JOURNEYS ERASED BY TIME

The rediscovered footprints of travellers in Egypt and the Near East

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Cover image: General view of Luxor temple in the 1880s, showing the Maison de France located on the roof of the sanctuary. © Griffith Institute, University of Oxford.

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Introduction

Neil Cooke

This present volume of essays is a selection of papers presented to those attending the 12th biennial ASTENE Conference held at the University of East Anglia in July 2017. The title of this sixteenth collection is *Journeys erased by time: The rediscovered footprints of travellers in Egypt and the Near East*, which reflects the common theme to be found in the different chapters.

The men and women from the past who are written about in this volume are a mixture of the incredibly rich or the very poor, and yet they have one thing in common, the bravery to tackle an adventure into the unknown without the certainty they would ever return home to their families. Some took up this challenge as part of their job or to create a new business, one person travelled to learn how to create and manage a harem at his house in London, others had no choice because as captives in a military campaign they were forced to make their journeys into Ottoman controlled lands not knowing exactly where they were, yet every day they were looking for an opportunity to escape and return to their homes, while at the same time hoping the next person they met would guide them towards the safest route.

Apart from being brave, many of these men and women travellers have something else in common: they and others they encountered have left a collective record describing their travels and their observations about all manner of things. Be it visiting numerous ancient sites in Egypt to establish the first comprehensive 'King List' of all the Pharoahs, or noting the names of Rabbis in Jewish communities encountered during a long journey, or using oil paint, watercolour and pencil to record images of buildings and ancient places so they could be viewed by a much wider audience, or perhaps recording the first entry by a westerner into the Great Pyramid. The knowledge gathered by these people has since been used to the benefit of all present-day travellers. It is these forgotten pioneers who first gathered the facts and details that now fill numerous modern guidebooks, inflight magazines and websites, albeit that the information now offered for travellers to act upon is often beautifully presented and better illustrated, more interesting and entertaining, and can be digested in minutes instead of hours.

Members of the Association for the Study of Travel in Egypt and the Near East (ASTENE) founded in 1997, continue to research, hold international conferences, and publish books and essays in order to reveal the lives, journeys and achievements of these

less well-known men and women who have made such a contribution to the present day historical and geographical knowledge of this region of the world and who have also given us a better understanding of its different peoples, languages, art and religions.

The first chapter by Paul Starkey raises the dilemma of whether rediscovered footprints are real – or imaginary. Between the years *c.*1165/6 and *c.*1171 CE, Rabbi Benjamin of Tudela, a city in the Navarre region of north-east Spain, made a tour of Europe and what is now the Middle East. He also, allegedly, ventured further into Asia and North-Africa although there is no agreement among modern scholars as to the exact route he may have followed. While Benjamin does not explain the purpose of his journey, some scholars now suggest that he was recording his own pilgrimage to the Holy Land along a route then favoured by travellers, while others propose the idea that because he includes details of Jewish communities and the names of religious leaders and families, he could have been creating a guidebook to help other Jewish pilgrims find hospitality and security in cities and towns along the routes to Jerusalem.

Rabbi Benjamin began his journey by travelling by boat from Tudela along the river Ebro to Zaragoza and Tarragona on the east coast of modern day Spain. From there he may have journeyed by ship along the coast to Barcelona and Girona, before proceeding north-eastward along the coast of France to reach the port of Marseilles, from where he continued sailing to Genoa, Lucca, Pisa and Rome, in Italy. Benjamin probably journeyed overland to the east coast of Italy before sailing to Athens and Constantinople from where he may have set off overland into Asia – for he mentions Samarkand, Tibet and China among the places he visited – although the detail of such places may have come from travellers he met along the route. During the return journey he visited what are now Syria, Lebanon and Israel, before passing through Iraq to reach Baghdad. From there he travelled to what is now Iran, before cutting across the Arabian peninsular to reach Egypt and North-Africa, where he records a visit to the Jewish communities in Ethiopia – although this may again be a record of what he was told by other travellers he met. From North-Africa, Benjamin returned home to Spain, which is most probably where he first wrote in Hebrew the manuscript recording his 'Itinerary.' The 'Itinerary' was published in book form, in Hebrew, around the year 1543. A Latin translation was printed as the 'Itinerarium Beniamini Tudelensis' in 1575. Another two centuries were to pass before his book was translated into English and published in London in 1783.

Another early traveller is George Husz, a Croatian who was forced to travel around the Orient between the years 1532 and 1541. Husz had just returned home to Rasinja from Pécs, in Hungary, where his parents had sent him to be educated and was taken prisoner in his village by the Ottoman army of Süleyman the Magnificent, then in retreat following its unsuccessful siege of Kőszeg in Hungary. The chapter by Mladen Tomorad describes how during the journey to Constantinople his captors realised that Husz was educated and sent him to a *madrasa* to be taught Arabic and how to play the trumpet, before transferring him as a slave to the house of the

imperial trumpeter in Galata. Husz hoped that by learning Arabic he would be able to join the Ottoman army and provide him the opportunities for escape and to return home. In 1533 he did manage to leave unnoticed and spend a month travelling before being captured and sentenced to death. Somehow Husz managed to avoid his punishment and was forced to convert to Islam before joining the Ottoman army as a trumpeter. Eventually Husz was given his freedom and was able to enter the service of the ship's captain who transmitted the sultan's secret messages to the Egyptian viceroy in Cairo. This freedom allowed him to travel in Egypt and visit its sand covered ancient monuments. He was also able to witness many Egyptian traditions and customs taking place in the first half of the 16th-century that had probably not changed since ancient times.

Although Husz had his freedom, he was unable to find a way to escape and was taken by the ship's captain to join the Ottoman fleet of some 80 ships being sent on a year-long mission to the west coast of India to lay siege to the city of Diu and take on the Portuguese fleet. The outward voyage gave Husz the opportunity to visit Aden, while the return journey included a stop at Jeddah where he marched off with the Ottoman army to visit the Holy sites of Mecca and Medina. In 1539 Husz left the service of the ship's captain and joining a merchant caravan he began a pilgrimage around the Holy Land. With the help of local monks on small islands in the Mediterranean, he was able to find his way homeward by sea, reaching Rome at the end of 1540. From Italy he returned to Croatia before settling in Austria for the remaining years of his life.

The two manuscripts written by George Husz describing his travels and what he saw in the places he visited are in libraries in Vienna and the Vatican. However, it is the version in the Vatican that intrigues modern scholars as it contains a drawing by Husz of what may be the Great Pyramid at Giza, for it shows the approximate location of the entrance formed around 820 CE by Caliph al-Ma'mun's workmen and gives an idea of where the King's Chamber is located. It is clear from the manuscript that Husz climbed to the top of this pyramid, because he writes that 'you could easily place your tent and spend time there.' He also describes how he entered the pyramid through the small entrance on one side and spent some two hours working his way along the passageways until reaching the middle chamber with its sarcophagus. All of which would appear to confirm George Husz as being among the few Europeans to have visited the Great Pyramid during the 16th-century.

While travelling as a boat passenger around the Mediterranean would not have been an easy journey in past centuries, it was worse for the crews of European merchant ships with their valuable cargos who also had to fend off fierce attacks from pirates who were based in Turkey and in ports along the north coast of Africa. The chapter by Hakan Yazer brings this into focus using a dairy written by Samuel Atkins, who worked for most of his life as a clerk to Samuel Pepys, the administrator of the English navy. Pepys, of course, is most famous for writing his own diaries that record events such as the Great Fire of London in 1666.

For a period of time, while Pepys was out of favour with the politicians of his day, Samuel Atkins left his employ to become an officer on the *Crowne,* a navy frigate that with the *Kingfisher* had been sent to the Mediterranean to protect convoys of English merchant ships from attack. This provided Atkins with the opportunity to visit many of the ports and islands used by many other travellers and traders on their routes to Egypt and the Near East. Atkins describes the European communities he met and gives a brief history of places he visited and details of the commercial commodities that were being traded. Atkins also describes serious encounters with pirates, including the Battle with the Seven Algerines that took place on 22 May 1681, when *Kingfisher* received a direct hit that killed the ship's captain and many of the crew.

When King Charles II returned from exile, Pepys resumed his public duties with the navy and was soon joined by his clerk Samuel Atkins, who later rose in rank to be a Commissioner of the Navy. The dairy of Samuel Atkins, apart from providing a first-hand account of the life of a naval officer escorting merchant convoys and protecting them from attack by pirates, also provides information about Pepys from soon after he abandoned his own diary because of the fear he was going blind.

The chapter by Caroline Simpson provides a timely reminder that many museums, institutions and publicly accessible collections contain descriptions, images and maps offering snippets of a story that can then be pieced together to reveal a footprint that has been erased from history. Such is the case of the 'Amr Mosque that once stood next to the temple of Seti I in the village of Qurna on the west bank of the river Nile opposite Luxor. Although the site of the mosque is clearly shown on maps of the area drawn by Lane in 1827, Wilkinson in 1830, Catherwood in 1833, while a map by the Survey of Egypt from 1921 describes it as a ruined mosque. It is clear the record of the mosque's presence has been less well documented when compared with what remains from ancient Egypt. Through a painstaking search of the drawn panoramas of Robert Hay and his team of artists, the paintings of other artists, the excavation records of archaeologists such as Sir Flinders Petrie, and conversations with those who lived in Qurna until quite recently, it has been possible to create a partial historical record of the mosque that will help to ensure its existence will never be forgotten.

The armies of the past have probably left more footprints across the lands of the Near East than any other group of people. The chapter by Sarah Shepherd reveals how, during the First World War, thousands of soldiers from Australia and New Zealand joined European soldiers sent out to Egypt. The influx of so many people into the city of Cairo was a challenge to those in charge, who had to create a vast tented encampment at Mena, close to the sphinx and pyramids on the Giza plateau, replete with cooking and mess facilities, and stabling for hundreds of horses. At Giza, the steps of the pyramids also provided both the stage and the backdrop to many regimental photographs and gave soldiers the opportunity to climb to the top, enjoy the view and take photographs to send to families and friends back home,

even though they were not supposed to have brought cameras with their kit. Soon realising that thousands of soldiers had lots of spare time to fill, those in charge began to organise guided tours of Cairo and encouraged the soldiers to visit its historic monuments and also take a look at the remains of ancient Egypt that were further afield and could easily be visited by train.

For many of the soldiers, who were most likely being sent to fight at Gallipoli, Egypt became a place where the wounded and injured were brought for hospital treatment and convalescence in the care of English, Australian and Canadian doctors and nurses. To develop the soldier's interest in where they were and to walk about the city as an aid to recovery, a number of guidebooks were created, most notably *Rambles in Cairo* by Mrs R. L. Devonshire, which gave a brief history of the Islamic monuments that could be visited, including mosques and traditional houses, the majority of which would have been visited by the troops of Napoleon and Abercrombie a century before.

The next chapter, jointly researched and written by Hélène Virenque and Sylvie Weens, brings to life the 'French House' sometimes known as the 'Maison', 'Chateau' or 'Palais' de France, a house once located on the roof at the south end of the temple at Luxor. The house is mentioned by many travellers and can be found in several drawings, paintings and early photographs. The house began life as a home for the French Mission that in 1831 had been sent to remove one of the obelisks in front of the temple at Luxor that had been offered by Mohammed 'Ali to King Charles X of France. After the Mission departed, the house became French property following a decree by Mohammed 'Ali and a guard was appointed to look after the building and welcome French visitors. The house was lived in by Prisse d'Avennes and Nestor L'Hôte but also used by British and Indian army officers passing through Egypt. Harriet Martineau and her travelling companions stayed there, as did Lucy Duff Gordon, who enjoyed being able to look down from the balcony at everyday life in the village of Luxor. The last resident was Amelia Edwards, who tells us that by then the house was in a sorry state with a large part no longer being accessible.

The fate of the 'French House' fell to Gaston Maspero, who as the newly appointed director of the Service de conservation des antiquités de l'Égypte, decided it was time to remove it and tidy the temple so it was more attractive to the ever growing number of tourists. The 'French House' was demolished and the French government received land of equivalent value as compensation. Today, few tourists are aware as they walk through the temple of Luxor that it once had a house on its roof.

Gaston Maspero also features in the chapter by Heicke Schmidt about Emil Brugsch, the brother of one of the founders of German Egyptology, Heinrich Brugsch. When Heinrich moved to Cairo to become director of the École d'Égyptologie, Emil soon followed him to work there as a public tutor in the German language. Emil also had a keen interest in photography and began taking pictures of excavations at Mendes. Emil was also a skilled lithographer and was asked by Auguste Mariette to make facsimiles of papyri in the Egyptian Museum. Mariette, a good friend of

Heinrich, seems to have taken Emil under his wing and within two years he was conservateur-adjoint at the Boulaq Museum. Because of his language skills, knowledge and general affability, Emil was often chosen to serve as a tour guide for official guests of the state, a duty he shared with Heinrich. Thus began a list of royalty, aristocrats, politicians, diplomats, millionaires and businessmen, many of whom were interested in buying antiquities, often from the museum, which led to much criticism of Emil.

Today, Emil is better known for being involved in July 1881 in the recovery of the Royal Cachette. This refers the hidden tomb originally located by the 'Abd al-Russul family that contained mummies of some of the most famous pharaohs of the New Kingdom. With Maspero, as the new director of the Museum away in France, it fell to Emil and Ahmed Kamel the secretary translator at the Service des Antiquitiés to visit the tomb, view its contents and decide what to do. Their instant decision was to employ three hundred local men to empty the tomb within forty-eight hours and transport the 40 sarcophagi with their royal mummies and some 6,000 artefacts to the museum in Cairo. Although Emil was later reprimanded for not making a record of the tomb or take photographs before its clearance, or to write a report about the hasty evacuation, given the circumstances and rumours among the local population that the tomb contained much gold and jewellery, Maspero publicly praised Emil and Ahmed for 'the service that they have returned to the Museum and the sciences.'

The chapter by Sylvie Weens tells the story of another photographer, Victor Maunier, who arrived in Cairo from France around 1849 and opened a daguerreotype establishment. Maunier soon attracted the attention of Khedive 'Abbas I, who asked him to photograph his young sons. Clearly the Khedive was impressed by Maunier's work and he was invited to photograph the monuments of Upper Egypt, with the instruction to have them cleared as necessary, of the sand, rubbish and mud-brick domestic structures in order to make better pictures. To carry out his commission, Maunier moved to a dahabiya (*dahabiyya*) moored in front of the temple at Luxor together with his new lover, Mme Bouvaret-Galli, who was still married to a retired French provincial actor running the Hôtel du Nil, in Cairo, and whose surname suggested to the novelist Gustave Flaubert, who once stayed there, the name of Mme Bovary, the fictional woman who lived beyond her means in order to escape the banalities and emptiness of provincial life.

Having lived on the dahabiya for almost a year, Maunier applied to the French consul in Alexandria for permission to take up residence with his 'wife' in the 'French House' above the temple at Luxor, occupying that part over which a roof survived as this would provide him with a more secure store for the artefacts he was finding hidden by the sand. Through the clearances, Maunier recovered numerous artefacts, such as the Banishment stelae from Karnak, now in the Louvre Museum, and he discovered the nine sealed shafts in the Hathor Chapel in the temple at Deir el-Bahari that contained over 60 intact coffins including their mummies. These he removed to the French House, where they were seen by Heinrich Brugsch thrown

into an unused room with parts of coffins being utilised as door-jambs in the house and pieces being used as fuel for the fire.

Now a well-known figure in Luxor, Maunier became friends with Auguste Mariette and often supervised his excavations, however, his real reason for coming to Egypt had been to make money. Having some savings, Maunier was able to lend money at good rates of interest to local people who borrowed to cover the cost of farming and pay the government taxes, and to Arab merchants sending their caravans back and forth to Sudan. Loans to farmers were often repaid in grain and the government turned the courtyard of Amenhotep III in the temple at Luxor into a grain store. Conveniently this was next to the French House and Maunier became involved in buying and selling grain. He also became the administrator of a sulphur mine near Qusayr, whose products were transported to the gunpowder factories Mohammed ʻAli had established throughout Egypt. Maunier also became the business associate of Prince Mahammed ʻAbd al-Halim and helped develop his land in the Delta region for agriculture, and manage his sugar-cane plantations south of Luxor, into which Maunier put some of his own money. To work the land required many more workmen than were available, and Prince ʻAbd al- Halim began to purchase African slaves, a trade in which Maunier was implicated. Faced with such challenges and difficulties, Maunier and his ʻwife' left Egypt to settle in Paris, where they met with some of the friends and businessmen they had known in Egypt with the hope of being steered towards some sound investments. Unfortunately, these were not very fruitful. A few years after his death and being short of money his widow sold the last remaining bits of his Egyptian collection to the Louvre Museum.

The chapter by Isolde Lehnert describes the life of August Gorff, another entrepreneur who settled in Cairo having left his home in Kassel, a city in the centre of what is now Germany, where his parents ran a traditional guest-house and restaurant. Having an eye for business, Gorff moved to Egypt to open his own canteen in al-Ismāʻiliyya, offering food and refreshment to those working on the construction of the Suez Canal. When work on the canal finished his business came to an end and Gorff moved to Cairo to open what Baedecker's Guide to Egypt began listing as a ʻbierstuben' or ʻbeer house.' Gorff's beer house was in the area of Ezbekiya gardens, not far from Shepheard's Hotel, where other cafés and beer houses had been opened to serve European residents and tourists. By expanding into adjoining properties, the beer house became an hôtel of 40 rooms to be managed by Gorff's wife. For the interior, the Gorffs had the idea of decorating the walls with murals and framed paintings and to achieve this they hired European artists who had come to Egypt to paint by offering them free food and lodging. The resulting interior was an eclectic mix of genre paintings recording local and historical scenes and ancient Egyptian landscapes, including a painting of the Colossi of Memnon with the heads on the statues being representations of Gorff and his wife. Other murals included one of Gorff sailing on a raft carried by four scantily clad women swimming in the river Nile.

By now, Gorff was becoming well-known in Germany and he decided to create a version of his beer house in a special area of streets and buildings named Kairo, created in Berlin for the Great Industrial Exhibition of 1896. Kairo included a viewing platform atop a 38 metre tall version of the Great Pyramid that could be reached by lift. Gorff's Bavarian beer hall was built in the so-called Italian style next to Khedival Square, where the great parades and shows took place every day. It also boasted a garden with trees shading the tables and chairs that quickly became the meeting place for the people of Berlin. To decorate the beer house, Gorff brought with him copies of some of the murals that filled the walls of his establishment in Cairo, with the copies being made by the artists who had painted the originals. After the Exhibition closed, Gorff returned to Cairo and his business. He died only a few years later and the closing of his beer hall left many people wondering what to do with their spare time in the evenings.

With a statue to a suffragist recently being erected close to the UK Parliament building, the chapter by Lucy Pollard is a timely reminder that Millicent Fawcett, one of the leading figures in the cause of women's rights, made several visits to Palestine when she was in her seventies, accompanied by her cousin Agnes Garrett. The first of her four visits was made over Easter 1922 and made use of a sum of money given her by a group of her friends with the proviso that she must spend it on herself. All the arrangements for her first visit were made with Thomas Cook & Sons, who took care of everything from passports, customs, hotel bills, transport and tips. Millicent and Agnes travelled from Paris to Trieste on the Orient Express, took a steamer to Alexandria and another train from Cairo to Jerusalem. On the second visit Millicent travelled by railway to Marseille then by boat to Beirut. In Palestine she visited the main historical sites at Jerusalem and places nearby such as the lake at Galilee. She also visited schools and Women's Associations giving talks to enthusiastic young audiences about women's rights and the story of women's suffrage in Britain.

The Austrian traveller Anton Prokesch von Osten is not a name that will be familiar to many who study ancient Egypt but his interest in the subject began in 1824 when he served as a naval officer in a squadron sent to the Aegean to fight pirates and protect Austrian merchant ships that were trading with the Levant. Prokesch was also commissioned to send secret reports to his government about the Greek War of Independence. Based in Smyrna, Prokesch travelled widely through Greece and Asia Minor before visiting Alexandria to gather information to send the Austrian government about the strength and abilities of the Egyptian army. He spent a year travelling throughout Egypt and in Nubia, which was still a little-known destination for travellers. This was also the time of major interest in the decipherment of hieroglyphics, which enabled Prokesch to read and to some extent understand inscriptions.

The chapter by Ernst Czerny examines a particular interest Prokesch had in trying to establish a chronology of pharaonic Egypt based on his systematic collection and

analysis of royal names in their 'rings' that were visible on monuments in Egypt and Nubia. This was an enormous task and Prokesch travelled extensively in order to copy every cartouche with a king's name found on any visible monument. Furthermore, Prokesch recognised that his pharaonic chronology would help determine the construction dates for the monuments themselves, and assist in developing a more coherent history of ancient Egypt. Prokesch was not alone in trying to work out this sequence of history and when he published his findings he acknowledged the names of those who had given him information or had published lists that he had used to supplement his own work. Sadly, like many travellers, his own chronologies were published after the appearance of other books containing similar lists and Prokesch's pioneering study was quickly forgotten.

The Irish peer Somerset Lowry-Corry, 2nd Earl Belmore, is a visitor to Egypt and the Near East who was neither a lone traveller nor an adventurer but might be regarded as the first real tourist because he undertook the journey with his whole family and entourage, including his personal physician, Robert Richardson, who wrote the account of their journey. While the chapter by Boyo Ockinga begins with some details of Belmore, his family, his travelling companions, and the monuments they visited along the river Nile, the focus is on the recent re-excavation of tomb TT148 at Qurna, this being the tomb from the depths of which Belmore and his companions extracted a large empty granite sarcophagus with an undamaged lid, only to abandon it just outside the tomb entrance half-way up a mountain. While Richardson describes in his book the 'most Herculean undertaking' of moving the sarcophagus without ropes, crowbars and strong men, today it is almost impossible to imagine how the task was carried out. However, a clue may have been found during the recent excavations. After removing rubble from the floor at the lower end of the tomb, it was noted that retaining walls of sandstone blocks had been built on either side to hold back the dust and debris and fragments of stone that had either chipped or fallen from the walls and ceiling when the tomb was being made or after it was first opened in the 1820s. Keeping the loose material contained by the retaining walls may have allowed the sarcophagus to be moved more easily over the bare rock floor. Today the sarcophagus is back inside the tomb and is resting in the Long Hall. Perhaps the effort to return it to its original location has proved to be even more of a Herculean task.

The chapter by Andrew Oliver brings together American families and their servants who crossed paths as they sailed along the river Nile in hired dahabiyas during the winter season of 1874-1875. This group included astronomers wanting to observe, time and photograph the Transit of Venus across the sun's disk. This would have been the first opportunity to do so since 1769 when seventy-six scientists located around the globe, took their measurements, including those by Captain James Cook and his astronomer, Charles Green, from the expedition ship *Endeavour*, while at anchor off the island of Tahiti. While some on the river Nile in 1874 made their observations by projecting onto paper the bright image of the sun through

their telescope so as not to damage their eyes, one astronomer removed a window from his dahabiya, smoked the glass and used that to follow the small black dot of the planet Venus as it travelled across the suns disc as it arose on a cloudless day at Luxor.

With photography still in its infancy, many of those sailing on the Nile that winter packed cameras, glass plates and chemicals so they could make pictures of the ancient Egyptian tombs and temples they visited. Often these were reproduced in books they published after returning home to America, alongside photographs of more artistic natural views, such as sunsets reflected on the waters of the river Nile. Interestingly, while the men employed the quicker scientific method of photography to provide a record of their travels, it was the women who spent the extra time needed to draw and paint in water-colour and oils the scenes of daily life aboard their dahabiyas which suggest to the modern viewer that these family holidays were a very pleasurable experience.

While people in the modern age are persuaded to travel in Egypt and the Near East after viewing many colourful and carefully framed photographs in marketing brochures, very much the same techniques were used in earlier centuries to educate and entice travellers to make their journey into the Orient. The chapter by Janet Starkey explains that among the early sources of inspiration for western Europe's discovery of the Orient were the paintings of the French-Flemish painter Jean-Baptiste Vanmour who lived in Constantinople from 1671-1737. Vanmour's paintings illustrate everything from Ottoman court life and ambassador's audiences, to everyday events and costumes. Although Vanmour was one of several artists who painted similar scenes, his works also appear to have set out the parameters for how these images were to be portrayed by other artists, for example in the ambassador's audience paintings, there is only ever one viewpoint used and the layout of the furniture is the same, as is the positioning of the different people in the room and the scene viewed through the windows. Vanmour's paintings were also used to further Europe's knowledge of the Orient when they were published as engravings bound together for sale. These picture books were very popular as they provided a source of ready-made imagery that could be copied to create scenes in Oriental genre paintings by artists who had never left their European studios.

Another artist who visited Constantinople in 1763-4 is the Englishman, Francis or Francesco Smith. Smith was in the employ of Frederick Calvert, 6th Baron Baltimore, whose wealth came from his family's ownership of the colony of Maryland in the United States of America. The chapter by Brian Taylor recounts how Baltimore had a darker side, for he was a drug addict and obsessed with women and sex and his purpose for travelling to Constantinople was to gain access to the Sultan's harem and discover how it was managed, so he could create something similar in his own home in England. How Francesco Smith fitted in with Baltimore's travels and pursuits is not entirely clear, but he was able to paint several landscape views of Constantinople and the Bosphorus, possibly from the terrace of the house Baltimore

had rented for his stay. Smith also made paintings of the various officials connected with the harem, and of women in their local costume, much like those by Vanmour. Many of these were reproduced as engravings and used by Baltimore to illustrate a narrative about his travels that he had published, together with a scene of the Dervishes of the Order of Mevlevi at the tekke in Pera, Constantinople.

Baltimore set out on a second Grand Tour in 1769, financed by the sale of his family's estate in Surrey. He began the journey in Sweden, where he called on the naturalist Carl Linnaeus who had just moved into his new house and where the iron gates had to be removed and the gate posts demolished to accommodate the passage of Baltimore's large and extravagant carriage and horses. Having met, the two men exchanged correspondence for two or three years. Two years later and Baltimore died in Naples of fever following a visit to the temple at Paestum. Francis Smith returned to London and continued painting, exhibiting for many years at the Royal Academy and the Society of Artists until his death in *c.*1802.

Leo Tregenza may be considered the last Western traveller to have used camels for his journeys through Egypt's Eastern Desert. He did not travel alone, but always set off with a number of local men as guides who appreciated the dangers of what he was doing and were happy to look after him. To this day he is still fondly remembered by the families of all those he travelled with and they are sad he will never return to visit them again. In the latter years of his life, Tregenza destroyed some 50 or more of the notebooks recording his journeys and he probably burned the rest of his papers, although a few items of correspondence have recently found their way to the British Museum Archive. While his published books can provide some clues to his journeys and archaeological interests, the chapter by Ronald Zitterkopf, who tracked him down to his last home in Cornwall, England, provides us with a first hand account of Leo Tregenza's character and his reminder that *"Everything I want people to know is in my books."*

The paper by David Kennedy is also a reminder that a long and hazardous journey can sometimes cause friction between travellers, especially if those involved are sharing a tent. This is what happened between the explorer and ornithologist the Rev. Dr. Henry Baker Tristram and the Rev. Dr. Christian David Ginsburg, the co-directors of an expedition to investigate the old cities of Moab, funded by a grant of £200 from the British Association for the Advancement of Science. The motivation for the expedition was the discovery a few years before by a Jerusalem-based missionary, Pastor Frederick Augustus Klein, of the 'Moabite Stone' or 'Mesha Stele', containing a text dated to 840 BCE. The stele had been set up by the Moabite ruler Mesha, an historical Biblical figure and the text gives details of events also described in the Second Book of Kings. It was this common reference point that may have encouraged the British Association to fund a search in the region of Moab in the hope of finding more texts offering further details of events that are described in the Bible.

On their return to England, Tristram and Ginsburg wrote accounts of the expedition giving their different experiences. While Tristram's was published as *The Land of Moab*, Ginsburg's account remains as a two-volume manuscript journal in the British Library. By comparing the published and the unpublished accounts, the cause of friction between the two men can be discerned as not just relating to the organisation and personnel of the expedition or a disagreement about its fundamental purpose – whether geographical or archaeological – but to differences in academic rigour.

This present collection ends with a chapter by Heba Sheta that questions whether the European artists who made paintings, drawings, engravings, and lithographs showing the Islamic monuments of Cairo as they were in 19th-century reproduced an accurate picture of them and whether the representations they have left us – while they give a good impression of the exoticism of the Orient – can have been relied on to guide the late 19th and early 20th-century reconstruction of these same monuments and whether they can be used with confidence to assist in their present day conservation and maintenance.

By looking at illustrations in some key publications – *La description de l'Egypte* (pub. 1809-29), *Egypt and Nubia* by David Roberts (pub. 1846-49), *L'art arabe d'après les monuments du Kaire* by Emil Prisse d'Avennes (pub. 1877), *Architecture arabe, ou monuments du Kaire* by Pascal Coste (pub. 1839), and *Illustrations of Cairo* by Robert Hay (pub. 1840), and comparing them with black and white photographs taken in the first half of the 20th-century by Sir Keppel Creswell, Nasser Rabbat, Pascal Sabah and others, while also examining photographs produced in the bulletins of the Comité de conservation des monuments de l'art arabe (pub. 1892-1935), it can be determined that there are differences. Such differences might be attributed to any number of reasons: the artist may have had to make quick sketches so as not to draw attention to themselves or they used sketches provided by friends; the artist may have incorporated details from many sketches to create a larger work in their studio and filled in gaps between the sketches from their imagination or used a detail from another building that was similar and seemed to fit; or those in another country making the lithographic stones for printing could not properly see the details and patterns in the finished painting and had to make their best guess.

The chapter also draws attention to similar small differences in some well-known paintings by Jean-Léon Gérôme, John Frederick Lewis and Frank Dillon. By comparing details in their paintings with photographs of the buildings in the bulletins of the Comité de conservation des monuments de l'art arabe, it can be noted that some details have been transposed from one room or wall to another, and decorative finishes have been added where they may not have originally been. The differences may be attributed to the same reasons as noted in relation to illustrations of the monuments, as many of the finished oil paintings were made in the artist's studio after they had returned home with their sketchbooks, preliminary

watercolours and their purchased furniture, fabrics and artefacts for use as props in recreating a scene to paint.

But through their paintings these artists were hoping to offer the viewer another type of footprint. By presenting a scene from the Orient in a way that tells a story through the men and women shown and the clues hidden away in the different elements of the interior or outdoor scene – they were making footprints that leave behind a track in your imagination. This being a track similar to one left by Mark Twain when he describes in The Innocents Abroad his experience of visiting the Acropolis in Athens for the first time – 'We crossed a large court, entered a great door, and stood upon a pavement of the purest white marble, deeply worn by footprints.'