYHS), serving as curator of its Egyptian collections during 1917-24, and catalogued the Abbott Collection of Egyptian antiquities (later published as *Gold and Silver Jewelry and Related Objects* in 1924, discussed in letters 0136, 0145, 0148, 0156 etc.).

Ransom Williams catalogued several other important Egyptian collections in America at this time, such as those housed in the Cleveland Museum of Art, the Minneapolis Institute of Arts (which she completed between 1916-17), the Detroit Museum of Art and the Toledo Museum of Art (completed in 1918); the work she undertook at these institutions is a common subject of her correspondence to Breasted during this time (letters 0067-0080).

During her period spent working with museum collections, Ransom Williams returned to Egypt, taking part in fieldwork on behalf of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago and joined the Epigraphic Survey of the inscriptions at Luxor during their 1926-7 season (see: letters 0164-0167). Taking up residence in the (old) Chicago House on the west bank at Thebes, she worked on the inscriptions of the great mortuary temple of Ramses III.

Although having previously refused to join Breasted as a member of teaching staff in Chicago, between 1927-8, she finally began teaching again, this time at the University of Michigan (see: letter

0168), where she offered courses on Egyptian Art and Middle Egyptian (the first course of its kind at the university). In 1929 she was elected president of the Mid-West Branch of the American Oriental Society, the first woman to hold office in that scholarly organization and a further demonstration that her gender appears to have presented little issue in her acquiring prestigious positions, nor in receiving praise for her work from colleagues. Breasted had long been a supporter of her work and often wrote in praise of her achievements in their letters to one another: *'I was very much pleased indeed to hear of your call to the Metropolitan and that you had accepted, for I know it enables you to do what you had long wanted to accomplish. I have no question that you will do excellent work in the Egyptian field.'* (letter 0012; Sheppard 2018: 28).

In what would be her final trip to the country, she worked again in Egypt between 1935-6, aiding in the MMA's Egyptian Expedition (in collaboration with the Oriental Institute) and the Coffin Texts project at the Egyptian Museum in Cairo. During her time in Egypt, she learnt of Breasted's death (in December 1935, see: letter 0242; Sheppard 2018: 280-1), thus bringing to an end the correspondence between the two friends, though details of Ransom Williams' later life are provided by Sheppard in the epilogue.

Little is known about her later years, though it is clear that she remained within the field of Egyptology. In the archives of the Egyptian Art Department at the MMA, there exist a number of letters dating to this later period in her life which reveal that she received an honorary degree from the University of Toledo for her work in the field of Egyptology and Archaeology; she likely never returned to Egypt, remaining close to Toledo to tend to her husband who endured a period of lengthy illness before his passing in 1942.

Following the death of her husband, Ransom Williams donated her small collection of Egyptian antiquities to Mount Holyoke College in 1943. Her library, a frequent subject in her letters to Breasted (e.g. letters 0169, 0187), was donated that year to the library of the MMA's Egyptian Art Department (Sheppard 2018: 213, figure 4). After spending ten years as a widow, she passed away on the 1st of February 1952, shortly after her 80th birthday. She was remembered in a local newspaper as: *'Dr, Williams, Woman Distinguished as Egyptologist'* (Toledo Blade, 3 February 1952; Sheppard 2018: 283).

Ransom Williams' letters reveal what it was like to study Egyptology at a time and in a place when the subject was in its infancy, as experienced by the first female to qualify as an Egyptologist in America at the turn of the 20th century.

Sheppard's research, which focuses on the history of Egyptology in both the US and the UK, centres on women's roles in the discipline and shows how important it is to ensure that the life stories of women in Egyptology are told, if we are to gain a fuller understanding of the history of the subject.

Sheppard has previously presented works on important figures in Egyptology, including Margaret Alice Murray (1863-1963): *Life of Margaret Alice Murray* (2013) and Breasted: 'On his Majesty's Secret Service: James Henry Breasted, Accidental Spy' (*Journal of the Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities* 2018).

Sheppard's edited volume of this important collection of correspondence between two influential early Egyptologists is a useful contribution to our growing knowledge of the history of Egyptology, providing insight into the lives of characters who perhaps are more usually considered in an 'academic' context; the material presented in this book is a reminder that there is always more to be learnt about figures we may take for granted and that many more await illumination and appreciation.

In the preface of this book, Anne Flannery (head archivist at the Oriental Institute, Chicago), states: '*It is easy to get lost, especially when your letters and stories are unbound and buried in an archive. Unless someone is willing to discover and make discoverable the correspondence and bits of text that make up part of a life, then this information, though safe, is temporarily struck from the record. One of the reasons that this collection of Caroline Ransom Williams' correspondence with James Henry Breasted is so poignant, is that it makes readable an intellectual relationship that is not widely known.*' (Sheppard 2018: 4).

Though Breasted is well known to those with an interest in the history of Egyptology, Ransom Williams' contribution to the field is largely unknown and her letters to Breasted, hidden amongst his correspondence in the Oriental Institute archives, remain unfamiliar to scholars around the world. For the first time, the life and career of a woman who is usually 'little more than a footnote in the published

history of archaeology' (Sheppard 2018: 6), is brought to light in her own words.

As Sheppard argues, it is clear that the significance of Ransom Williams' contribution to Egyptology has been overlooked; these letters between her and Breasted detail not only the nature of her relationship with her famous mentor, but chart her successes as scholar, instructor, author, and museum curator. They reveal also her personal struggles with members of her family and how these affected choices she would make about her career: '*[t]he work she did was not what many would call glamorous, but it was worthwhile, foundational, discipline-building scholarship. She did the research, wrote the books, gave the talks, wrote the reviews, and went into the field. Unlike her male colleagues, however, domestic concerns took over her professional life so she was unable to make the professional leap that she was poised to make in 1916.*' (Sheppard 2018: 13).

As a collection of letters between America's first male and female Egyptologists, the significance of this book which makes important archival material freely available, cannot be overstated. As Sheppard reminds us: '*Ransom Williams was part of a larger cohort of scientific women whose lives may not have left a record like hers did. Her story is therefore central to studying the development of the discipline of Egyptology and archaeology in the United States, and it is through the letters in this volume that we glimpse a life that is unique while at the same time analogous to the lives of other professional women in the period.*' (Sheppard 2018: 7).

The significance of this work is however downplayed somewhat by Sheppard who affirms (rightly) that much more work needs to be done in order to understand the contributions Ransom Williams made to her field; her collection and library for instance and additional correspondence in the Bryn Mawr Special Collections, the MMA Egyptian Art Department Archives and possibly at Mount Holyoke College, await detailed study. Her descendants have also yet to be traced, with the hope of discovering new material which may help illuminate further her life and career as an Egyptologist: '*she may have been temporarily buried in the dust of the archive, but we must use these sources to shed more light on her life and career.*' (Sheppard 2018: 285).

Although indeed more research can be undertaken surrounding Ransom Williams and her contribution

to the field of Egyptology, this book ultimately presents the details of a relationship between two kindred spirits; Breasted and Ransom Williams clearly shared equal admiration for each other's academic undertakings and genuine affection for each other as friends, which is evident throughout their correspondence. Ransom Williams' unwavering admiration for her mentor is abundantly clear and it is charming to see the encouragement that Breasted offers her in return: '*My dear Miss Ransom [...] I have carried home very delightful memories of my visit with your mother and you, and of all that I saw in the Museum. It is very gratifying to me to see a student of mind so satisfactorily situated and doing such substantial and successful work.*' (letter 0051; Sheppard 2018: 69).

This work is undeniably an impressive undertaking, with a wide application for researchers in a range of fields (the 'character index' which notes all notable figures mentioned in these letters, will surely be appreciated). It would be salutary to see similar treatment of archival material relating to the history of early travel, exploration, excavation and the study of Egypt. These important sources reveal a human side to those responsible for studiously broadening our knowledge of ancient cultures and make that elusive connection with interesting and influential figures from the past, ever more tangible.

Tessa T. Baber

ARTICLES

David Baillie

Roger De Keersmaecker's article on Charles Barry in the previous *Bulletin* again draws attention to his employer, David Baillie. In *Bulletin* 55 (2013, 12-13) I asked whether anyone could confirm the identity of David Baillie as Byron's school contemporary at Aberdeen and later friend at Trinity College, Cambridge, described by Thomas Moore as 'that accomplished scholar and traveller Mr D. Bailey'. Peta Rée (2011, 347 n 27), quite reasonably, assumed that they were one and the same.

A range of sources give slightly variant and confusing information about this David Baillie. *The Alumni Cantabrigensis* states that David Baillie was the son of James Baillie of Estlemont Castle, Aberdeen; that he was educated at Eton and Trinity College (admitted as Pensioner 22 Jan 1805 aged 18; matriculated Easter 1806; BA 1810) and was later of Hill Park, Westerham, Kent and 14 Belgrave Square; he died at Belgrave Square, 17 June 1861, aged 74. It further states that he married Louisa Stewart, 29 October 1829. It also notes that he may have been the David Baillie admitted to the Middle Temple, 19 December 1803, as son of James Baillie 'of Bedford'.

The reference to Estlemont Castle can be resolved quite easily. A David Baillie, son of James and Catherine was b 4 Sep 1786 and baptised at Ellon,

Aberdeen, 14 Sep 1786. Esslemont (as it is usually spelled) is a ruined castle close to Ellon, some 10 miles north of Aberdeen. The estate was bought as an addition to his property by Robert Gordon of Hallhead, who built the 'new' house.

The Baillie family was prominent in north-east Scotland, with an estate at Dochfour, south of Inverness. In the published genealogies of this family (Burke *Landed Gentry* various editions and Bulloch 1898, 32-46) a scion includes a James Baillie who is said to have married, in 1784, Catherine daughter of Robert Gordon (d 1793) of Hallhead, Aberdeen by (m 1760) Lady Henrietta Gordon daughter of William, 2nd Earl of Aberdeen. The Baillie, Esslemont and Gordon connections would appear to find confirmation in this, and perhaps also an explanation of why David Baillie was first educated at Aberdeen.

Bulloch (1898, 35-36) states that James and Catherine Baillie had two children: David Baillie, born 1785 and d 1861, and Ann Baillie who married W. Maberly and died in 1858. David Baillie married, in 1829, Louisa daughter of Gen the Hon Sir William Stewart, brother of the Earl of Galloway by Frances Douglas, daughter of John second son of 14th Earl of Morton, and they had several sons. The slight

discrepancy in the year of birth can be overlooked, given the tendency to errors in this source, and also retrocalculation based on given age (eg at death).

The ancestors of James Baillie are identified in the sources as the family of Dochfour, itself a branch of the family of Baillie of Lamington. Burke and Bulloch trace the family to medieval ancestors including the founder of Balliol College: the veracity of this is irrelevant here. More immediately: Alexander Baillie of Dochfour married in 1709, Hannah daughter of Mr Fraser of Relig (Reelick). He left four sons and one daughter: David Baillie, the fourth son, was father of James Baillie born 1744. Alexander Baillie's three elder sons were Hugh, William and Evan.

Various websites relating to the Baillie family and their connections merely repeat information from Burke, without any additional documentation. Of far greater value is the UCL website *Legacies of British Slave-ownership* which reveals that a David Baillie was recompensed following the abolition of slavery, relating to the plantations Hope, Golden Grove and Nonpareil in Demerara (T71/885 British Guiana claim no 567) and Auchenskeoch in Tobago (T71/891 Tobago claim no 11). Baillie was joint owner and trustee of the Auchenskeoch plantation along with Alexander Young Spearman (1793-1874, created a Baronet in 1840: ODNB). Baillie received £39,601 9s 9d for Demerara and £4,215 12s 10d for Tobago. These plantations had formerly been owned by James Baillie, whose lengthy will with five codicils was proved in London 23 Jan 1838 (PCC PROB 11/1735/324): the estate was worth £250,000. The will identifies James Baillie as of Bedford Square, London. This makes sense of the enigmatic statement in the admissions book of the Middle Temple, that David Baillie was son of James Baillie 'of Bedford'. The residence was 45 or 46 Bedford Square according to the *Royal Blue Book* 1829.

James Baillie's will also makes reference to a 'portrait of Mr Gordon hanging in the library', presumably his father-in-law, Robert Gordon of Hallhead. More confusingly, however, James Baillie's will refers to a Miss Margaret Herries, 'half-sister of my late beloved wife' and to 'Miss Eliza Young' daughter of my late wife, neither of which can relate to Catherine Gordon. The printed sources give no indication of the date of Catherine Gordon/Baillie's death, or of a second marriage of James Baillie, but one reference in the

Byron letters of 1810 states that '(David) Bailey's' step-mother had died.

Lloyd's Evening Post of Nov 4-Nov 6 1799 (issue 6583) records that 'yesterday' James Baillie Esq of Bedford Square married Mrs Younge. The marriage is recorded in the transcripts of the registers of St Giles in the Fields (the nearest church to Bedford Square) on 5 November 1799, as between James Bailey Esq. and Harriot (so) Young. Harriet (sometimes Harriot) was the widow of another West India plantation owner of Scottish origin, Robert Young, who had interests in four plantations, including Auchenskeoch on Tobago, later part-owned by David Baillie. Robert Young's will, written in 1778 was proved in 1787 and refers to his wife Harriet and her brother and sister Charles and Margaret Herries. Robert and Harriet Young had several children, including a daughter, Harriot, who married another Scotsman, Duncan Campbell. Campbell also lived in Bedford Square and his 'friend' and business partner, James Baillie of Bedford Square, was one of the executors of his will in 1815 (PROB 11/1566/80). Campbell left annuities to Margaret Herries, his wife's aunt, and to Eliza Young his wife's sister. Campbell also left a legacy to his granddaughter Jane Campbell who later married (in 1826) another descendant of the Young family, Alexander Young Spearman, joint owner with David Baillie of the Auchenskeoch plantation on Tobago.

In his will, James Baillie also left a legacy and an annuity to Miss Judith Baillie 'late of the Island Carriacou but now residing at my house in Bedford Square': the codicils increased the legacy and acknowledged her as his daughter. There was also a legacy to Miss Mary Baillie, the daughter of James's brother (who is not mentioned in any of the printed sources).

Bulloch states that James Baillie's daughter, Ann, married 'W. Maberly': she actually married (1813) as his second wife, John Maberly MP for Abingdon, (1770-1839). They had two sons and three daughters, some named in James Baillie's will. Maberly was part of the Baillie family circle as his friend and legal adviser was Evan Baillie. This raises a number of other issues. The Bulloch and Burke genealogies, in which the elder David Baillie was fourth son of Alexander Baillie of Dochfour, give the eldest son as Hugh Baillie. He married (1730) Emilia Fraser of Reelick (presumably a cousin) and had four daughters and three sons:

1. Alexander Baillie of Dochfour d 1798
2. James Baillie b.1737 d.1793 MP for Horsham
3. Evan Baillie, MP for Bristol, inherited Dochfour from his brother, b.ca. 1741 d.1835

The three brothers were business partners and very active in the Caribbean. The second of them, like his younger cousin, was called James Baillie (1737-1793) and also lived in Bedford Square, London: Boyle's 1792 *Directory* shows him at 14 Bedford Square; he also had a large house called Ealing Grove. He was MP for Horsham 1792-93. He was in the West Indies from 1755-71 and bought plantations in Grenada and Demerara. His will was proved 21 Oct 1793 (PROB 11/1237/227). A large group portrait of his family, painted by Gainsborough, is in Tate Britain. Fortunately, none of his sons was called David!

The third son of Hugh, Evan Baillie (ca.1741-1835), inherited the Dochfour estate in the will of his eldest brother. He was based in Bristol, and was the MP (Whig) for Bristol 1802-12 and an opponent of abolition. He was, no doubt, the friend and advisor of John Maberly.

In 1834, the date of the abolition settlements, David Baillie was resident at Hale Hall, Wiltshire (unidentified, but possibly Hale Park, on the Hampshire border, near Salisbury) and Audley Square, London. Shortly after, in 1836, he bought Hill Park, Westerham, Kent. Hill Park was originally an estate called Valence, but renamed when acquired and altered by Wills Hill, Marquess of Downshire; it regained its original name in the later nineteenth century and is now Valence School. The Park was laid out by Capability Brown (<http://www.kentgardenstrust.org.uk/research-projects/Capability%20Brown%20sites%20in%20Kent/Valence.pdf>) Baillie employed Lewis Vulliamy to design various estate buildings.

Baillie appears in the 1851 census at Hill Park, aged 64, with four teenage sons and 12 servants. A large monument in the adjacent church of St Mary records Lt Henry David Baillie, buried 1858 aged 22, son of David and Louisa.

In 1845 Baillie disposed of the plantation of Golden Grove.

Baillie's marriage to Louisa Stewart is given in Bulloch and entries in various Peerages. Her father, Gen. Hon. Sir William Stewart GCB, had fought in the Peninsula campaign and was a leading

officer in the disastrous 1807 Egyptian campaign: he failed to gain control of Rosetta and was forced back to Alexandria with the loss of 900 men. Stewart was instrumental in the formation of the Rifle Brigade, in which his son Horatio served, as did his grandson Henry David Baillie. William Stewart (1774-1827) was the second surviving son of John Stewart, 7th Earl of Galloway (1736-1806), and his second wife, Anne, daughter of Sir James Dashwood, 2nd Baronet. In 1804 Stewart married Frances, daughter of the Hon. John Douglas (second son of the 14th Earl of Morton).

The Baillie-Stewart wedding took place at St George's Hanover Square, on 27 October 1829 (not 29 October, as stated in printed sources). The bride was a minor and the marriage took place by licence, with the consent of the bride's mother Hon Dame Frances Stewart and of her uncle and guardian, Hon Montgomery Stewart. The witnesses were: E. Stewart, Susan Crofton (?), Jas E. Baillie, Aberdeen, H. Hamilton, F. Stewart. Of these, Jas E. Baillie is probably James Evan Baillie (1781-1863) MP, one of the sons of Evan Baillie of Bristol, and thus a second cousin of David Baillie; 'Aberdeen' was George Gordon, 4th Earl of Aberdeen, the Foreign Secretary (from May 1828) and later Prime Minister. Aberdeen was related to David Baillie through the 2nd Earl - and to the bride through the Earls of Morton; but, most likely, Baillie and Aberdeen were more directly connected through Byron and/or Cambridge University: Aberdeen had been at Harrow and St John's Cambridge, and was Byron's cousin, he was also a renowned enthusiast for Classical Greece ('Athenian Aberdeen').

David and Louisa Baillie had five sons and several daughters.

David Baillie was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society (11 February 1836) and to the Society of Dilettanti (1835). He died at 14, Belgrave Square on 17 June 1861, aged 74. Baillie's will was proved 23 July 1861 by his sons William Henry and James William Baillie, and Crawford Davison Kerr, merchant. His estate was valued at £250,000.

But does this prove him to be the traveller and employer of Barry? In the will of James Baillie, written in 1825, David is said to be 'on his travels'. In Egypt, Barry, Baillie, Godfrey, and Wyse met the Salt, Bankes, Beechey group, along with many other travellers. We also know that they spent some time looking at the collections of drawings that had been

made by Bankes (drawings by Beechey, Linant and Ricci) and Salt. As we know from Barry's journal, Baillie was in Naples in January 1820, having rejoined the group after his diversion to Aleppo. From there he wrote to Bankes offering him the use of Barry's drawings, and also commenting on Legh's publication of the Petra journey (Usick 2002, 73). Later, Baillie appeared as one of the character witnesses at Bankes's trial. Although this is not evidence of a prior friendship, it suggests more than an acquaintanceship formed through a couple of encounters on the Nile.

William John Bankes of Kingston Lacy was at Trinity College, Cambridge, from 1803 to 1808, hence a contemporary of David Baillie 'of Esslemont' and Bedford Square. Not only was Baillie's Aberdeen schoolmate, Byron, also there, but John Cam Hobhouse, and Charles Skinner Matthews too. Hobhouse's *Recollections of a long life* include references to David Baillie: on 2 and 4 February 1811 Hobhouse dined with Baillie in London; and on 1 July there was 'another Trinity dinner' at which Bankes, Matthews and Baillie were present with Hobhouse. Many years later, in 1838, David Baillie was a guest at a dinner that Hobhouse held for Sir Francis Burdett. Hobhouse was also a member of Society of Dilettanti and FRS. Byron's letters have several references to 'Bailey' as a friend of Hobhouse and Matthews, and send greetings to him: he is referred to as 'long Baillie' as he was tall in contrast to the rather short Hobhouse. There are also two letters, of 1817, that record Byron meeting Bailey at Vicenza and in Rome. Baillie was in Athens in 1818, where he met Charles Barry for the first time. They met again at various points (travelling on different ships) crossing the Aegean and at Smyrna, Baillie made his offer of employment to Barry. At Istanbul on 31st August 1818 they "called on Mr Godfrey and Mr Wyse but they were from home". Baillie may have known John Godfrey (formerly John Jull) at Cambridge where he was at St John's College from 1806. In October all four men were at Smyrna preparing for the journey to Egypt.

Certainly the networks that David Baillie of Trinity College formed, along with his wealth, would suggest that there is strong likelihood of his identification with the traveller. Absolute confirmation may come through further investigations in the correspondence or a passing reference.

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Robert G. Morkot

The Belzonis' marriage, a negative note

The Marriage Allegation (Bond) for Giovanni Belzoni and Sarah Parker Brown dated 12 April 1804 identifies their place of residence as the parish of St Mary Lambeth, yet there is no record of the marriage taking place in that church. Anna Baghiani and John J. Taylor (BASTENE 76, 13-14) raise the possibility of the marriage having taken place in a Roman Catholic church. Although the Catholic Relief Act of [1790] saw the establishment of some new public Catholic chapels and churches, the main Roman Catholic places of worship in London in 1804 were still the embassy chapels of the European powers. The Sardinian Chapel (originally 'Sicilian chapel') was in Sardinia Street, Lincoln's Inn Fields; it was destroyed in redevelopment and replaced by St Anselm and St Cecilia in Kingsway in 1909. Also near Lincoln's Inn Fields originally, was the Portuguese Chapel: the Embassy later moved to Golden Square, with the Chapel attached. Following its destruction in the Gordon Riots, the site of the Portuguese chapel was acquired for the new Bavarian Chapel in Warwick Street, designed by Joseph Bonomi the elder (now the Church of Our Lady of the Assumption). The Venetian Chapel in Suffolk Street had ceased to exist in 1797, following the end of the Venetian Republic: for a Paduan, this might have been a suitable choice. There is no evidence for the Belzoni marriage in the registers of any of these chapels. The Chapel of the Imperial Legation was located first in Hanover Square; it moved to St James's Square and in 1784 to Twickenham before being closed in 1818. Although there is no record of Belzoni in the registers, it was in this chapel

(still in Hanover Square) that Joseph Bonomi the elder was married on 13 July 1775, and his eldest son was christened the following year (both events witnessed by his wife's cousin, the artist Angelica Kaufmann). The christenings of the younger Bonomi children took place at the Neapolitan Chapel, but there is no record of Belzoni's marriage there. Nor does the marriage appear in the records of the newly founded (1792) St. Patrick's, Soho Square, one of the first RC churches in central London after the Catholic Relief Act. The Virginia Street Chapel has no record either. Around 1800, the most fashionable place of worship for Catholics, perhaps due to its location, was the Spanish Chapel of St James. The chapel had moved, being first located in Oxford Street, then Great Ormond Street (1763-88), then York Street (1788-92). From 1792, the Spanish embassy was in Manchester House (now Hertford House and home to the Wallace Collection), in Manchester Square. The new public chapel, designed by Joseph Bonomi the elder, was built opposite, on the corner of Spanish Place and Charles Street (now George Street). It was classical in design, but with a campanile, and had a heavily Italianate, classical interior. The chapel served the wealthy English and Irish Catholics of Marylebone, and a large number of French émigrés. The chapel was replaced in 1890 by the very English (inspired by Salisbury Cathedral and Westminster Abbey) St James's, Spanish Place, designed by Bonomi's grandson, George Goldie. I have found no reference to the marriage of Belzoni and Sarah Brown in the extensive records of the church.

Robert G. Morkot



The Baillie family house Bedford Square. Source: Fitzrovia News

WMES Conference, Birmingham 2018

Aswan to Alexandria: Travel and Exploration in Egypt from Antiquity to the Modern Day

On Saturday 17th November 2018, the West Midlands Egyptology Society (WMES) held a conference at the Birmingham Museum and Art Gallery (part of Ancient Civilisations Week), centred on the theme of early travel in Egypt.

Though only a one-day conference, it was filled with papers covering a range of topics, including travellers' experiences at specific sites in Egypt, their collections, their graffiti and even the nature of the vessels they used to travel up the Nile.

Keynote lectures opened and closed the conference, with talks on the work of the 'Monument Men' and their conservation efforts in Egypt by Lee Robert McStein and the life and legacy of famed early traveller and EEF co-founder, Amelia Edwards by Dr Margaret Mountford.

Some of the research projects covered will be known to ASTENE members, whilst others may be entirely new; it is hoped that this summary of the papers presented may prove useful to those interested in following up the work of these projects.

Lee McStein opened the conference with an overview of the work carried out by the non-profit cultural heritage organisation 'Monument Men' (of which he is technical director). The organisation aims to study and conserve important ancient Egyptian monuments and artefacts via the use of photogrammetry. This essentially reproduces a three-dimensional computerised model of the object based upon photographic data; tangible models can also be produced through 3D printing. Using this technique a visualisation of how the statue of the 'Younger Memnon' would have appeared in antiquity has successfully been replicated by joining together its two halves
(see: <https://sketchfab.com/models/70ba17ca877c432cb57b9acf11c3ba49>).

Such reconstructive methods have important application not only in aiding our understanding of incomplete or damaged artefacts, but also for those artefacts at risk of further deterioration due to environmental factors, namely those still in-situ in Egypt. The project's current focus is on making an accurate record of graffiti left by travellers

at sites across Egypt. With the aim of building upon the research conducted over many years by ASTENE founding member Roger de Keersmaecker (see: <http://www.egypt-sudan-graffiti.be/>) using modern 3D scanning technology, it is hoped that a comprehensive record of traveller graffiti can be obtained before they are further damaged or destroyed (e.g. by 'conservation' efforts to restore the ancient monuments to their original condition).

Derived from the Italian *graffio* meaning 'a scratch', McStein highlighted several interesting examples of traveller graffiti left by visitors, such as 'honorific' graffiti, or that made in places where travellers did not even venture: French poet Jean Arthur Rimbaud's (1854-1891) name for instance, is carved into the Ramesseum despite him never venturing further south than Cairo.

Other notable vandals include: Girolamo Segato (1792-1836), Jean-Jacques Castex (1731-1822), Jean-Baptiste Prosper Jollois (1776-1842), Pierre-Constant Letorzec (1798-1857), Prince Pückler-Muskau (1785-1871) and the enigmatic Domenico Ermengildo Frediani (1783-1823).

Frediani in particular appears to have been an interesting character. He travelled throughout Egypt in the company of Bernadino Drovetti (1776-1852), Giovanni Belzoni (1778-1823) and Lord Belmore (1774-1841) and left graffiti of a highly unusual if not humorous nature: Frediani was known to carve 'amiros' or phalluses urinating onto other travellers' names; whether such despoilment was warranted is hard to know. An interesting yet poorly understood character, Frediani is known to have suffered a breakdown during his travels. He alleged that his cartographic work was stolen from him, a claim which has yet to be substantiated. His *amiros* may have been left in an effort to vocalise his disdain for the more renowned travellers of the day but this is hard to corroborate as he did not leave a record of his travels. Travellers such as Frediani left little else to record their time spent in Egypt and further research into these graffiti would reveal their movements, the contact they had with other travellers and increase our general knowledge of the period of early travel.

The damage caused to important monuments by this name-carving is obviously controversial and historically traveller graffiti has been deemed to hold little value to Egyptologists. This paper, however, pertinently demonstrated that these marks

are an important record of travellers' movements throughout Egypt and a physical record of their time spent in the country. They help researchers establish links with published travelogues and archival material, determine sites visited (which previously may have been unknown) and the 'clustering' of names at sites can help demonstrate potential interactions between travellers. For those without known travel literature, these marks reveal new, hitherto unknown explorers and provide links for museum curators in search of the provenance of early traveller collections.

What may be of particular interest to researchers interested in this field is the organisation's proposed geo-referenced travellers' graffiti database. This will aim to provide a comprehensive, interactive record of these markings at sites across Egypt. Once established, it will serve not only to record and preserve traveller graffiti for posterity but will also prove invaluable in the study of early travellers and their movements through Egypt.

An important point made in this paper is that we can all make efforts to preserve Egypt's heritage; the use of photogrammetry (anyone can take a photograph of graffiti during their travels) helps to 'democratise' the recording of important monuments and greatly facilitates efforts to preserve a record of those still extant for future generations. McStein implored those in the audience planning future trips to Egypt to contact him if they were willing to hunt out and photograph traveller graffiti yet to be recorded at the sites they visited. Perhaps ASTENE members bound for Egypt in the near future might consider aiding the Monument Men and their efforts to build a better record of traveller graffiti? For those interested in helping the project, Lee McStein can be contacted via his website (www.monumentmen.co.uk) or on twitter (@monument_men).

The first keynote was followed by a paper on famed Austrian botanist Franz Wilhelm Sieber's (1789-1844) Egyptian collection by Roberto A. Diaz Hernández (of Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München).

This paper informed us about the particulars of Sieber's travels through Crete, Egypt and Palestine between 1816 and 1819, focusing on his sojourn in Egypt from the beginning of December 1817 to the spring of 1818.

During his travels, he met with Frédéric Cailliaud (1787-1869) at Alexandria, Henry Salt (1780-1827) in Cairo and Belzoni in Thebes and was privy to the discovery of c.100 crocodile mummies at Asyut. He published an account of his travels in 1823: *Reise von Cairo nach Jerusalem*.

During his stay, Sieber acquired some 250 Egyptian objects which he later exhibited in Vienna in 1819. Soon after this his collection was purchased by King Maximilian I Joseph of Bavaria (1756-1825), who had been advised to acquire it by German classical scholar Friedrich Wilhelm von Thiersch (1784-1860). Sieber's collection was one of the very first acquisitions of Egyptian antiquities by Munich authorities and a catalogue of the collection was published in Vienna in 1820: *Beschreibendes Verzeichniß der in den Jahren 1817 und 1818, auf einer Reise durch Creta, Ägypten und Palästina gesammelten Alterthümer und anderen Kunst und NaturProdukte nebst einer Abhandlung über ägyptische Mumien*. Utilising sources published by Thiersch and Friedrich Wilhelm von Schelling (1775-1854) and others, Hernández has been working towards identifying and studying the artefacts collected by Sieber, now housed within the collections of the State Museum of Egyptian Art in Munich.

Sadly, the last portion of his life (between the years 1830-44) was spent in an insane asylum in Prague; the breakdown in his mental health was apparently brought on by his failure to secure financing for further travel around the world and he died there aged fifty-five. Despite the erratic behaviour he displayed in later life, manifested in increasingly bizarre behaviour and peculiar publications, he is commemorated within the botanical world, with several species of plant named after him (e.g. *Acacia Sieberiana*) as well as the genus 'Siebera', for the thistle tribe of plants within the daisy family.

The session after lunch began with Benjamin Hinson of the Victorian and Albert Museum (V&A), presenting a paper on Reverend Greville John Chester (1830-1892) and the nature of his Egyptian collection within the museum.

It may not be widely known that the V&A, which is primarily a museum of art of design, also houses important ancient Egyptian collections (though it no longer actively seeks to acquire them in order to avoid a conflict of interest with the British Museum). Though rarely on display, one such collection was

formed by Chester during his many trips to Egypt; an initial visit to Egypt in 1865 for his ailing health, sparked a passion for Chester which resulted in almost yearly journeys until his death. During each visit, Chester purchased large numbers of antiquities which he sold to institutions back in Britain, essentially forming an early backbone of the collections at the British Museum and Ashmolean, amongst others. For three decades, Chester sold or donated huge amounts of ancient and Islamic Egyptian art to the V&A (the main collections were acquired in 1868 and 1871). There were gratefully received by the museum in its desire to amass a 'type-collection' of Egyptian art and design. Chester was considered a 'knowledgeable' traveller and the museum relied on him as an agent to acquire antiquities. He was also their single largest donor of late antique and early Christian textiles. As a clergyman, Chester had a personal interest in acquiring artefacts imbued with religious significance.

Although Chester's archives unfortunately do not survive, as he maintained close contact with Ernest Wallis Budge (1857-1934), William Flinders Petrie (1853-1942), Jean Capart (1877-1947) and others, he can be traced in their writings and accounts. Chester's contribution to the collections of the V&A, the British Museum and the Ashmolean is rarely appreciated and highlights the importance of hidden collections and archives belonging to early travellers that still await study.

Martina Landrino (of Universität Leipzig-Museo Egizio Torino) followed with a paper on royal visits in the period of antiquity and their expression of political and administrative control for the pharaoh.

A deviation from the usual discussion of 'early' travellers of the Victorian era, this paper presented new research on the nature of travel in ancient times.

Royal visits to portions of the country's territory are attested from as far back as the Old Kingdom and persisted well into the Roman period (demonstrating the importance and persistence of the 'royal visit' even in periods of political instability); Landrino's research is centred on texts dating to this period. These visits were conducted for a number of reasons: as part of a military expedition; to source building materials for monumental projects (e.g. travels into the surrounding deserts); to carry out inspections of temples (to determine if repairs were needed); for religious and cultural purposes.

As Landrino summarised, the purpose of the royal visit was for the pharaoh to identify and rectify any issues which formed part of his remit as the ruler of Egypt. In the official documents therefore, these visits were typified as containing notation of arrival (usually by boat), seeking out the problem and a royal decree issued to solve the identified issue.

Landrino hopes to expand her corpus of texts in order to further her understanding of the nature of the 'royal visit' in ancient Egypt and its implications for our knowledge of pharaonic power and duty in ancient times.

Ziad Morst (University of Southampton) then presented his paper which summarised his PhD research into the Nile boats used by early travellers.

With a background in Greek and Roman history and maritime archaeology, Morst is well-placed to undertake such a study which focuses on 19th and early 20th century travel accounts to determine the types of vessels utilised by tourists on the Nile. Despite being familiar to researchers of early travel, little detailed information is available on the typologies of Egyptian Nile boats. The problem partly is the variation in the names (and spellings) of the vessels recorded by travellers and that many didn't pay much attention to the type of boat they travelled on. By tracing the names of the vessels back to the original Arabic through the Ottoman archive (i.e. before their corruption by travellers of various nationalities), Morst was able to provide a useful summary.

The most common vessels utilised by travellers were the 'Cangia' and the well-known 'Dahabeeh', which were particular favourites of English tourists. Other popular vessels included the 'Kange', 'Maash' and 'Felucca'. The function of these vessels was as 'leisure boats' whereas the 'Qayassa' for example, was strictly a working vessel.

Morst pointed out that often, illustrations published in travelogues of Nile boats were far from faithful, as descriptions given to illustrators/engravers were inaccurately imagined or exaggerated; photographic evidence of these vessels can help clarify which vessels were popular with travellers in certain time periods. Travellers who produced their own accompanying illustrations for their accounts provide far more accurate depictions of these vessels. Frederick William Fairholt (1814-1866), is a particularly good example. Some travellers even

go as far as to provide useful descriptions or tables of these vessels, such as John Gardiner Wilkinson (1797-1875) in his *A Handbook for Travellers in Egypt* (1847: pp 124) and the well-known travel guides published by Baedeker, Murray, Cook and others, prove useful in this regard.

In order to clarify further the typologies of the Nile vessels used by travellers, Morst has compiled a database of some 1173 photographs from 60 different online archival databases. His research demonstrates how early travel literature can be utilised to study many different aspects of the history of early travel and notes the value of online digitisation of such sources for researchers.

The last paper before the afternoon break focused on the 'tourism of the dead' at the necropolis site of Saqqara, in both antiquity and the period of travel in the 'modern past' (i.e. between the 16th - early 20th centuries). This was a joint lecture, presenting the results of two PhD projects at Cardiff University: my own research on the 'mummy pits' of ancient Egypt (www.mummypits.com) and Dr Scott Williams' project on the ritual landscape at Saqqara (which he has digitally reconstructed, see: <http://www.digitalsaqqara.co.uk>).

Scott began the lecture with an overview of the nature of early 'tourists' at Saqqara. Some visited out of sheer curiosity over the monuments which were deemed 'ancient' even in antiquity, leaving graffiti in the complex of Djoser for instance and visiting famous tombs and monuments, such as the Memphite tomb of Horemheb. Others travelled to the site as part of a religious pilgrimage. They wished to explore and absorb the ritual landscape of Saqqara and leave offerings for the gods, deposit votive donaria and enjoy religious festivals and processions. From the Late Period onwards, the main attractions were the various animal cults; pilgrims would dedicate votive offerings to the gods in the form of animal mummies, symbolising their gratitude to the deities for their aid in resolving personal problems or spiritual issues. The temples serving these cults (e.g. Bubasteion, Anubieon etc.) were also responsible for the farming or mass-breeding of relevant animals (cats, dogs etc.) which would be dispatched, mummified and placed for eternal rest in the relevant catacomb (for Bastet, Anubis etc.). To modern sensibilities, the breaking of necks or drowning of puppies and kittens may seem barbaric, but this type of death and the dedication of the victim to an important deity was deemed an

honour of the highest regard. The popularity of these cults is almost unimaginable, with catacombs collectively containing millions of animal mummies found at sites across Egypt. Though the subject of research for decades (by W. B. Emery, H. S. Smith and others), the Dog Catacomb has not been studied in detail until recently, with work carried out by Cardiff University and the American University in Cairo headed by Prof Paul T. Nicholson and Prof Salima Ikram). It is known that there are catacombs which have yet to be rediscovered (that of the lions for instance) and that there is much more to learn about the animal cults at Saqqara.

Williams' research project aims to provide a more accurate mapping of the necropolis at Saqqara, using 3D digital modelling to reconstruct its ritual landscape and allowing a deeper understanding of how the site was accessed and utilised throughout antiquity. Saqqara itself has a complex history, both in terms of its prolonged use in antiquity and its exploration and investigation by both early travellers and modern-day archaeologists. Williams' work provides a clear overview of Saqqara's complex history, offering an interactive map of its landscape and monuments with unlimited application for both researchers and archaeologists working on the site. Williams' work demonstrates what can be achieved with modern technology and no doubt sets a precedent for future work in this area; similar treatment of other sites in Egypt would prove invaluable for prospective research projects.

For the second-half of the paper, I provided a brief overview of travellers' experiences at the site during the period of travel termed the 'modern past' (i.e. between 16th and early 20th centuries).

As one of the largest and most significant of Egypt's ancient burial sites, Saqqara has had an enduring interest for travellers; a popular item on the travel itinerary of 19th century travellers, its popularity with travellers, however, was at its height in an earlier era.

The earliest travellers (visiting in the centuries following the Arab conquest in AD 642), were brought to Saqqara and the nearby sites of Giza, Abusir and Dahshur as part of a 'holy pilgrimage' of places supposedly associated with the writings of holy scripture. Some of the earliest travel accounts place Egypt's ancient monuments firmly in the context of the Bible. The Great Pyramids at Giza were believed to be 'the granaries of Joseph', where

ancient pharaohs stored grain for leaner years and the pyramids and tombs whose history and purpose had long been forgotten, were thought by some early visitors to house giant gems and other untold treasures.

Interest in Saqqara as a necropolis site and in the myriad mummies beneath its sands did not materialise until the 16th century and Europe's introduction to Egypt's ancient dead was somewhat peculiar. During the 1500s, European visitors were drawn to Egypt because of the medicine trade and in particular a miracle cure-all drug known as 'mumia', formed of 'bitumen' or mineral pitch (tar). The dark surface of Egyptian mummies (caused by the resins used in the embalming process) closely resembled the highly-prized 'mumia' and when stocks began to run low mummies were used as substitutes in the medicine trade, which continued well into the 18th century. The earliest accounts of the burials at Saqqara are recorded by medicine merchants (e.g. John Sanderson who visited Saqqara in 1586) or those who took note of the trade (e.g. 'cosmographer' and Franciscan Friar André Thevet (1516-1590). This early trade in mummies as medicine was the western world's formal introduction to Egypt's ancient dead and the substance *mumia* with which they were mistakenly associated, provides us with our modern term: 'mummy'.

For much of the period of early travel, Saqqara was renowned for its abundance of mummies and was a popular destination for travellers. It became known as 'mummy country' and the local villagers who guided travellers to the tombs were known as 'mummy people'.

Saqqara's reputation as the place where mummies could be found persisted into the early 1800s; the savants of the Napoleonic expedition recorded large mummy catacombs containing human and animal mummies. During the Victorian era travellers showed an interest in collecting mummies as 'curios' and disembodied heads, hands and feet also became popular tourist souvenirs. Saqqara with its 'mummy pits' or mass-mummy burials containing innumerable piles of the ancient embalmed dead, was able to meet the apparent insatiable appetite for mummies with devastating consequences for its funerary archaeology. Early Egyptologists working at the necropolis during the late 19th and early 20th century reported that many of the burials had been disturbed, their contents pillaged and the mummies long gone:

'There is certainly not, at the present time, a single spot in the whole of the necropolis of Sakkarah that has not already been, over and over again, explored by excavations [. . .] It offers, in fact, a spectacle of utter devastation [. . .] Here and there fragments of mummy-cloth borne along by the wind, or human bones drying and bleaching in the sun, warn us that we are in the region of the dead.'

(Mariette 1878)

This is why early travel literature has an important application for modern archaeologists. Although many of Egypt's earliest visitors are responsible for the destruction of or damage to her monuments and tombs, their accounts record important archaeological information, invaluable to those interested in researching burials which are now lost to us. For my own research into the mummy pit burial phenomenon, accounts left by early travellers has made it possible to rediscover and reconstruct a hitherto forgotten 'communal' burial custom used by the poor, the study of which hopefully will help widen our understanding of the burial practices of the lower classes in ancient Egypt.

The final session began with Sarah Shepherd's (University of Hull) paper on the experience of soldiers in Egypt during the First World War.

During this period, Egypt acted as a troop camp and training ground for British imperial forces; by 1918, there were as many as 400,000 troops under imperial command in Egypt (including significant numbers of English, Indian, Australian and New Zealand soldiers).

This paper was particularly interesting as it focused on an important aspect of early travel in Egypt which rarely receives mention and much of the archival material pertaining to the experiences of soldiers in Egypt during WWI has yet to receive detailed study.

The photographs, engravings, art work, diaries and letters of these service men and women reveal the nature of the life of a soldier in this period. Shepherd shared the stories of several servicemen and women stationed in Egypt, including the AANS sisters (possibly of the No.3 Australian General Hospital) and their climbing of the Great Pyramid at Giza in c.1915; Sister Mary Theresa Martin (2nd Australian General Hospital) and her exploration of 'Campbell's Chamber' (named after Patrick Campbell (1779-

1857), Scottish agent and Consul General in Egypt) where she left her name, right above Campbell's; Second Lieutenant Leonard Leader Brereton (3/5th Bedfordshire Regiment) and his sentiments about Alexandria which he described to: *'improve greatly upon acquaintance though there is still a lot to be desired'*; the men stationed at 'Mena Camp' close to the pyramids such as 1175 Corporal Herbert Andrew Smythe (Australian Infantry) who wrote home in 1915 to proclaim: *'Will try and send a few things from Egypt, curios and the like that might be of interest to you. Haven't any as yet except a stone from the top of the biggest pyramid but ought to be able to get some'* and the stories of many others.

As Shepherd reminded us, though a popular subject in itself, 'Conflict Archaeology' is still a developing area in Egyptology. Some of the photographs and writings of these soldiers may appear jovial and their activities humorous but this was a poignant time for these men and women, an opportunity for respite before many went on to serve in Gallipoli. The letters written to families and friends reassure that all is well: *'I am doing fine and having the time of my life. I go out for motor drives and sight-seeing every day and I can tell you. It is a real treat.'* (1285 Sergeant David Roberts), shortly before re-encountering the horror of war. The experiences of these service men and women are unique in the context of early travel in Egypt and Shepherd aims to embark on a comprehensive study of soldiers serving in the country during the period 1914-1918 and their apparent interest in its heritage.

ASTENE was fortunate to hear about Shepherd's research at our last conference in Norwich and her paper provided an overview of her research into an area which though fascinating, has yet to receive much attention. Sarah aims to provide insight into the visual and material record of serving soldiers in Egypt and her forthcoming book on the subject (*'Soldiering in Egypt: A Friendly Invasion?'* to be published by FontHill Media in 2019) will prove a valuable addition to members' personal libraries of books on early travel.

Shepherd hopes to conduct further detailed research into the lives and experiences of soldiers in Egypt during the First World War, with a particular focus on personal inscriptions on war graves (such as at the Cairo War Memorial Cemetery). Regular updates on her research and interests in this area can be found on her website: <https://soldieringinegypt.com>.

With the next paper, we return to Saqqara, and Christian Orsenigo's (Università degli Studi di Milano) overview of Quibell's work at the site during the beginning of the 20th century.

This talk focused on the archive of James E. Quibell (1867-1935) acquired by the University of Milan in 2002 (and now in the Egyptological archives), which in addition to a number of manuscripts, contains more than 3500 photographs which detail the nature of his excavations undertaken at the site in the early 1900s. This is the most extensive surviving documentation of his work at Saqqara. This photographic archive has great application for researchers, as it records artefacts and monuments which are either only briefly mentioned in Quibell's publications or not mentioned at all. Furthermore, the archive chronicles the day-to-day life of an archaeologist working in Egypt during the early 20th century and is the most detailed surviving record of an English archaeologist's work at the site of Saqqara. Further information about the archive can be found in Patrizia Piacentini's article: 'The Egyptological Archives of the Università degli Studi di Milano' in P. Piacentini (ed.) *Egypt and the Pharaohs. From the Sand to the Library: Pharaonic Egypt in the Archives and Libraries of the Università degli Studi di Milano*. Milano: Skira, 2010: pp 63-114.

The documents in the Milan Quibell archive are the focus of an ongoing project which aims to scan all Quibell's records into a database ('La Statale Archivi') to be made publically available. Orsenigo and his team will soon collaborate with the Università la Sapienza di Roma in bringing to publication the relevant documentation concerning all Coptic material unearthed by Quibell during his excavation of the Apa Jeremias Monastery (between 1905-9).

Projects such as this one (and those conducted by the Monument Men, Dr Scott Williams etc.) make data freely available online and bring research on early travellers and Egyptologists into the modern age, allowing for Egypt's ancient past to become ever more accessible to people around the world.

The final paper of the session was presented by Claire Gilmour (University of Glasgow/University of Bristol) on the life, travels and work of the Scottish proto-Egyptologist Alexander Henry Rhind (1833-1863), who gives his name to the famed 'Rhind Mathematical Papyrus' which he acquired in Egypt in 1858 (alternatively known as the Ahmes Papyrus)

and which is now part of the British Museum collections: EA 10057-8).

Although perhaps well-known to those with an interest in early travel in Egypt and in particular, in early pioneers of Egyptology, this paper validated that Rhind should be remembered and credited as one of the earliest exponents of scientific techniques and methodology in archaeological excavations. This is outlined in his publications, such as: *British Archaeology: Its Progress and Demands* (1858) and in his field work. For instance, during his archaeological investigations in Egypt he meticulously plotted the exact location of each artefact found and their contextual relationship to one another, an essential, fundamental principle at the core of modern archaeological practice; in this he was well-ahead of its time.

Rhind advocated the proper recognition and protection of monuments and he should be appreciated for his efforts to conserve the past for future generations. During his formative years he worked as an archaeologist in Scotland, undertaking important fieldwork between 1851-6. He published his findings in prestigious journals such as the *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* (PSAs).

His efforts to protect and preserve our ancient heritage were ahead of their time. His publication: *The Law of the Treasure Trove: How it can be Best Adapted to Accomplish Useful Results?* (1858) lays out guidelines which today form the basis of the principles of the Portable Antiquities Scheme (PAS) and the modern 'treasure trove' act, legislated in 1996. In 1856, in the *Archaeological Journal* (Vol.13, Issue 1): 'On the Present Condition of the Monuments of Egypt and Nubia', Rhind promoted the protection of Egypt's monuments at a time when tourists displayed a flagrant disregard for their welfare. This induced Amelia Edwards to co-found the EEF in 1882 to preserve those that remained, having herself witnessed similar mistreatment during her travels in 1873-4).

Rhind also made efforts to promote standards of publication and technique, which Gilmour attests can be seen to best effect in his seminal volume: *Thebes: Its Tombs and Its Tenants* (1862). This was published following his discovery of an intact tomb at Thebes during his investigations of the site in 1855-7. This tomb had been used (or

rather reused) over a period of 1000 years, from the time of Tutankhamun (New Kingdom) to the Roman period. Rhind donated his finds to the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland (of which he was a fellow) and his collection formed the basis of the ancient Egyptian collection in the National Museum of Antiquities of Scotland (founded in 1858, it combined with the collections of the Royal Scottish Museum to become the National Museums Scotland in 1985). The artefacts collected during his excavation of the tomb formed the basis of an exhibition at the museum in 2017: 'The Tomb: Ancient Egyptian Burial'

(see: <https://www.nms.ac.uk/thetomb#> and Margaret Maitland's (2017) 'One Theban Tomb, 1000 Years of Burial' *EA* 50 (Spring) pp: 44-6) and will be part of the new Ancient Egypt Gallery which is due to open on the 8th February 2019 (coinciding with the 200th anniversary of the Egyptian collection begun in 1819).

Rhind originally embarked on his travels in order to ease the effects of pulmonary disease. During his travels, he encountered a number of notable individuals including a fellow pioneer of Egyptology, Sir John Gardner Wilkinson (1797-1875) and the naturalist and physician Andrew Leith Adams (1827-1882); he was in regular correspondence with other notable scholars such as Auguste Mariette (1821-1881).

Unfortunately, Rhind's untimely death at the age of thirty meant that he was unable to reach his full potential, but he was without doubt a pioneering Egyptologist. His work was deemed of sufficient merit to be developed by other archaeologists, including Professor W. M. Flinders Petrie (1853-1942) who published work on Rhind's collection (now housed in the collections of National Museums Scotland).

Following his death, Rhind's extensive library was bequeathed to the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland in order to fund a lectureship. The society continues to host the prestigious 'Rhind Lectures' in his honour, with lectures on various archaeological topics; (for their upcoming programme, see: <https://www.socantscot.org/event/rhind-lectures-2019/>).

[Article to be continued in Bulletin 79]
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