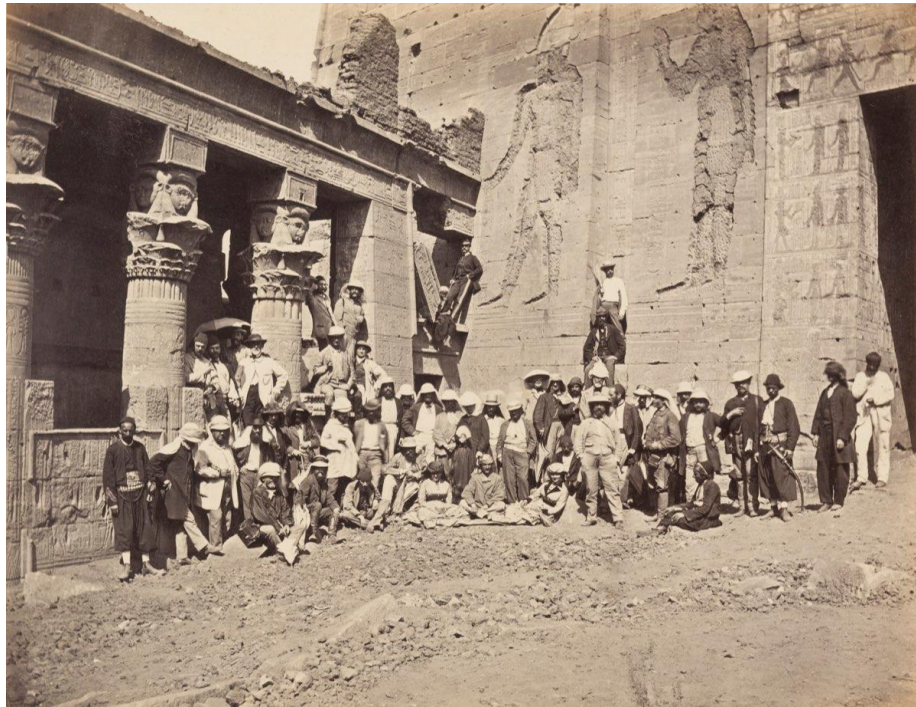


# ASTENE

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

# BULLETIN



**NOTES AND QUERIES**

**Number 81: Winter 2020**

# Bulletin : Notes and Queries

## Number 81 : Winter 2020

Editor: Robert Morkot

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### Cover Illustration:

Les invités in the Court at Philae, gathered in front of the *mammisi* and second Pylon. See article by Andrew Oliver

### Bulletin 81 : Winter 2019

We welcome articles, queries, replies and other related matters from members and interested readers. Please send contributions to the Editor Robert Morkot: R.G.Morkot@exeter.ac.uk

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# ASTENE NEWS AND EVENTS

## ASTENE AGM July 2020

The AGM is planned take place in Birmingham on 18 July 2020: details will be announced in the next Bulletin and by e-mail.

## Subscriptions

Subscriptions are due in January: forms for renewal, standing order, and gift aid were enclosed with the last Bulletin.

## EES Library Partnership

The EES is keen to increase access and awareness of its Ricardo A. Caminos Library. Therefore an agreement with ASTENE means that ASTENE members will receive free access to the Library during opening hours without applying for a day pass (currently priced at £5 per day). In order to receive free access, ASTENE members should bring a letter of introduction giving details of their membership or visitation and when their library access should expire – ordinarily the Society will not extend library access beyond 31st March each year, after which access will need to be reapplied for and another introductory letter sought. Please contact the ASTENE Membership Secretary, Carey Cowham, for a letter of introduction.

Staff at the EES cannot perform research on behalf of Library users. There is an online catalogue to locate items relevant to their study. A user guide for the library can be provided. Library access does not include archive access. Archive consultations must be booked at least three weeks in advance through the Collections Manager by submitting a Material Request Form to [archives@ees.ac.uk](mailto:archives@ees.ac.uk). The archive is open to all researchers and membership is not a requirement. Details can be found online here: <https://www.ees.ac.uk/archive> There will be many ASTENE members who are also EES members, but we hope that this partnership will encourage members to use the EES Library and archive in their research.

Other partnership events between ASTENE and the EES are being planned. A few years ago we ran a very successful joint study weekend at Kingston Lacy and Dorchester Archives on the travels and

collection of William Bankes: we hope that similar events can be planned in the future – one is advertised below.

## EES Study Day November 2020

The EES, ASTENE, and the Friends of the Petrie Museum will host a Study Day on 21<sup>st</sup> November 2020. The subject is Artists and Egypt in the mid- to late-Nineteenth Century. Details will be announced soon on the EES website. The speakers will be Briony Llewellyn, Stephanie Moser, Robert Morkot, and Rachel Mairs. The presentations will cover paintings made in Egypt and the use (and possibly abuse) of Egypt in historical and biblical paintings, and in furniture and other objects.

## Bulletin

Many thanks to the contributors to this issue. Please continue to send articles, reviews and notes and queries. The next Bulletin will appear in May, so please send any contributions by early April.

We printed the previous Bulletin in colour. At the Committee Meeting it was decided that it is more economical to limit colour in the print copy – but full colour with higher quality images is available in the version e-mailed to members.

ASTENE Events and news are now circulated regularly via e-mail. If you have any problems please contact Tessa Baber.

## ASTENE Book Sale/Donation

Helen Hughes-Brock has recently approached ASTENE with a number of 19th - mid-20th c. books of interest to ASTENE members+ that she would like to donate to anyone who would like any of them or would find them useful. She writes:

“Members of ASTENE are invited to ‘pay’ for these books by donating to Iraqi Christians in Need (ICIN). This is not a missionary society. It is a UK Registered Charity (no. 1119427) founded in 2007 to give help to a specific minority, like aid being given to the Rohingyas of Burma at present. It is run from the UK by its foundress, Dr. Suha Rassam, a medical doctor living in Surrey, and her husband

Dr. Faiz Tappouni. The administration is largely voluntary and the work is done at the Iraq end by local people within their own communities of refugees, Christians displaced to 'Kurdistan' in northern Iraq. Their programme includes medical and educational aid, housing, and care and training of people with special needs.

The books are offered by Helen Brock and her husband Sebastian (retired Reader in Syriac Studies at Oxford University). We are personal friends of Dr. Suha Rassam and her husband and of other people involved, including one of those active in managing the programmes in Sulaimaniyah in northern Iraq. This is a worthy cause and little known about in Britain.

ICIN has an informative website: <Info@icin.org.uk>. If anyone not interested in the books would like to make a direct donation, the ICIN address is:

Iraqi Christians in Need, 43 Queen's Drive  
Thames Ditton, Surrey KT7 0TJ

The books above are held by the ASTENE Treasurer <treasurerastene@gmail.com>, to whom all enquiries and payments should be made. Apart from postage costs, all monies received will be collated and forwarded directly to the ICIN. If you wish to donate a specific sum to ICIN, please add postage costs to your payment.

Haggard, H. Rider 1904. *A Winter Pilgrimage being an Account of Travels through Palestine, Italy and the Island of Cyprus, Accomplished in the Year 1900*. London: Longmans, Green.

Kinglake, A. W. 1904. *Eothen*. New edn. London: Wm. Blackwood. Leather bound. Front cover detached.

de Lamartine, M., 1949. *Souvenirs, impressions, pensées et paysages pendant un Voyage en Orient 1832–1833 ou Notes d'un voyageur*, Vol. VII (only). Paris: Charles Gosselin-Furne et C<sup>ie</sup> — Pagnerre.

Lukach, H.C. 1930. *The Fringe of the East: A Journey through Past and Present Provinces of Turkey*. London: Macmillan.

Also: Cronin, A.J. 1957. *The Last Migration*. London.

## Conference Report. Eastern Questions: New Perspectives on British Orientalism

In collaboration with the Watts Gallery-Artists' Village, Royal Holloway, University of London and the University of York, a conference on the subject of British Orientalism was held on 16-17 October 2019. The conference was organised in conjunction with the exhibition *John Frederick Lewis: Facing Fame* taking place at the Watts Gallery at the time and represented a singular opportunity to bring together a group of art historians to discuss Lewis' indelible impact on British Orientalism and other artist-travellers to the Near East and South East Asia

Across both days, we heard from 23 speakers who came from a wide range of UK and international institutions and included museum professionals as well as senior academics and postgraduate students. On the first day speakers explored the influence of the Islamic world through different media, echoing John MacKenzie's crucial study of British Orientalism across the arts. Alexandra Solovyev discussed the Iznik inspired work of French ceramicist, Theodore Deck while Stefan Maneval explored the odalisque trope in contemporary graphic novels and Ashley Paul revealed the incredible interiors of Elveden Hall, the former home of the Maharajah Duleep Singh. From the lively discussions that took place between papers, delegates interrogated long held notions about Orientalism in visual culture and the new directions this research was taking, evidenced by a number of timely exhibitions on the subject taking place at key institutions such as the British Museum and the Fitzwilliam. We finished the first day with Laila Alharti's paper on the novel *The Map of Love* by Ahdaf Soueif. Hearing ekphrastic passages from the text which described Lewis' paintings, we were in a perfect frame of mind to move to the gallery where delegates were able to enjoy a private view of *John Frederick Lewis: Facing*

*Fame* accompanied by curators, Cicely Robinson and Briony Llewellyn.

On the second day, at Royal Holloway, papers were heard in their incredible nineteenth-century picture gallery which includes important British Orientalist works such as Edwin Long's *Babylonian Marriage Market* (1875) and works by William Müller and David Roberts. An additional highlight of the day was a special viewing, arranged by the curators, of original lithographs from Roberts' *The Holy Land, Syria, Idumea, Arabia, Egypt, Nubia*. This provided an opportunity for our postgraduate speakers to deliver their papers in front of the works, which generated a lot of discussion and interest amongst the delegates. We also heard from Lewis scholar, Emily M. Weeks and exciting new research she is conducting into the links between Lewis and Gérôme. Global Orientalisms became a common theme throughout the day as papers explored work by Russian, Spanish, Persian, Indian, Australian, French and British practitioners.

It is my hope that this conference has a legacy at this important moment for studies of Orientalism and the Near East. On behalf of the organising committee, I extend our sincere thanks to ASTENE for their support. The bursaries enabled half of our speakers to attend so it isn't an exaggeration to say without the committee's support, this event would not have been possible. I am also grateful to BAVS, the British Art Research School at the University of York, the Watts Gallery-Artists' Village and Royal Holloway for their support in this event as well.

**Madeline Boden**

## Review

*In Search of the Orient. Proceedings of the Symposium held at Kunsthistorisches Museum Wien*

(September 20th to 24th, 2016). Ed. ERNST CZERNY. *Egypt and Austria XI*. Kraków: Spolok Slovákov Pol'sku, 2018. Pp. 369, num. B&W figs., Col. Pls. 30. €34.90, paperback (ISBN 978-83-8111-078-5); available from Phoibos Verlag, Vienna.

Ernst Czerny's volume here presents a series of papers (all in English) deriving from a conference of the same name. The conference and volume format are both very similar to ASTENE's bi-annual extravaganza. We have here a myriad of mostly 19th to mid-20th travellers who explored, recorded, collected, founded, donated and even hunted in ASTENE's region of interest, presented by excellent researchers both 'professional' and 'amateur'. Some papers are based on unpublished material and considerable detective work. Not unexpectedly, the emphasis on Eastern and Central Europeans Protagonists, who hail from Italy to Romania, with Austria, Bohemia, Bosnia, Croatia, Czechoslovakia, Germany, Hungary, Serbia and Slovenia. Most of them are otherwise little if not entirely unknown beyond – and even within – their homeland, and so the volume enriches our knowledge of travellers from an area not normally explored by ASTENE researchers. A few papers venture beyond the usual ASTENE focus regions into Yemen, Ethiopia and Sudan. We have a myriad of professions – artists, writers, academics, archaeologists, adventurers, collectors, historians, anthropologists, economists, soldiers, aristocrats, diplomats, an even an ophthalmologist and a woman who converted to Islam and married the Khedive of Egypt. Some returned home, others remained, for a variety of reasons.

In short, this volume is virtually an ASTENE conference and, indeed, its appearance and the quality of its papers is a very welcome addition to the literature. The rationale and goals behind ASTENE's founding nearly a quarter-century already have borne much fruit and has become a research field in and of itself. So where to begin a review?

A second conference, held in Zagreb in 2018, will shortly be published in the next volume (XII) of *Egypt and Austria*.

**Jacke Phillips**

# ARTICLES

## Dr James Burnes and the “Overland route” from India to Britain

**Daniel M Potter**  
(National Museums Scotland)

During a 2018 collections review of Egyptian objects in Scottish collections, curators at National Museums Scotland became aware of a Ptolemaic Egyptian statue in the collections of Montrose Museum. The statue is one of the finest examples of statuary depicting a non-royal female at this time. The woman depicted, a sistrum-player called Meramuniotes, is also part of an important priestly family, whose members are represented in statuary and other objects in museums across the world. Alongside a fascinating ancient family, is an equally interesting modern individual, that of the collector Dr James Burnes (1801-1862). The life of Dr Burnes has been somewhat overshadowed by other members of his family, notably his younger brother Sir Alexander Burnes, who was an integral cog in the machinery of the Great Game. While some elements of his life story have been relayed in different media, the account of James’ journey from India to Scotland, and the details he provided in print, have not been shared.

Dr James Burnes (iv) was born in 1801, the eldest of fifteen children born to the Provost of Montrose, James Burnes (iii) and his wife Elizabeth Glegg/Gleig. The Burnes family was well-respected in the Montrose area, a status to be enhanced by the children of James (iii) and Elizabeth. Their prominence was in part due to the fame of their relative, the poet Robert Burns. James’ (iv) great grandfather James Burnes (i) and William Burnes, the father of Robert Burns were brothers, making the immortal bard, James’ (iv) 1st cousin twice removed. As a child, James attended Montrose Academy, an institution which had been formed by his maternal grandfather, before studying medicine at the University of Edinburgh and Guy’s and St Thomas’s Hospitals, London. Thanks to help from family friend, the local radical MP Joseph Hume, James and his younger brother Alexander were able purchase employment with the British East India Company. James served as an Assistant Surgeon in

Mumbai (Bombay) from October 1821 and quickly began to rise through the ranks. His rise was assisted by his willingness to learn new languages, to take up a post in which three of his predecessors had died from cholera and his ability to mix medicine, military surveillance and diplomacy. His most high-profile success was his treatment Murad Ali, the son of one of the Amirs of Sindh, which greatly increased his reputation in the area, the company and thanks to his publication, in the UK as well.



*James Burnes, 1801 - 1862. Physician General, Bombay Army. Lithograph by Stewart Watson 1850. National Galleries Scotland.*

In October 1833, having lived with the so-called “fever of the country”, malaria, for some time James was granted six months sick leave. It’s not clear how he managed it but as time passed, he did not return to Mumbai until December 1837. During his time back home, he was made a Fellow of the Royal Society and of the Royal College of Physicians, Edinburgh; he was also created a Doctor of Laws by the University of Glasgow. He was presented to King William IV by the Earl of Dalhousie and before leaving the country attended a dinner with the newly-crowned Queen Victoria. For his service in India, King William IV made James a Baron of the Duchy of Saxe-Coburg Gotha and a member of the

Royal Guelphic Order of Hannover, allowing him to style himself as Chevalier Burnes. Alongside small pamphlets and books he wrote during this time about his family history and his impressions of the region of Cutch, his most impactful work was finished only months before leaving for India on Christmas Eve 1837: *A Sketch of the History of the Knights Templar* dedicated to the Queen's Uncle, the Duke of Sussex. This small book was the first time that the history of the Knights Templar was linked to Scotland and Scottish Freemasonry. In this respect, it is without doubt that Dr James Burnes' work was the source of works of fiction like *The Da Vinci Code* and the popularity of Rosslyn Chapel. James and his brother, Alexander's supposed discovery of ancient masonic symbols in Central Asia also clearly served as the model for the Rudyard Kipling novel *The Man Who Would be King*. It is no wonder with all of these interactions, that one of James' biographers speculated that he had met "more of the eminent men of the present day than any other individual from India".

What follows is a summary of his over 3000 mile journey, which was frequently described as "the overland journey". The route was not entirely overland; indeed it was mainly at sea, but the difference between a long sea journey around the cape of Africa, and this new route was marked by the journey through Egypt to the Mediterranean Sea. His account of the journey was relayed to a family member in Montrose and published in the *Montrose, Arbroath and Brechin Review*. These reports were later picked up in British, Indian and American journals, though it must be said, without some of the colour of the original. Other travellers reported elements of the same journey in their published diaries /memoires and in the Canton-based "Chinese Repository".

#### *1<sup>st</sup> February 1834*

James left the port of Mumbai at 4pm, boarded upon the Steam Sloop *Hugh Lindsay* under the command of a Captain Wilson. This ship was an East India Company steamer, named in honour of the Director of the Company who was not sold on the idea of frequent passage between India and Suez. Ironically, his son was one of the passengers on this particular journey. The *Hugh Lindsay* was built in the Mumbai shipyards in 1829, conducting its first journey

between India and Suez in 1830. In 1834 it was decided by Parliament that frequent contact with India via steamship, to aide mail travel, should be introduced; hence James' journey marked a notable shift in international travel. That's not to say it was a comfortable shift! The ship was not suited to passenger journeys, particularly due to the 13 days' worth of coal filling two thirds of the passenger space, also serving to slow the vessel considerably in the first part of the journey

#### *10<sup>th</sup> February 1834*

Having used up a large amount of its coal, the *Hugh Lindsay* docked at Al-Makulla, a port on the Yemeni coast to load more coal. Burnes states that the celebrations associated with the end of the month of Ramadan meant that there was a delay in loading the coal until the 13<sup>th</sup> (9<sup>th</sup> February was the actual end of the month). In his future, Dr Burnes would become well-known and highly praised for his introduction and promotion of Masonic lodges in India which allowed native men to join. This foresight is sadly not reflected in his view of the population of Al-Makulla, whom he described variously as "inhospitable plunderers" and "half-naked savages".

#### *15<sup>th</sup> February 1834*

Once reloaded with coal, the anchor was weighed. Having made good progress, the ship entered the Red Sea on the 15<sup>th</sup>.

#### *16<sup>th</sup> February 1834*

Bad weather was encountered around the Hanish Island of Jabal Zuqar, motivated by the worry of running out of fuel battling gales; it was decided to turn back to the port of Mocha. At this time Yemen was at conflict with Egypt, and James noted the decline of this once flourishing settlement as well as the presence of two Egyptian warships in the harbour. Fittingly for a place central to the trade of Arabic coffee beans, James shared a civil cup with the local governor. The ship set sail again on the 18<sup>th</sup>, almost immediately encountering further high winds.

#### *23<sup>rd</sup> February 1834*

The *Hugh Lindsay* entered the harbour at Jeddah early in the morning of the 23<sup>rd</sup>. James noted the presence of the General of Army of the Hejaz Ahmed Feyzi Pasha and a large number of troops

including French and Italian recruits, reflecting the Egyptian ambitions in Arabia. During their days in Jeddah, James and his fellow travellers were received by the local governor, Suleiman Aga and were able to see some of the important sites and monuments of the city, without the “molestation” commonly experienced by Europeans at this time. After visiting the Tomb of Eve (later destroyed by Faisal, Viceroy of Hejaz) James was able to leave the city through the Medina gate and re-enter by the Mecca gate; an action usually restricted to pilgrims travelling to the holy cities. James “could not help but being affected” at the sight of pilgrims leaving for Mecca, describing the “assemblage of human beings from every corner of the earth”, all “within a few hours of attaining the greatest of their earthly wishes”.

#### *25<sup>th</sup> February 1834*

The *Hugh Lindsay* left Jeddah for El Qoseir with an added passenger, the missionary, Reverend Joseph Wolff. Wolff had been preaching the gospel in Afghanistan, India, Persia and Arabia. Despite Wolff’s good will to the brother he encountered on this voyage, James’ brother Alexander was not impressed by Wolff or his actions, believing him to be a liar and a charlatan. This seems a fitting description for a man who, despite speaking no Arabic, Persian, Turkish, French or Italian claimed to have successfully preached at the gates of Mecca – bible in hand. Indeed, on Alexander’s return journey from England to India, he enlisted Captain Wilson of the *Hugh Lindsay* and a number of passengers to find the person Wolff claimed to lodge with in Jeddah to ascertain the truth of his claims; Alexander was proved correct in his assumptions. Wolff would later share the journey from Alexandria to Malta with James.

#### *1<sup>st</sup> March 1834*

Despite persistently rough seas and wet decks, the ship anchored at El Qoseir at 4pm on the 1<sup>st</sup> March. Some of the passengers disembarked and travelled to Luxor, James did not join them. James described El Qoseir as a miserable town, but one full of well-dressed Muslim pilgrims of all nations and of a busy harbour. He also noted the lack of drinking water in the area, the necessity for a 125-mile journey across the desert for supplies and the subsequent nature of the bazaar; which sold the essentials for life only.

Over the coming days sailing into Suez, James was able to sight Mount Sinai and ponder of the “wilderness through which the Israelites wandered”.

#### *5<sup>th</sup> March 1834*

Parliamentary Select Committee reports show that the ship docked on the 4<sup>th</sup> March, following 31 ½ days journey, of which 25 days were spent steaming. The voyage had been difficult, enduring around 1000 miles of heavy waters and gales in the Red Sea. Naturally the ship was not in the best, with its deck and cabins showing some results of its consistent battering.

James disembarked at Suez and following a quick repast in the rooms previously occupied by Bonaparte, began the 75-mile journey to Cairo. He was joined by 11 other men, including Captain Wilson and two officers of the *Hugh Lindsay*. The caravan consisted of 30-40 camels carrying the supplies needed to sustain the men and their guides. Though the camels were “very uncomfortable as well as slow” capable of the occasional reckless burst of speed, the way underfoot was level and smooth. Each day’s ride was undertaken from 9 am until sunset, at which point the caravan stopped to camp; James notes that lack of servants would make the reader smile, that the great and the good of India were “pitching our own tents, and preparing our own table and beds”. In James’ words “although six of us slept within a square of twelve feet, there was not want for the luxuries of life”, as the provisions included: Scottish salmon, ham, French soup, champagne, claret, fowl, mutton and bread. The notable absence in this list was water, which became increasingly valuable to the party as their journey progressed. This luxury would be confirmed when the party reached Cairo and indulged in a Turkish bath to combat their long sea voyage and fatiguing camel ride.

#### *8<sup>th</sup> March 1834*

The caravan arrived in Cairo on the morning of the 8<sup>th</sup> and “made a transition from a silent wilderness into the heart of a mighty metropolis swarming with human beings, and filled with interesting objects”. Though stating that he would not expound on the various sites visited in Cairo, through fear of repeating the he went on to list a good number of them! From the Cairo Necropolis, Coptic convents,





Above:  
*'The pleasure gardens of Muhammad Ali Pasha at Shubra' (c.1839), Pascal Xavier Coste (1787-1879)*



Left:  
*Painting of the SS Hugh Lindsay presented to Commander John Henry Wilson after meritorious service when the ship ran aground in 1835. Sold at Dix Noonan Web December 2016.*

These images are reproduced on a larger scale and in colour in the e-mail version of the Bulletin.

the Nilometer, the Citadel and its arsenal, Yusuf's well /Salah al-Din's Well and other monuments in historic Cairo, he also found the time to visit factories, foundries, colleges and institutions. In fact, the length of time he spent in the area of the Citadel means he must have certainly seen the construction of Mohammed Ali's mosque as well. As with his encounter with the slave trade in Yemen, James also visited a slave market in Cairo. Distressingly for the modern reader, he did so twice, stating that "nothing interested me more". He also remarked that the enslaved people appeared to be "perfectly contented with their lot", reminding us very clearly of the time in which this journey was taken.

#### *10<sup>th</sup> March 1834*

Along with three companions, James crossed the Nile and proceeded to Giza, keen to visit the Sphinx and the Pyramids. He gives a vivid description of their entry to the Great Pyramid: "After crawling through the intricate passages of the largest of these wonders of the world, they had the pleasure of drinking a bottle of claret and Bombay (Tonic) water to the chorus of 'Auld lang syne' in the Sarcophagus of Cheops." A unique cocktail celebration, their singing reminiscent of Prof Blackie; who enjoyed a rendition of 'Scots wae hae' at the top of the pyramid! James did not reach the top of the pyramid, due to quarrelling between his guides on the dangerous ascent. Nevertheless "his expectations of the Pyramids were not disappointed".

#### *11<sup>th</sup> March 1834*

The whole party of "English strangers" made their way to the Palace of Shubra, to be presented to Mohammed Ali Pasha, the "wonderful man who rules" Egypt. The group partook in coffee and snuff, whilst the Pasha smoked from a Chibouk decorated with diamonds and amber. Mohammed Ali clearly made an impression on James, who he described as having "an eye full of animation" and despite being nearly 70, still spoke "like a man who would never die". The topics of discussion centred around the war in Yemen and the possibility of a railway across the Isthmus of Suez. This plan was to ensure British dominance in India, at the height of the great game, but would later be shelved when the French offered to loan money to the Pasha in order to fund the construction of the Suez Canal. Following their

discussions, James and the group were able to see the lush gardens, the pavilion, lion fountain and other well-appointed parts of the palace.

Lamenting the lack of "respectable hotels in Cairo", the party stayed with Osman Effendi. Osman was a Scottish Soldier by the name of William Thomson, who had converted to Islam and begun to work for the Ottoman authorities. When James met him, he was a dragoman for the British Consul, another Scot, Major-General Patrick Campbell. James noted that Osman's Perthshire accent was as strong as ever, despite supposedly having nearly forgotten and had to re-learn English. He took a fancy to James, on account of his nationality and surname. His apartment was decorated with maps and Scottish mementos and held a library in English. Osman's prized possession was a copy of Burn's poems that had been with him throughout his time in Egypt, despite its loss of illustrations, which were torn out during his pilgrimage to Mecca.

#### *13<sup>th</sup> March 1834*

James, a man named Finlay and Lieutenant Gordon McDonald boarded a Nile boat at Boulaq early on the 13<sup>th</sup>. Travelling on the Rosetta Branch of the Nile before joining the, recently dredged, Mahmoudiyah Canal to Alexandria. The city had in James' opinion, improved in the recent years, with the Frank quarter and the houses of the consuls looking much better than before. During his time in the Alexandria he was able to see the investment of Admiral Besson Bey by Mustapha Pasha, as Besson Bey hoisted a flag aboard a ship to the 1000+ audience of sailors, accompanied by canon fire. Before the group's arrival in the city, plague had killed around 30 people in a few days; it was also raging in the Holy Land, which dissuaded James from visiting. When James' brother Alexander made the journey from Falmouth to Alexandria in January 1835, he found plague raging in the city again.

#### *20<sup>th</sup> March 1834*

Having spent around five days in Alexandria, Messrs Burnes, Finlay, McDonald and Wolff embarked on their Journey to Malta. Fair seas further eluded James as gales forced the ship into the Aegean beyond Crete, leading to the jettisoning

twenty-seven barrels of cargo including much of their stores of water.

#### *4<sup>th</sup> April 1834*

Much delayed, the ship arrived in Malta on the 4<sup>th</sup> April. Their timing was unfortunate, and due to quarantine laws, which James suggested were for political means not just for health, the party were held in the lazaretto in Malta for the next 20 days. This meant that they missed the Falmouth packet and had to remain in the country for a whole month. Had James followed his initial plan of visiting Jerusalem, Constantinople and Greece, he speculated that he would have spent at least two months in lazarettos!

James' newspaper reports finish here, in the Maltese lazaretto, but from other accounts James went on to visit Sicily, Rome, Florence, Venice, Geneva and Paris. He was back home, in Montrose, by August 1834 in time to attend a meeting of the St Peter's Masonic Lodge. James' was keen to see a means of quick communication established between the UK and India, key to this was fast passage to Egypt. Only a steamer could navigate the Red Sea, and if a better ship was available for this leg, post and passengers could make the journey from Mumbai to England in 50 days. As some final comments about the journey, James states that the only expensive part of the "overland" journey was the passage cost from India to Suez, life and food (oddly stated at "1000 eggs, 30 fowls, or 100 pigeons" for one dollar) in Egypt was cheap. Furthermore, if the traveller was indifferent to the delights of the continent, then passage directly from Alexandria to London would be cheaper.

It is not clear the route by which James returned to India in 1837, though we know that when Alexander returned to India in 1835 he did so by the "overland route". No doubt, the brothers had some time together in late 1834 to discuss the benefits of James' journey. It seems likely that James would have used the same route for his future journeys. He continued to gain acclaim during the rest of his career, part of which was also spent fighting his for his brother's integrity after scurrilous claims were made against him following his death in 1841. James' also established Masonic lodges, a hospital in Mumbai and received numerous awards from the

company, his fellow masons and learned societies in India. He retired from his position as Physician General of the Bombay Army in 1846. James was later remembered as a "person of singularly attractive manners and disposition"; the warmth of his company, enthusiasm in the Masonic craft and eloquent frankness of address undoubtedly enabling him to be a success in India. He returned to the UK "without an enemy (in India), and with scarcely an acquaintance who is not also an admirer and friend". He died in Manchester in September 1862, and is buried in a churchyard near Swindon.

To this day, the Fundator medal is still presented to members of the Lodge Rising Star of Western India in Mumbai, as is the Burnes medal to students at the Montrose Academy.

His detailed account of one of the earliest passenger journeys using the "overland route" must surely only add to his historic renown, contribute to his legacy and illuminate the experience of travelling in the mid-1800s.

## ***Les invités du Khédive*** **Paper Presented at the ASTENE Conference York 2019**

### **Andrew Oliver**

The Suez Canal opened one hundred and fifty years ago, in November 1869. In June and July of that year the Khedive of Egypt, Isma'il Pasha, visited Berlin, Paris, London, and other capitals to determine who should attend the opening and to personally issue many of the invitations. He is said to have invited a thousand Europeans to come to Egypt at his expense. In addition there were one hundred European notable men in business, medicine, science, law, the military, the arts, journalism, including three members of *le Jockey club de Paris*, who would be treated to a three-week Nile cruise before the opening ceremonies. The majority of these guests were French, but there were seventeen Germans led by the renowned archaeologist, Richard Lepsius, eight Spaniards, one Dutchman, one Swiss, and three Scandinavians among them the Norwegian poet and playwright Henrik Ibsen, who had been invited because part of *Peer Gynt* was set in Egypt.

Joining the nearly one hundred gentlemen were nine ladies, that is seven wives, one widow, and Louise Colet, a former intimate of Gustave Flaubert. She was traveling as a correspondent for *Le Siècle* because she wished to see where Flaubert had gone with Maxime Du Camp twenty years before. These one hundred and the one thousand more whose passage to Egypt would be paid by the Khedive, joined thousands more coming at their own expense.

We are fortunate to have a range of accounts which allow me to tell their story. Four of those invited sent dispatches to newspapers or journals which appeared during and shortly after the trip. Two gentlemen wrote letters to their wives, one set published in 1933, the other in 2014. And ten published books based on their diaries or adapted from the accounts they had sent to journals, most within a few years, but one only in 1935, and another in 1952. Less than a year ago I purchased a copy of one of the books, a grand folio by Florian Pharaon with illustrations by Alfred Darjou, limited to 300 copies, which set me off on this topic. In order to tell the story properly I have sought to acquire the other nine – in part because I am a collector of antiquarian travel books, but also because some are available neither on line nor in American libraries. To date I have come up with seven of the ten.

Let us join them as they start their journey. As Louise Colet described it in her published account, she and many of her fellow travellers left the Gare de Lyon on the evening of October 7 bound for Marseille. Joining the French in Paris on the train to Marseille were the Spanish and German contingents – strictly speaking we should say north-Germans, one of the German writers indeed specified *unsere norddeutsche Gruppe* – no one from Würtemberg or Bavaria. Right at the outset a certain edginess was evident between the French and the Germans. Lambert de la Croix, in the first dispatch to his paper the *Moniteur universel*, noted that in his compartment were two Germans, very Prussian, very amiable, but surely convinced, so he wrote, that from the heights of Potsdam King William and Bismarck were keeping an eye on them. After a miserable overnight journey on the train, they arrived in the morning in Marseille and checked in to various hotels for one night.

On October ninth the group boarded the Messageries impériales steamer *Mæris* for the trip to Alexandria. Traveling with them was Charles de Lesseps, the brother of Ferdinand de Lesseps, and Mme Nubar, wife of the Egyptian minister of foreign affairs. On the first day the novelist Théophile Gautier fell down a flight of steps and dislocated his shoulder. The *Mæris* touched Messina in Sicily on October 11. Despite some bad weather and *mal de mer* it was otherwise a good passage, and along the way Eugène Tarbé, a journalist from *Gaulois*, entertained them on the piano in the salon.

The *Mæris* reached Alexandria on October fifteenth. Ferdinand de Lesseps himself greeted them and his brother Charles, and the notable men and women stayed for two nights at the Hotel d'Europe. From there, after seeing the sights – most of them saw Pompey's Pillar and Cleopatra's Needles – on October 17 they took the five-hour train ride to Cairo and checked in to the Hotel de l'Orient and to Shephard's. They were introduced to the Khedive on October 18, some went to the pyramids on October 20, and to Heliopolis on the twenty-first, as an introduction to Egypt before going up-river. The art historian Charles Blanc, who wrote one of the accounts, remarked that the presence of Théophile Gautier among them had promised a magnificent account of the trip, but owing to his shoulder, still healing, he remained in Cairo. His friend Auguste Marc of the *Illustration* stayed with him. Gautier wrote letters to the *Journal Officiel*, published from February to May 1870, but they read like a mesmerizing dream.

To accommodate the group on the river, the Khedive arranged a flotilla of four steamers and three dahabeahs (the traditional sailing craft of the Nile, to be towed by the steamers), seven vessels which the group boarded in the evening of October 20, to be ready to set off up-river the next morning. The Khedive also furnished every traveller with a 183-page printed itinerary prepared under the supervision of the French archaeologist Auguste Mariette: *Itinéraire des invités aux fêtes d'Inauguration du Canal de Suez, qui séjournent au Caire et font le voyage de la Haute Égypte, publié par ordre de S. A. le Khédive*. I have also managed to acquire a copy of this publication. Traveling with the group on one of the steamers was Tonino Salomone, known as

Tonino-bey, an Italian-born representative of the Khedive, in charge of special events and on hand to smooth out difficulties. The names of all of the travellers, apportioned among their steamers and dahabeahs, are in the Appendix.

Richard Lepsius, the celebrated Egyptologist, arranged through long-standing connections in Egypt to have the Germans and the Scandinavians travel on the *Ferus*, the best of the four steamers. With them was the young Egyptologist from Geneva, Edouard Naville, Lepsius' protégé. Henrik Ibsen reported that along the way the Germans wanted to hoist their national flag, a suggestion which brought objections from Oscar von Knorring, a Swedish military officer, who argued that they were all equally guests of the Khedive – and the flag was not raised.

Most of the French and the Spanish guests were aboard the *Beheira*, the largest of the steamers. Among them was the artist Jean-Léon Gérôme who had been in Egypt three times before, having first travelled up the Nile with friends in the 1855-1856 season. With them also was the artist Narcisse Berchère who had been in Egypt that same season, and had later been commissioned by Ferdinand de Lesseps to execute an album of images recording the progress of the creation of the Canal. A third artist, Eugène Fromentin, acting in behalf of ten friends, persuaded the archaeologist Mariette to let them hire and bring on board a dragoman, Antoine. Charles Philippe, director of the Musée du Louvre, and Antonio Gisbert, director of the Museo del Prado in Madrid, were also on board this steamer. Among the eight Spanish was Cipriano Segundo Montesinos, director of public works in Madrid, and earlier a member of de Lesseps' commission of 1855 sent out to examine the feasibility of a canal through the isthmus.

On board the *Beni-Souef*, the smallest of the steamers, were twelve additional travellers from France, two married couples, among them Florian Pharaon and his wife – he was the one responsible for the large folio publication of the trip mentioned earlier – and eight single gentlemen.

The three dahabeahs were elegantly appointed, but not the fourth steamer, the *Gizeh*, about which we

have complaints from Edmond Bureau, a professor at the École militaire de Saint-Cyr, Monsieur Tissier, and Madame Louise Colet. Although a staff of nineteen served only eleven passengers the steamer left much to be desired. Everything was filthy. The rooms smelled of the latrines. The beds were detestable. Louise Colet has left us a lively account. As she turned in the first night aboard, her room attendant Gaetano, a Venetian, optimistically wished her *Felice notte, principessa*. She made her ablutions in cold water, put on eau de cologne, eventually fell into a troubled sleep after a double dose of opiacée. A figure appeared over her in her sleep in the form of her former lover who twenty years before had been on the Nile; this figure turned into some sort of phantom; then she awoke to find crawling up her white nightgown – cockroaches! She hopped out of bed and stepped on some of them. To get rid of their smell she poured about essence from a bottle she kept in one bag. At which point out of another bag containing her sugar and lozenges, jumped two rats. This was not an auspicious beginning.

The flotilla of four steamers and three dahabeahs set off from the port of Boulaq on October 22. In the afternoon they were at al-Wasta. At six a.m. on October 23 they arrived at Beni-Souef. There, after taking on coal, the flotilla travelled the whole day without stopping and on October 24 they reached Minieh. An aide to the Moudir (the senior official of the province) escorted some of the travellers to the Moudir's grand house where he held an audience with Lepsius acting as interpreter. Charles Blanc reported that the streets of Minieh were policed by Albanians in Greek costume sporting sabres and pistols in their belts. Muhammed Ali, the founder of the Egyptian royal dynasty at the start of the nineteenth century, was an Ottoman from Albania; he introduced these policemen.

At Minieh six of the French travellers on the steamer *Gizeh* abandoned ship. Two of them returned to Cairo by train: Eugène Tarbé, the pianist, complained of problems with his eyes, and Monsieur Boulanger had developed dysentery. Four others, including the two photographers Gaston Braun and Amédée Mouilleron, also left the *Gizeh* and found space on the *Ferus*. Now, there were only five on board the *Gizeh*, as we learn from Edmond Bureau

in one of the letters to his wife. Members of the *Gizeh* crew, who had previously been negligent, seem to have been magically transformed and now served them with style. An excellent range of food was served, and to drink they had Bordeaux, Burgundy, and champagne; pale ale, porter and vermouth, for liqueurs, cognac, rum, 'maraskino', curaçao, and chartreuse. And boxes of cigars. They were served at any time, at any hour.

I mentioned a disease of the eyes and dysentery. Alas, for some there was one more plague. One of the Spanish travellers, Eusebio Blasco, poet and playwright, traveling on the *Beheira*, the largest steamer, wrote in his published account that in addition to the eye disease and dysentery Egypt had a new calamity called Madame Colet. Yet to her credit, Louise Colet wrote what I would consider is the most literary and entertaining account of their excursion.

In the afternoon, between one and three o'clock in the afternoon, the flotilla reached Rhoda (ancient Antinoë), named after Antinoos, the friend of the Emperor Hadrian, where a palace for the Khedive was under construction and where they toured a huge sugar factory turning cane into pyramids of sugar. They stopped for the night at Gerf-Sahran. On October 25 they departed for Siout, where in the evening they witnessed a fantasia featuring the the almas, the dancing girls, about which more in a moment.

The next day, October 26, they realized that two of their number, who had gone out the previous evening to walk in the moonlight, had missed boat, namely the journalist and physician Müller and the young Egyptologist Dümichen. But nothing could be done. On the afternoon of October 26 they reached Sohag where they again took on coal. And among the first things they did there was to send a telegram to the Moudir of Siout to inform him how the two who had been left behind could arrange to join them later. On the evening of October 26 they were at Balianeh, from where they were supposed to visit the ruins at Abydos, only nine kilometres away, but could not owing to the height of the river.

On the afternoon of October 27 a discharge of guns sounded on their arrival at Keneh where they were

greeted by M. Bishara, Arab-born consul of France. The next day, October 28, at seven a.m. they started for the temple at Denderah, the first archaeological site they were to see. Back in Keneh in the evening they were treated to another dance of the Almas. Edmond Bureau, whose letters to his wife were only first published five years ago wrote these words about one dance in particular:

"It was the sword dance in which an Alma, so flexible and graceful, danced holding two great Turkish sabres, curved and sharp, the movements beyond belief, and I should add, a dramatic performance, for one false movement could have stuck the sabres into her head, though her eyes, or into her body at her waist; the last act was Arab music, truly delicious, which we applauded without stopping. ... What was particularly strange about the evening was the arrangement of the hall: all the guests crouched in the Turkish manner on divans surrounding an enormous empty space; on the sides were four or five Arab musicians, a dozen dancing girls of whom five or six were old women, also seated on their knees. Everyone smoking, cigars, pipes, cigarettes."

At two a.m. after midnight the flotilla left Keneh bound for Luxor.

On the evening of October 28 they reached Luxor where they spent three days exploring the ruins. Eight of the travellers off the *Ferus*, among them Charles Taglioni, and perhaps also Robert Lallemand, who wrote a lengthy account of the ruins, started off at six a.m. the next morning, October 29, to explore Luxor and Karnak. With them were the archaeologists, Lepsius, Lieblein, and Naville, though Naville said that he wanted to be at the disposal of the French, and he was.

A great number of the French travellers started off for Karnak somewhat later in the day. We have the words of Lambert de la Croix who recorded that he was with the artists Gérôme and Berchère, and the rather more revealing account of Florian Pharaon, who reported that a large number went to Karnak and once there they broke into groups, some following Richard Lepsius, some the great Assyriologist and classicist François Lenormant, still others the young twenty-nine year old Albert Daninos, formerly in the antiquities department at the Louvre and now Auguste Mariette's assistant at

the museum in Boulaq. He had been asked by the Khedive to accompany the group and show them around the ruins. Louise Colet, determined not to miss anything, also toured the ruins. She started off with several others at three o'clock enveloped in veils and with a parasol to minimize the heat, riding a donkey so as not to tire herself. She rode from Thebes down the allée of sphinxes and toured the ruins. At Karnak, in the hypostyle hall, she came upon the two photographers, Amédée Mouilleron and Gaston Braun, taking pictures of the more interesting reliefs.

On October 30 some crossed the Nile to see the Tombs of the Princesses, and to go to Medinet Habu, where a member of the party carved his name on one of the buildings: "Franchot 1869". He was Louis Franchot, a French ingénieur, who had help to construct the pharos at Port Said, and who at age 60 may well have had help with the chiselling. At four o'clock the two unfortunates who had not made it back to the boat in Siout arrived in Luxor, having been on donkeys for three days. They would never again miss the boat.

On October 31 many of them again crossed the Nile to visit the Tombs of the Kings. In his book Charles Blanc wrote pages on this excursion and noted that, "one of our companions, M. Naville of Geneva, did the honors for us at the tombs which he thought important to see and which he had already explored on a previous trip." Edouard Naville, the Swiss Egyptologist, had been there a year before on his first trip to Egypt. Our colleague Hélène Virenque read a paper on Naville's traveling companion on that first trip, the artist Edmond G. Reuter, which was published by ASTENE two years ago.

Back across the river in Luxor, in the late afternoon of October thirty-first the Imperatrice Eugénie and her party arrived on a steamer escorted by several other steamers. They were introduced to her and the everyone dined lavishly under a huge tent. Many of the senior locals called her the Sultana of France.

The flotilla continued south. On November 2 they stopped at Edfou to see the temple which had been cleared by the French Egyptologist Mariette. One member of the party, the Swiss Egyptologist Edouard Naville, had spent days there, the previous year, copying the hieroglyphic inscriptions for a

book to be published. At seven in the morning he hurried to the site with his colleague Dümichen, so as to verify the transcriptions of his readings. "Since we would spend the whole day there, I would proof-read twenty-one of my plates" - he had them with him - "and I was, in short, satisfied with the result. There are some errors, but not many; I will publish an erratum sheet, but I am assured of a number of doubtful points. It was, I ought to say, the only scientific accomplishment of my voyage."

Another member of the party, Robert Lallemand, the doctor from Lübeck whom we have mentioned before, was particularly impressed with the hieroglyphics. He wrote in his published account, "by means of moist paper we could take without trouble a quantity of impressions of single signs and groups of them, which I still look at today with pleasure." Last winter I acquired a copy of his two-volume account of the trip, a copy which had once belonged to him and which he had given to his daughter. Inserted into volume one was one of his squeezes, showing a falcon and a hand - Horus of Behdet, that is as Larry Berman has informed me, Horus of Edfou. Written in ink is the annotation: "squeeze of hieroglyphs from the temple of Edfu, for my hedgehog." That was Robert Lallemand's nickname for his dear young daughter.

On November third they visited the temple at Ombos. On November fourth they reached the southernmost point their steamers could go, Assouan. There they shopped in the bazaars and went across to the island of Elephantine with its green sycamore trees. The next morning, starting before daybreak they trekked along the Nile, past the first cataract, to the island of Philae with its great Temple of Isis begun by one of the Ptolemies, and enlarged over the centuries into the Roman Imperial period. They marvelled at the ruins and at the locals. One of the French artists, Louis Morel-Retz, who was known as *Stop*, made a coloured sketch of a young Arab sitting on a block of stone. He gave it to his friend Émile Guimet, whose museum in Paris many of you know, and who had travelled up the Nile four years earlier.

At Philae the photographer Gaston Braun memorialized the travelers. Robert Lallemand writes: "At last a great photographic experiment was made.

A French “photographer” placed us along the attractive columned temple in which he had set up his studio, to gather together a group, and took a photograph of us, with which the artists appeared to be very satisfied.” This is *Figure 1* below.

The man from Amsterdam, Den Tex, also recorded the taking of this photograph in his journal published in French translation some seventy years ago: “Déjeuner succulent and comfortable in the temple, after which M. Braun made a portrait of the party of the *Ferus*.”

One of the two photographs preserved of these travellers at Philae made by Gaston Braun, the one taken just below the so-called Kiosk of Trajan – *Figure 2* - a print from an album owned since 1925 by the Egyptian Department of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, shows about 24 Europeans, not a woman among them, just about the number of Germans and Scandinavians, plus transfers from the steamer *Gizeh*, known to have been aboard the *Ferus*. Richard Lepsius is probably the gentleman standing in the rear at the right, in light clothes, fully visible from hat to his trousers.

Two other travellers cite photography at Philae. First, Camille Pelletan, writing for *Le Rappel*, said that M. Braun made a photograph of members of the expedition grouped at the foot of the Ptolemaic colonnade. Secondly, and more expansively, we have the words of Edmond Bureau in a letter to his wife: “We had déjeuné this morning in a temple on the island of Philae, in the middle of the cataracts of Syène, and after the end of this meal someone photographed the entire party: men and women have grouped themselves in a *fantasia* among the colonnades of the temple, in the ruins, on the stones, &c, with the Nubians, some Arabs of Karasa &c ... it will be a very precious souvenir of the trip – my nightmare, the Louise, happily does not figure in this.”

Edmond Bureau was describing a second photograph, known today from a print in the City Museum of Munich. This one contained many but by no means all of the French and Spanish off the other steamers and the dahabeahs. Bureau himself stands high above the others in the centre. Front and centre are seated the Mourgue sisters flanking the

husband of one, and standing behind them their widowed mother. This foursome were comfortably installed on the dahabeah *Aigle*. What many were saying all along was that the heat was oppressive, up to 30 degrees reamur, that is nearly one hundred degrees fahrenheit. And they were in Egypt, dressed for Paris and Berlin in October.

Later that day, for a thrill, some thirty-five of the party – French and Spanish – decided to descend the first cataract in a large dahabeah. One of Alfred Darjou’s charcoal sketches published in Florian Pharaon’s folio shows the craft and Camille Pelletan, writing for *Le Rappel*, gives a splendid account which I can only summarize. They were struck by the blackness and handsomeness of the Nubian crew, how they exerted themselves, and how they sang out the whole time. There were men on ten oars and others directing the passage. The Nile was in flood which minimized the danger of coming to grief on the rocks.

They returned downriver toward Cairo so as to travel to Port Said in time to witness the grand opening of the Suez Canal. I will describe only the day they stopped at Girgeh on November 9, to see the ruins at Abydos, not a 9 km ride, as from the port of Balianeh, but an eight hour round-trip trek. The only person to describe this day in any detail was Henrik Ibsen. His diary has disappeared but in one short narrative that has survived Ibsen described parts of two days, one of them the day they went to Abydos.

“At 4:30 in the morning the reveille sounded. Two negroes, our servants’ servants, ran around the ship creating a fearful din with fire-tongs and frying-pans. Swiftly we performed our toilet and ate our breakfast. It was still dark but with a faint shimmer of daylight in the east. On the shore could be discerned a confused throng of asses, horses, camels, and Arabs, who had been organized to escort us to Abydos. Each of us selected a beast and driver ... I had acquired a well-saddled donkey ... We rode southward with the Nile on our left ... Our caravan made an imposing procession ... In the centre of our line rode the leader of the expedition, the famous Egyptologist Lepsius, with his Jovian head of youthful white curls, on a handsome ass with red velvet saddle hangings. “Leps, Leps,” whispered the natives as he rode past. Everyone knew him.... His



young and very tall Swiss colleague, Naville, bore himself impressively on a large thoroughbred, sent by a rich Copt of these parts. ... Suddenly we noted that our outriders had halted. ... To allow the floodwaters free access to the plain the dyke had been breached to a width of about a hundred yards, and there below us lay two Nile barges making their humble preparations to ferry us over ... Everyone wanted to be first into the boats, the horses reared and kicked as they were driven aboard with sticks, the donkeys were literally thrown down into the vessels, the Europeans swore, and the natives shrieked at each other like madmen ... A similar scene ensued when we landed; first one saw the riderless donkeys and horses, then riders with nothing to ride; for the attendants were still waiting to embark, and we had no choice but to give chase to our long-eared mounts ... We rode on, singly or in long lines ... our parasols gave scant protection, and gradually we gave one article of clothing after another to our drivers' keeping."

After several more pages, Ibsen's narrative stops mid-sentence as they arrive at Abydos. Charles Blanc, the art historian, said that they had lunch there, and he provided in his book a description of the reliefs in the temple explored by Mariette five years earlier, the first to do so. This earned him an entry in *Who was who in Egyptology* the only member of *les invités* who was not an Egyptologist to be so honoured.

We have one more bit of information about that day from the brief accounts of others: during their return Louise Colet collapsed, declaring that she could continue neither by donkey nor by foot. In order to make it back to the steamer she was rolled into a *sac* which was then slung horizontally on two poles to be carried on the shoulders of four fellahin, and in this fashion she returned to the Nile.

The party soon returned to Cairo and then to Port Said. The festivities surrounding the grand opening of the canal took place on November 17 and 18. That is another story, already told many times by others.

After the great event and the festivities, one of *les invités* stayed on. Jean-Pierre Barillet-Deschamps, a horticulturist had been hired by the Khedive to

improve the Gardens of Cairo and had actually started work before the Nile excursion. He had made his name designing squares and parks in Paris in conjunction with Baron Haussmann's reorganization of the city. His title had been *Jardinier en Chef du Bois de Boulogne et de la Ville de Paris*. Alix Wilkinson, who has written on many subjects Egyptian, gives a full appraisal of his work in a 2010 issue of *Garden History*.

Richard Lepsius and his fellow Egyptologist Johannes Dümichen joined the party of the thirty-eight-year old Frederick, crown prince of Prussia – one of the royal visitors invited by the Khedive – for their post-festivities voyage in three steamers up the Nile to Philae. In addition the two photographers, Gaston Braun and Amédée Moulleron, decided to return south again to the first cataract, together with the artist Alfred Darjou.

But most of the travellers soon returned home to Europe by steamer from Alexandria. Den Tex left on November 27 on the *Guienne* for Marseille. Eugène Fromentin left on November 28 on the *Said*, also for Marseille and arrived after a miserable passage on December 6. Camille Pelletan left on November 30 on the *Alphée* bound for Naples. Charles Taglioni and Robert Lallemand left together on November 26 on the *Masr* and landed in Brindisi on November 29. From there they took an express train to Naples, toured the archaeological sites, were treated to a dinner by Margherita, the wife of Prince Umberto, and saw a Donizetti production at the great opera house of Don Carlo. As if they had not had enough already. Then north city by city, Rome, Florence, Bologna, Turin. Charles Taglioni was finally back in Paris on December 14. Lallemand was home in Lübeck before Christmas.

Some five weeks earlier, while they had been assembled at Philae or Assouan in early November, they had determined to have a reunion on January 20, the French in Paris at the restaurant *Bréban*, the Prussians in Berlin. And so they did, drinking toasts and sending telegrams back and forth to one another remembering their time together on the Nile.

Alas *camaraderie* and *Glückseligkeit* would come to an end. Robert Lallemand, the doctor from Lübeck, writing up his diary more than a year later, noted in

the passage he wrote describing the arrival of the Empress Eugénie at Luxor, who could have known on that October day in Egypt, that one year later, in October 1870, Napoleon, her husband, would be a prisoner of Bismarck, while she, the Cleopatra of the

Nile, would have fled to England. Lallemand ended his remarks by referring to the writing on the wall in Belshassar's Feast quoted in the *Book of Daniel*: *Mene mene tekel upharsin*.



Figure 1 Above:  
Les invités in front of the Kiosk of Trajan, Philae.



Figure 2, Left:  
Les invités in the Court at Philae,  
gathered in front of the *mammisi* and  
second Pylon.

These images are reproduced on a larger scale in the e-mail version of the Bulletin.

## Appendix: Les invités du Khédivé on the Nile before the opening of the Suez Canal

A flotilla of four steamers & three dahabiehs left 21 Oct. 1869 for Upper Egypt, back 11 Nov.  
*Dahabieh no. 1* the *Ibis*, towed part of the way by the *Ferus*

M&M Théophile Franceschi, editor of the Brussels daily *Le Nord* (Mme née Hélène Gros)  
M&M Georges Edmond Raoul Duval (1807-93), cour impériale de Bordeaux (Mme née Octavie Say)  
Charles Rhoné  
Charles Taglioni, *Deux Mois en Égypte*, Paris 1870.  
At the Prussian embassy, Paris. Also on the *Ferus*

*Dahabieh no. 2* the *Belzoni*, the dahabieh of the Jockey-club, towed by the *Gizeh*  
Three members of the Jockey Club: Comte de Montmort, Vicomte de Malézieux, Marquis d'Angerville  
Pierre Pichot (1841-1921) (*Revue britannique*), *Les invités du Khédivé dans la Haute Égypte ...*  
'Stop' = Louis Pierre Gabriel Bernard Morel-Retz (1825-1899), dessiner, *Journal amusant*

*Dahabieh no. 3* the *Aigle*, towed by the *Beheira*  
Mme Chabert, née Hélène Mourgue (1840-1923) & husband, Joseph-Camille Chabert (1834-1905)  
Mlle Mourgue = Elizabeth Mourgue ('Betzy') (1841-1898), unmarried sister of Hélène Chabert  
Mme Mourgue, a widow, mother of Mme Chabert & Mlle Mourgue, friends of Ferdinand de Lesseps  
Two other passengers, perhaps servants? all six cited by Louise Colet (p. 221), but not named.

On board the *Beni-Souef* listed by Pharaon  
M&M Jean-Pierre Barillet-Deschamps (1824-1873), horticulturist (*Garden History* 38, no.1, 2010)  
Hector Horeau (1801-1872), architect and artist, first in Egypt 1837-1839  
Louis Franchot (1809-1881), ingénieur; name at Medinet Habu; helped design the pharos at Port Said  
Léon Lévy, ingénieur and Charles Durand  
Jules Audéoud (1836-1885), banker and mining engineer  
MM. Sancy-Parabère, Pajol, et d'Hédouville, officers of the army

Florian Pharaon (1827-1887) et sa femme: Marie Leontine Riviere. *Le Caire et la Haute Égypte*, 1872

On board the *Ferus*, all listed by Pharaon  
Richard Lepsius (1810-1884), his last trip to Egypt. Said to have written letters to his wife.  
Edouard Naville (1844-1926), young Egyptologist from Geneva, protégé of Lepsius  
Johannes Dümichen (1833-1894), Egyptologist  
Gotthilf Hagen (1797-1884), hydraulic engineer  
Friedrich Drake (1805-1882) of Berlin, a sculptor = statuaire  
Dr. Otto Veit (1822-83) "Medizinische Reisebilder aus Aegypten" *Berliner klinischen Wochenschrift*  
Bernhard Graser (1841-1909) of Berlin, philologist; wrote *Das Seewesen des alten Aegypten*, 1869.  
Dr. Robert Avé-Lallemant (1812-1884) of Lübeck; *Fata Morgana aus Aegypten und Unter-Italien*, 1872.  
Heinrich Stephan (1831-1897) Oberpostrath = postmaster-general, wrote *Das heutige Aegypten* 1871  
Franz Hübner, "assesseur"  
Georg Friedrich Wilhelm Rumker (1832-1900) director of the Hamburg observatory  
Baron Hermann von Kehler (said to have been the oldest passenger)  
Georg Erbkam (1811-1876), an architect & surveyer with Lepsius in Egypt decades earlier  
Paul Güssfeldt (1840-1920), docent of the University in Bonn  
Ludwig Franzius (1832-1903), architect from Hannover  
Friedrich Konrad Müller (1823-1881), poet, journalist, physician  
N.J. Den Tex (1837-99), secretary, chamber of commerce, Amsterdam; *Egypte en het Suez-kanaal*, 1870  
'Journal de mon voyage en Égypte, 1869 (document inédit)' *Cahiers d'histoire Égyptienne* 4, 1952, 111-43  
Baron Korff ?? selected by the Kaiser Wilhelm to be one of his representatives at the ceremonies  
Charles Taglioni (? - 1879) (see above under the first dahabieh)  
Jens D. C. Lieblein (1827-1911) of Christiania, Egyptologist, letters to the *Morgenbladet*, Oct-Dec '69  
Henrik Ibsen (1828-1906), Norway (See M. Meyer, *Ibsen. A Biography*, 1971, pp. 301-316, "Egypt")

Oscar von Knorring (1822-1891), military officer, *Två Månader i Egypten*, Stockholm 1873.

On the *Beheira*, the largest of the steamers. Tonino-bey, representative of the Khedive, on board.

Charles Adolphe Wurtz (1817-1884), Faculté de médecine

Charles Blanc (1813-1882), historian of artists; *Voyage de la Haute Égypte*, Paris 1876

Emmanuel Miller (1812-1886), bibliothécaire, Assemblée nationale, long-time searcher for greek mss.

Marcellin Berthelot (1827-1907), chemist, Collège de France; interested in ancient texts on alchemy

Antoine-Jérôme Balard (1802-1884), chemist, Collège de France

Joseph Charles d'Almeida (1822-1880), Lycée Henry IV, Collège de France

Jean Louis Armand de Quatrefages de Bréau (1810-1892), biologist; Muséum nat. d'histoire naturelle.

Jules Célestin Jamin (1818-1886), physician, l'École Polytechnique

Jean-Leon Gérôme (1824-1904), artist

Eugène Fromentin (1820-1876), artist, *Voyage en Égypte (1869)*, ed. Jean-Marie Carré, Paris 1935

Eugène Guillaume (1822-1905), sculpteur, directeur de l'école des Beaux-Arts

Henri Alfred Darjou (1822-1874), artist, illustrated Florian Pharaon's book

Charles Philippe, Marquis de Chennevières (1820-1894), art collector and director, Musée du Louvre

Charles de Tournemine (1812-1872), artist

Narcisse Berchère (1819-1891), artist; his 1863 album showing the cutting of the canal burned in 1871

M. de Laleu (*Universal*) = ?? G. de Laleu, author of *L'Égypte (1870) Les Capitulations et la Réforme*

Lambert de La Croix (*Moniteur*) *L'Égypte, cinq minutes d'arrêt!!!* 1870 (serialized earlier in *Moniteur*)

“Xavier Feyrnet” = Albert Kaempfen (1826-1907), novelist (*Temps*)

Tony Blanche Marcel Bertrand Arnaud Thenard (1843-1905)

Léon Cléry (1831-1904), barreau de Paris

Georges Coulon (1838-1912), avocat, barreau de Paris

Georges Le Chevalier (1839-1902), avocat, barreau de Paris, ami de Ferdinand de Lesseps

Paul Broca (1824-1880), anthropologist, president of the Société d'anthropologie

Ernest Hamy (1842-1908), anthropologist; found ancient flint weapons at Djebel-el-Malouk

Dr. Étienne Jules Marey (1830-1904), prof. Natural History, Collège de France

Dr. Emile Isambert (1827-1876), prof. à l'École de Médecine de Paris; *Itinéraire descriptif ...de l'Orient*

Appleton (*Presse*), said by Knorr to be the French-born son of J. J. Appleton, US minister, Stockholm

Felix Teynard (1817-1892), ingénieur et photographe. Had travelled earlier in Egypt.

François Lenormant (1837-83), archaeologist; bibliothécaire; *Notes sur un voyage en Égypte* 1870  
Niaudet-Bréguet, probably Alfred Niaudet-Breguet (1836-1883)

Eugène Yung (*Journal de débats*) account in *Appletons' Journal* vol.3, March 26, 1870, 351

Eugène Ernest Desplaces (1828- ), historian of the Suez Canal.

El duque de Tétuan, Carlos Manuel O'Donnell (1839-1903), a member of the Spanish nobility

Antonio Gisbert (1834-1901), a painter who became director of the Museo del Prado in 1868

Eusebio Blasco (1844-1903), poet and playwright, *Mi viaje á Egipto*

Cipriano Segundo Montesinos, director of public works, Madrid, vice-president of the Cortès

Buenaventura de Abarzuza (1843-1910), member of the Cortès

Antonio Palaü and Ramon de Vargas, members of the Cortès

Manuel Maria Jose de Galdo (1825-1895), member of the Cortès

Albert Daninos (c. 1840-1912), égyptologue, formerly antiquities dept. at the Louvre, then at Boulak

On board the *Gizeh* (crew: le Commandant, 12 marines, 6 cuisiniers; maître d'hôtel & garçons)

Louise Colet (1810-1876), articles for *Le Siècle*; later *Les Pays Lumineux. Voyage en Orient*, 1879.

Eugène Tarbé des Sablons (1838-1900), *Le Gaulois*; disembarked at Minieh, returned to Cairo by train

M. Boulanger of the *Journal de Paris*, disembarked at Minieh with Tarbé and returned to Cairo

Camille Pelletan (1846-1915), *Le Rappel*, 15 letters, e.g.: 26 Oct., 28 Nov., 30 Nov., 4 Dec., 16 Dec.

Gaston Braun (1845-1915), photographer, son of Adolphe Braun (1812-1877), photographer.

Amédée Mouilleron (1820-1881), photographer with the firm of Adolphe Braun, to the *Ferus* at Minieh Cavalier de Lourmarin, transferred to the *Ferus* at Minieh

Edmond Bureau (1830-1892), prof. l'École militaire de Saint-Cyr. Letters to his wife published in 2013

Louis Chauveau, with the *Moniteur*, former rédacteur of *Le Constitutionnel*

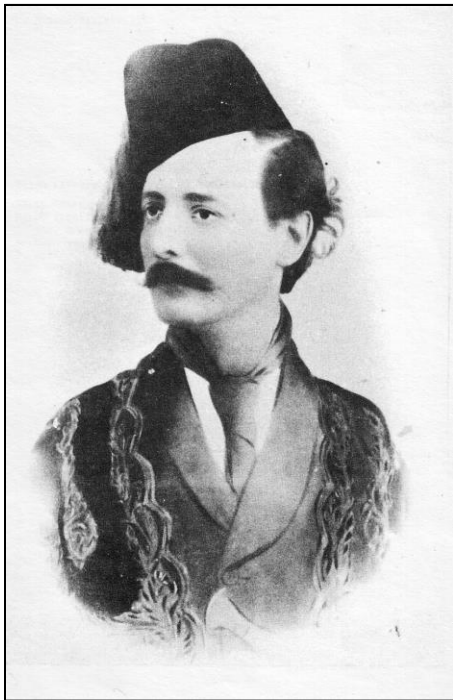
le docteur Mouillac, médecin en chef, École militaire de Saint-Cyr

J. Tissier from Brest, to the *Ferus* at Minieh. Article in *Revue Moderne* tome 55 nov. 1869, signed J.T

## Graffiti: Robert Hay and Kalitza Psaraki

### Roger O. De Keersmaecker

Robert Hay was born, 6th January 1799, at Duns Castle in Berwickshire, son of Robert Hay, 1731, Esquire of Drumelzier and Whittingehame and Janet Erskine, of Cardross. He died in Amisfield House, East Lothian, 4 November 1863.



Married Kalitza Psaraki, (1802?) – 1885) see Selwyn Tillet, 1984, p. 34.

“All authorities are agreed that the future Mrs Hay, Kalitza Psaraki, was the daughter of Alexandros Psaraki, chief magistrate of Apodhulo on the island of Crete. During the war of Greek independence (1821-1827) Kalitza and a number of other girls were taken captive by the Turks and sold into slavery in Egypt, where they were rescued by a Hay who became their protector and took charge of their education. When Greek independence had been achieved. Kalitza became Mrs Hay and the couple endeavoured to trace her parents. After a number of visits to Crete they built a house in Apodhulo.”

Children,

Kalitza Janet Erskine Christian Hay, born ?, died 6 Augustus 1914.

Robert James Alexander Hay, born 14 May 1840, died 28 Augustus 1928.

James William Hay, born 5 Augustus 1841, died 30 April 1917.

### The Graffiti

#### Great Pyramid

R. HAY  
BONOMI SLEPT HERE  
NOV. 30 1824

Georges Goyon 1957: Pl. CXLIII int. 8. - Queen's Room, East facing.

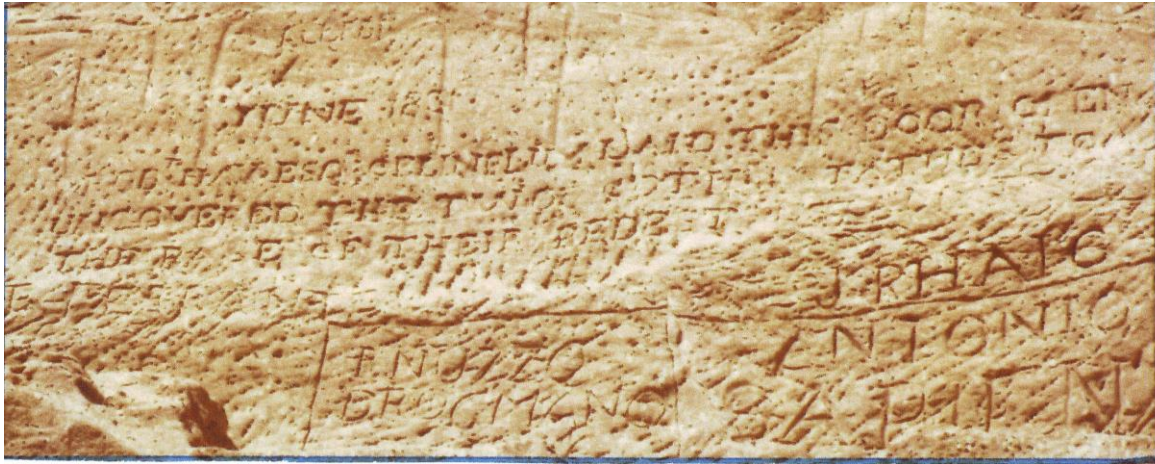
#### Abu Simbel RDK 735, 7747

On the right side of the double stele of Setau, Viceroy of Kush in the reign of Ramesses II, to the south of the Great Temple.

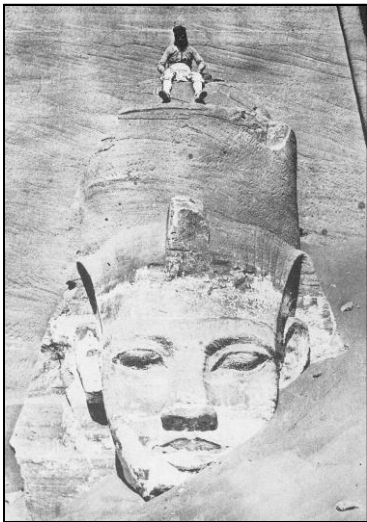
ROBT HAY  
KALETSA HAY  
18XXV

(1825)

Just above the cornice that surmounts the entrance to the great temple:



**JUNE 1831**  
**ROBT HAY ESQR OF LINPLUM LAID THIS DOOR OPEN**  
**UNCOVERED THE TWO SOTHN STATUES TO**  
**THE BASE OF THEIR PEDESTALS AND TWO TABLETS OF HIERGS**



*Un voyageur en Egypte vers 1850. Le Nil de Maxime Du Camp* Présenté par Michel Dewachter et Daniel Oster. Préface de Jean Leclant. Sand/Conti, 1987. Pl. 14. 29 mars 1850.

A pale Ramses II or simply a cast made by a negligent modern moulder?  
 ‘Their trophy a life-size plaster-cast of the northernmost head, cleared on the previous visit, taken by Nasciambene, an Italian plaster-man.’  
 Selwyn Tillett, 1984, *Egypt Itself*, p. 28, 29 and p. 100.

**Bibliography**

Louis A. Christophe, *Abou Simbel, et l'épopée de sa découverte*, Bruxelles 1965, p. 79 passim, Kaletsa, p. 99.

Selwyn Tillett, *Egypt Itself, The Career of Robert Hay, Esquire of Linplum and Nunraw, 1799-1863*, SD Books, London 1984.

Georges Goyon, *Les Inscriptions et Graffiti des Voyageurs sur la Grande Pyramide*, Le Caire, 1957.

Jane Waldron Grutz, *The Lost Portfolios of Robert Hay. Aramco World*, March/April 2003, Volume 54, Number 2. p. 1/6.

NB Amelia Edwards in *One Thousand Miles up the Nile* writes about the cast made by Robert Hay and ‘an Italian assistant picked up in Cairo’. She recounts how she and her companions attempted to clean the head *in situ* removing the plaster and tinting with coffee. In her day the cast was displayed ‘over a door leading to the library at the end of the northern Vestibule, opposite the staircase’. If I recall correctly, at the ASTENE Conference in Aston 2013 Morris Bierbrier reported it was now to be found in the basement, in pieces. The Editor]

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

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