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SITTING BESIDE LEPSIUS

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at the Griffith Institute

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EGYPTOLOGY FOR THE MASSES:

JAMES HENRY BREASTED AND THE UNDERWOOD BROTHERS

Paul T. NICHOLSON

Introduction

As well as his numerous works aimed at academic or specialist audiences, Jaromir Malek has made many contributions toward making Egyptology accessible to the non-specialist, not least in the best selling *Atlas of Ancient Egypt* (1980) which he co-authored with John Baines. This offered readers an introduction to the landscape of ancient Egypt and described the ancient sites along the course of the Nile and in the oases.

This paper describes a rather earlier and somewhat different attempt at the same thing; the work carried out by the Underwood brothers to capture images of Egypt in three-dimensions¹, and their collaboration with James Henry Breasted (1865-1935) in attempting to bring the wonders of ancient Egypt to a wider audience. The examination of a little investigated episode in Egyptological history and photography are offered here in the hope that it might be of interest to Jaromir as someone in whose care are some of the most significant papers and images from the history of Egyptology and as one who has done much to make these widely available. It is also offered in gratitude for his many kindnesses to me over the last twenty or so years.

Images of Egypt

From its earliest 'discovery' by the West, Egypt was a rich source of exotic images, great deserts and romantic ruins. These latter were depicted with varying degrees of accuracy even before the arrival of Napoleon and his *Savants* in 1798. Whilst the publication of the *Description de l'Égypte* (1809-1828) led to scholarly interest in Egypt (see BEDNARSKI 2005) throughout the elite of Europe, it was perhaps the watercolours,

¹ Strictly speaking the images are not captured in 3D, but as a pair of 2D images which are then positioned in such a way as to trick the brain into merging them as a stereoscopic image.

and more especially the lithographs², of David Roberts (1796-1864) which captured the imagination of a wider British public. These images are in no small way responsible for the romantic image of Egypt which many popular works (and all travel companies) perpetuate to this day.

Roberts' journeys in Egypt were begun in 1838, and his work was already well known by the 1840s. However, a new kind of art was emerging, that of photography, which was invented "during a period of two critical years (1839-1840)" (FRIZOT 1998, 23). The potential of this technique for Egyptology was early recognised, and in 1839 the painters Horace Vernet (1789-1863) and Frédéric Goupil Fesquet (1817-1878) demonstrated the daguerreotype³ to Mohammed Ali (MALEK and MILES 1986, 122). Fox Talbot (1800-1877) used his Talbotype technique (below) to publish what is certainly the earliest photograph in Egyptology in 1846⁴ (BIRCH ET AL. 1846; see also CAMINOS 1966). The new means of recording was soon in use in the field, Charles Piazzi SMYTH (1819-1900) took what is probably the first photograph inside the Great Pyramid for his book *Our Inheritance in the Great Pyramid* (1864) whilst Gustave Flaubert (1821-1880) and Maxime du Camp (1822-1894) visited Egypt in 1851 and produced a series of calotype⁵ images from their travels (DU CAMP 1852).

² Produced by Louis Hage (1806-1885) probably the finest lithographer of the Victorian era.

³ This process was invented by Louis-Jacques Mandé Daguerre (1787-1851). Daguerre-type images were produced on a copper plate coated with silver which was then highly polished and treated with iodine to make it light sensitive. After exposure in the camera warm mercury vapour was used to bring out the image. Early images were then 'fixed' using common salt. The resulting image was actually a negative, and transposed left for right, but if held correctly it could be made to appear positive. The detail and sharpness were superior to Calotypes (below), but their lack of reproducibility was a disadvantage. The images were also easily damaged and were generally kept in cases covered by glass. See POLS 2002, 8-9.

⁴ Although François D. Arago (1786-1853) had mentioned that photography would be a suitable medium for recording hieroglyphs in his paper discussing daguerreotype photography in January 1839 (MALEK and MILES 1986, 122). *The Talbotype Applied to Hieroglyphics* in fact uses photography to reproduce hand-written text, and does not show the actual stele of Seti I and Amenemope which it describes, but rather a hand copy of it. The work is only 3 pages long and is one of the rarest publications in the early history of photography (CAMINOS 1966, 67-8).

⁵ The 'Calotype' or 'Talbotype' used what is now known as a 'developer', but at the time was dubbed an "exciting liquid" to make a latent image appear from sensitised photographic paper. This could be used as a negative from which other — positive — prints could be made. Whilst this was an advantage over the Daguerreotype, the Calotype lacked the definition of these. The term 'Calotype' was that used by Talbot, though Talbotype was later used in recognition of his invention. See POLS 2002, 10.

However, the great breakthrough, in bringing of images of Egypt to a wide audience came with the visits of Frances Frith (1822-1898) to Egypt between 1856 and 1860. Frith was well acquainted with with the work of Roberts, mentioning it explicitly in relation to some of his images (LUNN 2005, 10) and so making a "photographic reworking of Roberts project" (NICKEL 2004, 86). Frith used the recently developed (1851) collodion process⁶, invented by Frederick Scott Archer (1813-1857), and newly developed lenses which he and his 'assistant' Francis Wenham (1824-1908)⁷ devised themselves. The pair of them were responsible for operating three different cameras, a whole plate camera, "a mammoth plate camera that was so large that it required its own vehicle" (LUNN 2005, 18)⁸ and a stereo camera; it is the results from this latter which are of interest here. Whilst the first expedition (1856-7) was intended as largely experimental, the results were so successful that the images sent back to the publishers *Negretti and Zambra*, even before the photographers themselves returned, were in great demand (NICKEL 2004, 68-9). They were published in 1857 (FRITH 1857) and further expeditions followed.

In 1862 a further series of Frith's stereo images were published in a volume entitled *Egypt, Nubia and Ethiopia: illustrated by one hundred Stereoscopic Photographs* (FRITH 1862). The volume had accompanying wood engravings by Joseph Bonomi (1796-1878) and notes by the Orientalist Samuel Sharpe (1799-1881). Sharpe, as a respected scholar, lent some academic respectability to Frith's volume, and artistic acclaim had been achieved when the stereoscopic prints won a medal at the 1861 exhibition (LUNN 2005, 21)⁹.

Stereoscopic photography, or stereoscopy, is relatively little practiced today. However, the *origins* of the technique predate, by a year or so, the invention of photography itself. In 1838 Charles Wheatstone (1802-1875) presented a paper on the "physiology of vision" to the Royal Society, in

⁶ Collodion was a viscous mixture of gun cotton dissolved in ether and alcohol. Originally devised as a wound dressing it became apparent that it could be used as the binding medium for light-sensitive silver nitrate. This allowed images to be produced which were as sharp as the daguerreotype and yet reproducible like the Calotype. Since, unlike the Daguerre and Calotype processes, the system was never patented, it also facilitated the spread of photography (see POLS 2002, 10-11).

⁷ Francis Wenham probably deserves a good deal more credit for 'Frith's' images than he usually receives. Whilst he is initially mentioned in advertising for the Egyptian images, he thereafter receives little or no mention.

⁸ Mammoth Plates, made of glass, for this camera measured 20 x 16 inches (NICKEL 2004, 45).

⁹ LUNN (2005, 21) refers to this as the "Great Exhibition" of 1861.

which he described the theory behind three-dimensional vision and introduced a reflecting device which he called the "stereoscope" (WHEATSTONE 1838; RICHARD 1998, 175). Photography then, was born at almost exactly the same time as the potential for producing stereoscopic images, albeit as drawings, was being developed. It is not surprising that the production of stereoscopic pairs of photographic images began alongside the development of what we now consider to be 'standard' (mono) photographs. In 1849 Sir David Brewster (1781-1868) invented the lenticular stereoscope (BREWSTER 1849)¹⁰. This development of an easy to use viewing device meant that stereoscopic images could conveniently be viewed and thus boosted their popularity. At the same time, the gradual shift away from Daguerrotypes images, from which it was not easily possible to make copies, to a calotype process which produced a negative from which copies could be made, meant that these images could be made widely available. For the British market, stereoscopic photography received the seal of approval in 1851 when Queen Victoria showed her admiration for stereoscopy at the Great Exhibition of that year and was presented with a stereoscope (DARRAH 1997, 2) by Sir David Brewster¹¹.

No doubt with the Royal approval in mind, *The Illustrated London News* (1852) was quick to popularise the stereoscope and to see the potential of the three-dimensional image for art and archaeology: "We may have in future galleries of portraits no fictions of painters but the people as they were...and so with buildings and scenery, we may have, at a cheap rate, our hall of antiquities — Pompeii as it is, Nineveh as Layard sees it — scenery in foreign lands...." (ILN 1852, 78)¹². By 1854 the new improved stereoscopes were selling widely (WALDSMITH 1991, 2) and the demand for views was very strong. In 1854 William and Frederick Langenheim (1807-1874 and 1809-1879 respectively) introduced their stereoscopic views to America, fuelling the demand for these new, 'real' images there. The market for views was secured by the invention, in 1859, of the 'Holmes' or 'Holmes-Bates' stereoscope by

¹⁰ DARRAH (1997, 2) attributes the invention to Sir William Brewster in 1850, but this appears to be an error.

¹¹ This was a Duboscq stereoscope, as neither Brewster himself or Wheatstone patented their ideas (WING 1996, 5-6). The instrument was of the type designed by Brewster, who had been unable to find a suitable manufacturer in Britain and so had approached *Duboscq and Soleil* in France (JONES 1976, 16).

¹² The appeal of the "cheap rate" to the Victorians should not be underestimated. The desire to make the latest scientific and educational discoveries widely available as a means of self improvement is a recurrent theme in Victorian thought.

Oliver Wendell Holmes (1809-1894) and Joseph L. Bates (1807-1886). This simple and cheaply produced device made the equipment necessary to view images available to a far greater number of households, and production of views expanded as a result.

Against this background then, it is small wonder that the Frith stereographs received such attention, went through a series of editions and were widely pirated¹³. They remain the most sought after stereoscopic views of Egypt to this day. Whilst the Frith images are well known and relatively well studied, many of their rivals are not. Paramount amongst these, at least in terms of their ambition and philosophy, are the images produced by the Underwood brothers, Bert (1862-1943) and Elmer (1859-1947).

Underwood and Underwood

In 1882 the Underwood brothers began a door-to-door sales agency in Ottawa, Kansas, selling stereoscopic views produced by other companies, including those by the well known photographer Charles Bierstadt (1819-1903). Their initial remit was to distribute west of the Mississippi river, but by 1884 they had expanded their operation throughout the United States (DARRAH 1997, 46). In 1891 they re-located their main office to New York City, whilst maintaining regional offices, and more importantly began to commission original views for publication in their own imprint.

In the same year (1891) Bert Underwood went to Mentone, France to take some lessons in photography with Maurice Abell¹⁴. According to his unpublished reminiscences (see DARRAH 1997, 47) this was the first time that he had ever held a camera. He had, however, a keen eye for commercial images, and Underwood views typically use local people, strategically posed to increase the sense of depth of the image as well as showing a scene of intrinsic interest. Images of Greece and Italy followed, and in 1895-6 the brothers went to Egypt to undertake what was likely to be one of their most popular sets.

¹³ This was already a concern as early as 1857 when *Negrutti* made it known that the first versions would be available only on paper because if they were published "as glass transparencies, they would instantly have negatives copied from them, and other prints published at less than the price they could afford to sell them" (*Liverpool and Manchester Photographic Journal*, quoted in NICKEL 2004, 69 and note 3).

¹⁴ No further information on Abell is forthcoming, though he must have been sufficiently significant for Underwood to travel to study with him in Europe.

According to DARRAH (1997, 132) the brothers believed that they were the first stereo-photographers to visit Upper Egypt, though in fact there had been a number of other distinguished photographers, including the Kilburn brothers¹⁵ (1875) and Frank M. Good (1839-1928), and more especially Frith. That the Underwoods were not aware of their predecessors is unlikely to be true, but it would have made good commercial sense to advertise as the first to photograph in Upper Egypt. Two sets of views were produced, one in 1897 and another in 1905. The 1897 set seems to have been one of the earliest 'box sets' and was issued in this form around 1900. This seems to be the set referred to by DARRAH (1997, 132) as "the best stereo representation of the region ever published".

When it is realised that by 1901 the company of *Underwood and Underwood* were producing 25,000 stereographs *per day* (DARRAH 1997, 47) one can easily judge the coverage that they were able to make, and the number of people to whom they could introduce exotic places and peoples. It was surely with this mass-audience in mind that the Egyptian sets were undertaken. The lists of views for both Egyptian series are given in Table 1 (below).

The Underwood's First Series 1897 (Boxed 1900)

These are images taken by Bert during the brothers' visit to Egypt in 1895-6 and published in 1897. They are mounted on buff-coloured card¹⁶, as were most images of that date, and whilst many show features typical of the Underwood style, they have a freshness and excitement not seen in the later series. A publication *Egypt and its Wonders Through the Periscope* (UNDERWOOD and UNDERWOOD 1897) was produced to accompany the set of views and seems to be extracts from the travel notes made by the brothers with a few relevant quotes from other publications. The first series might reasonably be characterised as the 'tourist series', in that the views taken are largely of the subjects which a tourist, reliant on local *dragomen*, might take¹⁷. So, for example, we find the

¹⁵ Benjamin West Kilburn (1827-1909) and Edward Kilburn (1830-1884) began producing stereoscopic views from their base in Littleton, New Hampshire around 1868.

¹⁶ Though some are reproduced later on what became the standard grey card. It is likely that the early 'box sets' were on buff card and then moved over to grey. All of the second series are on grey card. Both series are on the curved or 'warped' card which was thought to accentuate depth.

¹⁷ The Underwoods were indeed dependent upon a *Dragoman*: "Akmed is nineteen years of age...He speaks a sort of English which we can understand and, despite our protests, sticks to us, becoming so useful, and proving so faithful, that he installs himself

dining room of the Mena House hotel pictured (I:10)¹⁸, complete with a row of waiters posed in such a way as to add both depth and local colour to the scene (Fig. 1). Similarly, the palms in Ezbekiah gardens (I:19) are deemed worthy of record along with two European gentlemen, one of them posing with a rather fine bicycle. The European presence is further reinforced with a scene showing tea being taken at an English military tournament (I:29). It may well be that for the Underwood's home market the incongruousness of British military taking tea, in Egypt, was seen as a more than suitable subject.

The same eye for marketing views may perhaps also be seen in views I:94-97, the first of which is entitled "*Degenerate Egypt - Wretchedness of the People*" (Fig. 2) and shows a group of "squalid natives who live in tents and hovels along the river here at Assiout. It seems incredible, but we assert, with scarcely a doubt, that even the old man in the group before us, although living on the bank of the river, has never thought it necessary to wash himself during his whole lifetime" (UNDERWOOD and UNDERWOOD 1897, 56). The text goes on to introduce the "wonderful influence of the great American Mission...spreading the Gospel of Christ under the able direction of Rev. J.R. Alexander". This allegedly superior influence was teaching girls to sew (I:95) and boys to study (I:96) and attend chapel (I:97) where "such attentive interest as they manifest in the Bible reading and services (conducted by Rev. Alexander in Arabic) is scarcely to be found in the Christian schools of England and America" (UNDERWOOD and UNDERWOOD 1897, 57). It seems likely that the astute Underwood brothers realised that by devoting so many views (as many as to the Pyramids themselves) to the Christianising work of an American missionary, they may be better able to sell their views in what is now considered the American 'Bible Belt'. It may also be that the Rev. Alexander was, or became, a friend of the brothers and the number of views devoted to his work was a way of repaying his hospitality. The text provided by the brothers in the publication accompanying the views would certainly not be considered politically correct today, but is absolutely typical of its time, and of publishers producing stereoscopic views. Very few publishers questioned

(we don't know exactly how or when), as our indispensable dragoman for the rest of our stay. Being as yet among the uninitiated in this city of Oriental variety [Cairo], early on the following day we make our way through the turbaned throngs..." (UNDERWOOD and UNDERWOOD 1897: 10-11).

¹⁸ Views are numbered as I:x for the First Series and II:x for the second. The example here is therefore view 10 of series I.

whether their own society had anything to learn from the peoples photographed for its education and entertainment¹⁹.

One must not, however, be too quick to judge the Underwood brothers. They had an eye for humour, and it is likely that they shared this humour with some of the Egyptians who posed for their light-hearted scenes. Thus, in "*Falling rocks of Kournah*" (I:88) (Fig. 3) we see an apparently terrified Egyptian leaping out from beneath falling masonry in the temple of Seti I. The gentleman concerned had obviously been well briefed on the scene to be photographed, and so shared the joke — the rocks concerned simply being two halves of a broken lintel which had become wedged during their descent in antiquity. The shared humour is still more evident in view I:81, "*Princes of the blood*" (Fig. 4) in which a smiling local guide compares his profile with that of Pharaoh. Overall, if one ignores the rather pious text which accompanies the views set around Rev. Alexander's mission, and instead concentrates on the subjects themselves, it is quite obvious that the Underwood brothers were greatly enjoying their time in Egypt, and were able to get on well with local people. There is an overall 'snapshot' quality to some of the images, very comparable to many tourist views of today. However, there is much more to the series than simply a series of tourist snaps and staged comic scenes.

Prominent amongst the images of the first series are a number of 'ethnographic' views. Some of these are worth considering in some detail. View I:15, "*A ship of the Desert passing the tombs of the Khalijs*" (Fig. 5) and view I:16 *A ship of the Desert - An Egyptian Tâkht Rawân* show a rectangular structure supported on carrying poles and supported by a camel at either end. The notes accompanying view I:16 are instructive and tell us that the conveyance "is used by ladies of the wealthier class on desert journeys...Akmed (our dragoman) tells us that the veiled one is a wife and the other her maid servant from the harem of a rich Haji" (UNDERWOOD and UNDERWOOD 1897, 13). These two ladies are seen leaning out of the windows of the conveyance in a rather prominent manner, unlikely for ladies of high standing. The image has an interesting origin, and was not photographed spontaneously as the view suggests. Another image of this scene exists and is reproduced here as Figure 6 (see also KNOPF 1995, 328-9; see also NICHOLSON 2000) and clearly

records the event. The scene includes a photographer²⁰, suggesting that this was an event to which a number of photographers in Cairo had been invited (or to which they had contributed), in other words this conveyance was not in daily use²¹. Proof of this is provided by BREASTED (1905, 72) who states that "a generation ago, such a vehicle usually conveyed the bride at every wedding", clearly this was a staged scene and the photographers had paid someone to resurrect a long disused *Tâkht Rawân* for their cameras. BREASTED (1905, 71-2) perceptively notes that "these ladies of modern Cairo...do not seem oppressed by the solemnity of the place. Indeed, as one of them has removed her veil, there is much doubt whether they belong to the class of reputable ladies from the upper ranks of society." One might reasonably assume that they too were hired, but that the Underwoods were — allegedly — informed that they were indeed from a noble harem. Despite being a staged image, this was considered of sufficient interest and ethnographic importance to be included in the second set of views published in 1905.

View I:49, "*The Elite Dancing Girl of Cairo*" (Fig. 7) shows a lady who, like her fellows in the *Tâkht Rawân*, probably does not belong to Breasted's "class of reputable ladies", indeed many images of dancers and 'women of Cairo' of this period are thought to show prostitutes (VACZEK and BUCKLAND 1981, 149). However, by describing her as "elite" any suggestion that this image may be anything but an example of oriental culture is dispelled, and after all she appears in the same set as the Rev. Alexander's mission. The notes describe her dance as "the characteristic muscle dance (executed almost entirely by the muscles of the body)...the girdle about her waist adorned with long flowing ends of jewelled ribbon and her graceful pose as she clicks the cymbalettes, unite in pronouncing her a real and rare artist of this sort" (UNDERWOOD and UNDERWOOD 1897, 27-8). The scene is very obviously posed as can be seen by the inexpertly draped curtain which fails to cover the whole of the backdrop.

Somewhat surprisingly, given the retention of the *Tâkht Rawân*, view I:92, "*Bishareen Types from the Arabian Desert*" (Fig. 8) was

²⁰ Whilst this could be Bert Underwood the camera angle is not that from which his published image was taken, thus suggesting that at least 3 photographers were present; the one in the scene, Bert Underwood and whoever took Figure 6. That Figure 6 is not an Underwood image is suggested by the fact that it does not seem to be part of the Underwood archive.

²¹ A postcard of the scene entitled "152. Egyptian Types and Scenes — A Marriage Procession. — LL." is probably by the postcard publisher Louis Levy.

¹⁹ A partial exception to this is the Underwood series on Japan, in which the superior artistic taste of the Japanese potters is contrasted against the somewhat tasteless wares which they were being encouraged to produce for the American and European markets.

not retained in the later set. This view shows two Bishareen Bedouin in traditional costume and is followed by “*A Bishareen Home upon the Arabian Desert*” (I:93). The notes describe this as a “miserable hut built of stakes covered with coarse straw mats” (UNDERWOOD and UNDERWOOD 1897, 55). It is in fact a “*beit bursh*” a house made from the roots of trees covered in matting, a highly portable and adaptable structure which is only now dying out amongst the Ababda Bedouin who live in the southern Eastern Desert. The bishareen are described as a “half-naked tribe of people...scattered throughout the territory...they subsist upon goats’ milk and the raw flesh they find to devour” (UNDERWOOD and UNDERWOOD 1897, 54-5). This is clearly an attempt to make the most of an exotic scene for the home audience. It is nonetheless, a very good ethnographic image, and in this instance there is no obvious reason to believe that it was ‘set up’, though it is clearly posed. The Nubian dancing girl in view I:91 was also dropped from the second series, along with the baby camel (I:36), water carriers (I:22) and ferris wheel (I:76).

Apart from the pyramids, which form part of any itinerary be it scholarly or touristic, the Underwoods include three views which are absolutely typical of the tourist itinerary of their day. These are the Obelisk at Heliopolis (I:31) (Fig. 9), the Virgin’s Tree (I:32) and the Ostrich (I:33), the latter farmed at Matariyeh. The obelisk at Heliopolis and the Virgin’s Tree, though little visited today, both feature prominently on postcards of the period as well as in stereoscopic views.

As well as these inclusions it is interesting to note what is not included in the series. The Valley of the Kings is completely ignored as are Edfu and Aswan. Presumably the brothers travelled no further south than Luxor, or if they did, they did not consider their images worthy of inclusion. Since I have been unable to find any images taken south of Luxor and copyrighted earlier than the 1900s it may be assumed that no images were taken. One might suspect that the journey had been partially accomplished by rail²², but we are informed that it was carried out from a *dahabiyeh* (UNDERWOOD and UNDERWOOD 1897, 28) whose first major (photographed) stop seems to have been Girgeh from which a visit was made to Abydos (UNDERWOOD and UNDERWOOD 1897, 29). The vessel used for the journey may well be that shown in view I:58 (= II:33) which sports an American flag as well as that of “Cook” (BREASTED

1905, 160), presumably Thomas Cook. Breasted states that the vessel is heading northward, but the caption states that it is ready for the “journey to the Upper Nile”. In either case, it may be the vessel used by the Underwoods, since it could have been photographed at the end of the trip as it returned to Cairo.

The year in which the set was issued, 1897, was also a significant one in stereoscopic publishing. The Underwoods introduced the first ‘Boxed Set’ of views, their ‘*World Tour*’ comprising 72 views (WALDSMITH 1991, 173) and these soon became sets of 100, as the Egyptian sets were to be²³. Breasted, keen to popularise Egyptology, was impressed by the set and was “very glad to testify to their unusual beauty and value” (EVANS 2003, 6).

The Underwood’s Second Series 1905²⁴ and James Henry Breasted.

“In connection with the duties of university teaching and its modern obligation to carry on constant research, it has also been my privilege during the last ten years, to begin the work of making a public wider than that of the university lecture-room acquainted with the life, customs, history and monuments of the ancient Egyptians. In this latter attempt I have met with a number of different plans for private study, for class study, for lecture courses and the like...It was therefore with peculiar satisfaction that I made the acquaintance of this system of stay-at-home travel, the great merits of which are but beginning to be appreciated. By its use an acquaintance can be gained, here at home, with the wonders of the Nile Valley, which is quite comparable with that obtained by travelling there. In my judgement there is no other existent means by which this result can be accomplished” (BREASTED 1905, 11-12).

So writes Breasted of the *Underwood Patent Travel System* which was to be used to accompany the 100 views of the second Egypt series. This ingenious system comprised a series of maps which indicated the point from which each numbered view was photographed, its direction of view, and sometimes its field of view. As a result, the careful reader by selecting the appropriate card could match it to the map and read an expanded description of the scene from Breasted’s accompanying book. The maps were, of course, printed in a separate slip-out pamphlet which fitted into the book so that map, card and guidebook could easily be

²³ The first Egypt series is now rare, the second series is much more common. For the purposes of this paper it has been necessary to recreate the set from a mixture of cards with Underwood imprint and Underwood images issued by other sellers.

²⁴ The 100 views issued in the 1905 set can conveniently be found reproduced in VFAAFY 1978.

²² Although the railway did not reach as far as Luxor until 1898 (<http://mikes.railhistorv.railfan.net/r050.html>)

consulted. This attention to detail, so typical of its time, makes these images particularly useful for those wishing to study the changing topography of Egypt today. The maps were taken (with permission) from Baedeker's guides and in one case was "drawn in Berlin under the author's supervision from the atlas of ancient Egypt, issued by the Egypt Exploration Fund" (BREASTED 1905, 16; see also E.E.F. 1894). The view that the system could be used for private or classroom study was no mere pipe dream and whole classrooms were supplied with stereoscopes (WING 1996, 154) as indeed were many tens of thousands of drawing rooms.

Breasted's book, *Egypt Through the Stereoscope: A Journey Through the Land of the Pharaohs* (1905) ran to 360 pages including an index, chronological table and summary history of Egypt. This is in distinct contrast to the Underwood's own *Egypt and its Wonders Through the Perfescopes*²⁵ (1897) which ran to only 59 pages and lacked any chronological table, maps or index. The latter is simply a description of the photographs taken by the Underwoods during their visit, the Breasted volume is much more than that and it is clear that he played a major role in selecting the images:

"It should also, be said here, that the selection of the stereographed scenes employed was facilitated by the dispatch of a special artist in the employ of the publishers, to make on the spot a large list of stereographs, indicated by the author, who located the position for each stereograph on maps and plans, the list being accompanied by full instructions... Happily there are in this series only three cases in which the author would have made a different selection had accident not prevented" (BREASTED 1905, 14-15).

In fact the Underwoods approached Breasted in July 1901 to ask him to produce a guide book (EVANS 2003, 9) which he was to write "in the first person much as he would talk if he could stand with a person in the presence of the actual places". The photographer sent to make the images was Charles H. Baker and by August 1903 Breasted had made a selection of 100 views (EVANS 2003, 9). The images were probably taken earlier in 1903, and most bear a 1904 copyright date, except those which were re-used from Bert's original images of 1896-7. The guide was completed in November 1905 just as Breasted was about to embark on a further field season in Egypt (EVANS 2003, 11). The guide and views proved so popular that the set was re-issued as a second edition in 1908 (EVANS 2003, 10).

²⁵ The *Perfescopes* and the *Stereoscope* are in fact the same instrument — Holmes-Bates-type stereoscopes.

That an Egyptologist had made the selection of views for the 1905 set would be obvious to anyone comparing it with the 1896-7 version. As Table 1 shows, even the captions for the 1905 set are much expanded over its predecessor and there is a genuine attempt to lead the visitor on a tour of the pharaonic landscape. Thus, rather than beginning with a photograph of the Suez Canal (I:1) and description of how Port Said is "the most wicked town on earth" (UNDERWOOD and UNDERWOOD 1897, 4) we instead have Pompey's Pillar (II:1) and a description of its place in Egyptian history. This is to be a much more 'worthy' and serious tour than that of its predecessor. Gone are the images of dancers (I:2, I:49), ostriches (I:33) and baby camels (I:36), more especially the images relating to the mission and its school are gone (I:94-97). Sadly, the same re-focusing of the set also left little room for ethnographic images, and most of those are lost in the new series.

Breasted's text, written just as the Underwoods wished, in the style of a guide informing his audience at the sites concerned, is lively and in places dryly humorous. However, it is also focused, and takes pains to give the reader sufficient information on each view so that s/he has some sense of the place and its history. With that in mind it is evident that Breasted wanted to give his readers not just an outline of history, but also show them how things were done. Thus his readers are shown the quarries at Masara (II:30) from where blocks for the building of the Great Pyramid were taken. To have taken such a view during their visit of 1895-6 would have been inconceivable to Bert and Elmer Underwood, but in the years between the set being issued and 1901 when Breasted was approached, the market had changed. Stereoscopes had become cheaper, and consequently more common, and there was a renewed drive toward self improvement. In passing, it is worth noting that this view would not have been an easy one to take, as it includes strong light and heavy shadow in the same scene, something which creates difficulties for the clear viewing of stereoscopic images.

A number of views are devoted to contemporary Cairo and to its Islamic monuments (II:2 - 9) which includes some views from the first series, the *Tâkht Rawân* (I:15 = II:5 here Fig. 5) and the "*Harem windows in the court of a wealthy Cairene's house*" (I:21 = II:9) for example. One wonders if some of these scenes may be amongst the three which Breasted might have preferred to ignore.

The next group of views takes the traveller to the Egyptian Museum, which (in its present location) did not exist at the time of the Underwood's visit. The new 'Cairo Museum' was not opened until November

1902. No view of the exterior of the new building is provided, Breasted presumably having decided that this was unnecessary, and concentrating instead on its treasures. Five views (II:10-14) are devoted to the treasures of the museum, and include the mummy of Seti I (II:12) and the Amenophis III/Merenptah stela (II:14) with a text relating these (or in the case of Seti I, his son Ramesses II) to the Bible. Whilst these finds are archaeologically interesting and important there is also a hint here that the Underwoods were well aware of the importance of the Biblical angle.²⁶

Only after a visit to the museum does Breasted take his visitors to the pyramids at Giza (II:16-27) during which they see not only the exterior of the monuments but also the Grand Gallery and sarcophagus of Khufu (II:24-25), neither of them easy views to take. Rather than being shown how tourists might make their ascent of the Great Pyramid (I:9) (Fig. 10) the second series takes the viewer to the top where the view to the East shows only minor settlement and a well watered plain where now stands the urban sprawl of modern Cairo. A second view looking south west (II:21) shows the Khafre pyramid, whilst a third (II:22) looks directly down the southwest corner of the Great Pyramid and shows part of the mastaba cemetery (as well as a graffito of 1899, a reminder that tourists of the late 19th century were little more respectful of the monuments than those of a century later – Fig. 11). These high-elevation views probably reflect the fact that the stereo-cameras of the early 1900s were now still smaller and more easily portable than their ancestors of the late 19th century, indeed stereocameras were amongst the first to become manageable and well suited to travel (RICHARD 1998, 176-7)²⁷.

Memphis (I:42 = II:28) and Saqqara (I: 41 = II:29) follow Giza; both are retained from the original series²⁸, though this time their order is reversed. It is noteworthy that at Saqqara only the Step Pyramid is considered worthy of record, whereas half a century earlier the main attraction had been the 'bird pits' (see for example WAINWRIGHT 1852, 157-8,

²⁶ This is, of course, unsurprising. The Egypt Exploration Fund, founded in 1882, had also capitalized on the interest in the historicity of the Bible (LLOYD 2007, ix).

²⁷ This same quality made them popular with amateur photographers (RICHARD 1998, 176-7).

²⁸ There are, however, at least two versions of I:41 – II:29, one showing goats grazing in front of the pyramid, the other showing camels with baskets in the same spot. Both are copyrighted 1896 and both are known to appear in the second series suggesting that it may have been thought unnecessary for the photographer to visit the site in 1903. The making of several negatives of any one scene was common practice.

MANNING 1897, 78-9²⁹), which may now have all but sanded up. The view of Saqqara emphasises the degree to which the site has now been restored following the work of J-P. Lauer and the S.C.A. The Serapeum is referred to by BREASTED (1905, 150) in his notes but no image was included. This cannot have been because of the difficulty of photography there, the images inside the Khufu pyramid would have been at least as difficult, but is more likely because the photographer sent out in 1903 did not visit the site.

Following the image of Masara (II:30) the obelisk at Heliopolis (II:31) has the same position as it did in the first set (I:31) but the 1904 copy-right date shows that it was re-photographed for the second series, either because Breasted wanted the image to be more central than that taken by the Underwoods, or because the photographer had time to spare in Cairo and so made a replacement image.

There is then a curious aside to the generally southward drift of the series, and a single view (II:32) suddenly takes us north to the northeast delta to the south side of the Wadi Tumilat and the site identified as Pithom in the land of Goshen. This view is not included in the first series, not surprisingly as it had only been excavated in 1885-6 by Edouard Naville (1844-1926) on behalf of the Egypt Exploration Fund, and it is unlikely that the Underwoods would have been aware of the work when they visited ten years later. Its inclusion in the second series is no doubt the work of Breasted, bringing the series up-to-date, as well as making Biblical links which the publishers would thoroughly approve of. This venture into the Delta over, the scene of *dahbiyehs* (I:58 = II:33) is used to indicate the southward progress, the first stop on which is Hawara, more specifically the view from the top of the pyramid there (II:34). That the view is from the top and not of the monument itself is odd, and one wonders if this might be an instance where an accident prevented the desired view, or where the view of the pyramid itself was not considered of sufficient interest or quality for inclusion.

Scenes of rural life follow (II:35 – 39) notably a striking image of stepped series of *shaduf* (II:36) and brickmakers at work amid the ruins of Crocodilopolis (Kiman Fares) (II:39) showing that some time was spent in the Fayum, as well as giving an opportunity to make a further connection to the Bible via the Hebrew brickmakers. The archaeological

²⁹ Manning is here quoting Bayle St. John (1822-1859) who visited the pits in the middle of the 19th century; the fact that Manning is quoting rather than giving his own experience suggests that by his time the pits were already lost, at least so far as casual visitors were concerned.

views then continue with the exterior of the tomb of Khnumhotep at Beni Hasan (BH3; image II:40). None of the tomb decoration is shown, presumably because it would appear too flat to be of interest in a stereoscopic series to make a picture in difficult lighting worthwhile. The tombs at Asyut and a view of the city are shown (II:41-2) but the scene of the Moslem tombs there (I:98) is dropped, as are the scenes of the Mission. Both of the views in the second series bear 1904 copyright dates, and so are part of the range specified by Breasted.

The collection then follows what is now a familiar tourist route south to Abydos (II:43-45) and Dendera (II:46), including some of the King List (II:45) which for some reason includes the head of the *gafir* in the foreground, perhaps an attempt to give additional depth to the view, but one which looks amateurish by the high standards of Underwood views.

The first of the Theban views (II:47) is taken from the cliffs looking southeast over the Ramesseum and Colossi of Memnon toward Luxor. This view is close to that published by GARDINER and WEIGALL (1913, pl. IV) and it is apparent that in the ten years between Baker's visit in 1903 and their publication of 1913 much had been done to protect and organise the area. Most notable is the large earth bank built around the Ramesseum in order to protect it. Weigall comments on this stating that some of the buildings were:

"partially excavated by Professor Petrie in 1895-96, and are now (1909) being cleared of rubbish. The earth and debris removed from the site has been formed into an embankment which passes around the whole area; and, though it may perhaps be contended that this gives too tidy an appearance to a ruin whose chief beauty lies in its picturesque disorder, it should be remembered on the other hand that any other plan for the disposal of these tons of rubbish was fraught with difficulties." (WEIGALL 1910, 250)³⁰.

The Underwood images therefore, catch the last glimpses of an Egypt which was already starting to make its monuments more accessible for mass tourism.

View II:48 takes the viewer to the east bank, and to the temple of Luxor, seen from the easternmost tower of the pylon looking onto the temple and the Abu Hagag mosque; the site had changed somewhat from its appearance when Frith visited it, a grain store for Luxor having been

³⁰ Arthur E.P.B. Weigall (1880-1934) was Inspector General of Antiquities from 1904-1914 and would have been responsible for this clearance, which may explain this rather defensive tone here (DAWSON and UPHILL 1995, 435).

removed. However, looking onto the pylon in view II:51 it is evident that the ground level is well above that of ancient times, and the colossal statue of Ramesses II is buried chest deep in debris. BREASTED (1905, 215) comments that archaeologists have not yet succeeded in removing the "unlovely modern brick structures" in front of the temple, though he has some sympathy with the local people who do not want to have their buildings cleared away.

Leaving Luxor Temple the viewer is taken via the avenue of rams (II:52) to Karnak (II:53 to II:63). Of the Karnak views II:54 was retained from the first series as Breasted notes (1905: 224) and shows the removal of debris from in front of the First Pylon using a Decauville railway, which he calls a "Tramway" (Fig. 12). He is also careful to note that this is really "clearance" rather than the careful excavation that would be required for a cemetery. He does, however, set the clearance in an Egyptian, rather than a western, context: "Here for ten cents a day, the modern native carries away the remains of the houses of his ancestors, to uncover remains of his still older forefathers..." (BREASTED 1905, 224). View II:55 (Fig. 13) shows the same scene after clearance, and is essentially the presentation of the site as modern visitors see it today, except that the remains of the Decauville railway are seen stacked in piles to the far right.

There is another difference between the view of 1896 and that taken in 1903, namely the view into the Great Hypostyle Hall, which is just visible in the first view and clearly so in the later one. In the later one the columns are supported by a complex bracing structure which was put in place sometime around 1900 just before Charles H. Baker made the image in the second series. The necessity for the bracing came from "chiefly the mistaken policy of allowing the waters of the inundation to penetrate into the temple, a policy due to the French Service des Antiquités, then, as now, in charge of the temple" (BREASTED 1905, 229) which on the morning of October 3rd, 1899 so softened the foundations that 11 columns in the northern part of the hall collapsed (CLARKE and ENGELBACH 1930, 75; BREASTED 1905, 29)³¹. The presence or absence of this timberwork has become a useful tool for the dating of photographs of Karnak.

Breasted's implied criticism of the French administration of the Antiquities Organisation had a long history. Early in his career he had

³¹ For images of the temple at this period and other summaries of the catastrophe, see OSSIAN 2005.

encountered "an unsavoury individual named Emil Brugsh" (BREASTED 1948, 79)... "a book keeper who fled as an embezzler from Germany to America [and] came to Egypt with his brother...and though he knew absolutely nothing about science, was appointed to a position in the Antiquities Department...and as everyone is very certain, is now industriously stealing from the museum of which he is in charge" (J.H. Breasted quoted in BREASTED 1948, 79). At the time of the collapse of the columns Gaston Maspero (1846-1916) had just been re-appointed as Director of the Antiquities Service. He was a friend of Breasted, which is probably why he is not singled out for criticism, it being enough to imply that the work had been done by the French and would have been begun under the unpopular Directorship of Victor Loret (1859-1946), who had been replaced by Maspero in 1899. It must be noted however, that Breasted ultimately considered the British to be to blame for allowing the French to have charge of the Antiquities Service, "another flagrant instance of British governmental Philistinism" (BREASTED 1948, 143), "a government [who] have too often neglected the cultural values of the lands they have ruled" (BREASTED 1948, 79).

View II:59 showing the "Middle aisle of the great hall and obelisk of *Thutmosis I*, at the temple of Karnak, Thebes" is copyrighted 1904, but a near identical view was taken as part of the first series (I:72)³². It is not clear why a new view was considered necessary, and it is even possible that the 'new' image was in fact taken in 1895-6 but not copyrighted until it was issued in 1904.

The views now return to the West Bank and the Colossi of Memnon (II:64) and a view which replaced that from the first series (I:77), presumably because the new view looks toward the north, giving the viewer a better impression of their location than the original view which looked south. From here the views turn to the Ramesseum (II:65-67) and offer more specialised images than those of the first series (I:83-84) the first of which shows more of a *shaduf* than of the temple while in the second the great fallen colossus is partly obscured by group of women, not so in its carefully composed replacement (II:66) looking down from the roof of the temple.

The scene now shifts to a view toward Medinet Habu (II:68), the tomb of Sen-Nofer (TT96) and on to Deir el-Bahri which merits only one

³² At least two views were taken and numbered I:72. Each showing a slightly different view. This was common practice at the time and allowed more stereographs to be produced. Many variations on what are purportedly the same images are known.

external view (II:70) whereas it was given two (I:85-86) in the first series. In fact at least one other view was taken in 1895-6, that one which looks north-east from the top of the second colonnade is entitled "Recent excavation, Der el-Bahair [sic] Temple, Thebes Egypt" and is stamped with the number 32, presumably having been sold as part of a different set³³. The second series also gives a view of the Punt reliefs (II:71).

In some respects view I:85 (Fig. 14) is more interesting than II:70 (Fig. 15), in that it shows Naville's (1844-1926) dig house. The Egypt Exploration Society worked at the site from February 1893 and had completed most of the work on the Hatshepsut temple by the winter of 1894-5, around the same time as Bert Underwood's image was taken. Conservation and recording work continued until 1899, and further excavations by the Society took place at the temple of Nebhepetre Mentuhotep from 1903-1907 (JAMES 2007, 96; DAVIES 1982). View II:70, taken in 1903 shows only a corner of what is probably the, now enlarged, excavation house³⁴.

Deir el-Bahari is followed by three views taken from the cliffs, one looking southeast from above the temple (II:72), one northeast across the cliffs (II:73) and a third (II:74) looking onto the tomb of Ramesses VI (KV9) in the Valley of the Kings. From here the visitor is taken into the descending gallery of the tomb of Seti I (KV17) (II:75). The views next turn to the mortuary temple of Seti I at Qurna. For travellers of a few decades earlier this would have come earlier in the West Bank itinerary and a ferry landing was situated nearby³⁵. However, by the early 1900s the landing had moved south³⁶, to roughly where it is today, on the

³³ Complete lists of views are hard to come by, and as an early Underwood view it is not clear to which set this belongs. It may be from a Middle Eastern series, or a bespoke set. That not all images were included in the set should be no surprise, there are at least two other images taken by Bert Underwood in 1895-6, one of "Festivities of the Mohammedans among their Dead, Cairo" which was taken at the same time as I:45 "The Moslem Cemetery, Bab-el-Wesir, Cairo" and another entitled "Picturesque Egypt, the Land of the Pharaohs" and showing the Giza Pyramids from the west. There are also other views of the Giza pyramids.

³⁴ For views of the Hatshepsut temple during excavation and of the house early in its life, see JAMES 2007, 112-3; DAVIES 1982, 59. The later work can be seen in JAMES 2007, 128-9.

³⁵ BAEDEKER (1898) gives the Luxor itinerary as being Luxor and Karnak on Day 1, Colossi of Memnon, Ramesseum, Medinet Habu, Deir el-Medina, Kurnet Murai and Kurna on Day 2 and the Temple of Seti I, Valley of the Kings and Deir el-Bahri on Day 3. BUDGE (1906) and MURRAY (1880) give the same order.

³⁶ The ferry landing place evidently varied with season, was sometimes on a small island from whence donkeys crossed a shallow Nile channel to the West Bank (see BAEDEKER 1898, 255 and MURRAY 1880 Map between pages 492 and 493).

road which leads past New Qurna and the Colossi of Memnon. BAEDEKER (1902, 260) states that "From the landing-place of the boat on the W. bank we ride first in a westerly, then in a northerly direction, and in $\frac{3}{4}$ hr reach the Temple of Sethos I." This suggests that although the landing stage had moved southwards, Baedeker was still recommending visiting the monuments in the same order as a decade, or more, earlier, whereas the Underwoods and Baker evidently followed a more 'modern' itinerary visiting the Seti temple later in the visit. Most groups today ignore it completely. It is, of course, possible that the ordering of the images is entirely determined by Breasted, but since many are close to established itineraries it may be that he tried to emulate these where possible, so giving his readers the closest possible experience to their more affluent countrymen who actually visited Egypt.

A single image (II:76) replaces the two of the first series (I:87 and I:88, the second of these a comic scene — see above), before the traveller is taken to Medinet Habu (II:77-79) which is treated later in the sequence than it was in series one, and with fewer views, though one of them (II:78 = I:80) is a remnant of the earlier series and is notably more crowded than those taken specifically for the new set.

The series now leaves Thebes and moves to El-Kab (II:80) a site which certainly would not have been photographed were it not for Breasted's involvement, and thence to Edfu (II:81-3). That this was not included in the views taken for the first series clearly shows either that the set had been put together by commercial photographers who did not know the country well enough to make all the 'necessary' stops, which seems unlikely, that some accident befell the images taken in this part of the trip, or perhaps that funding did not allow travel further south than Luxor.

View II:84 brings the viewer to Aswan, where the tomb of Harkhuf (A8) (II:85), the Nilometer (II:86), and unfinished obelisk (II:87) are all photographed. The set then moves to Sehel and the Famine Stele (II:88), again an image which would have been completely outside the interest of the Underwood brothers on their trip of 1895-6.

Next comes Philae (II:89-91), the "Pearl of Egypt" as it is described in the caption to II:89. This site held great popularity with Victorian armchair travellers (as indeed with actual visitors) for its picturesque location and romantic ruins. The work of Roberts had done much to popularise the site, and Frith's photographs had only added to that. The only surprise is that the Underwoods, on their first visit, did not — apparently — travel as far as Aswan. Their views of "Bishareen Types" (I:92)

has barely discernible temple carving in the background, but presumably must be one of those at Thebes rather than further south, where one might have expected to see the Bishareen. The views taken for the second series are of interest in showing the site before it was flooded. The first Aswan dam had been completed in autumn 1902 (BREASTED 1905, 326) but at the time of the photograph (1903) the water had not been raised to its full extent. The dam can be seen, distantly, in view II:91 seen from Philae itself. By the time Weigall published his report (1907) the temple was already flooded "from December to about April" (WEIGALL 1907, 38). A further heightening was already contemplated and would largely submerge the site, which was the reason for Weigall's work in the area³⁷.

The views of 1903 therefore show the island at almost its last possible dry point before the subsequent flooding of the early, and later, 1900s. The Temple of Kalabsha (II:92) was, like Philae, subsequently moved in advance of the Aswan High dam in the 1960s, and now stands at Aswan.

Qasr Ibrim (II:93) was not threatened by the original Aswan Dam, but was the subject of a rescue campaign in advance of the High Dam. The work here was conducted by the Egypt Exploration Society, with the expectation that the site would be completely lost. In the event however, part of the site has remained above the level of the newly created Lake Nasser, and has been the subject of continuous excavation by the Society since that time. As is well known the E.E.S. were but one of many organisations from many different nations involved in the "Nubian Campaign" as it became known³⁸, its most famous achievement being the re-siting of the great temple of Rameses II at Abu Simbel (II:94-97).

The views at Abu Simbel are chiefly designed to show its splendid isolation (II:94) and scale (II:95-96) though an interior shot is also given. The smaller temple to Nefertari and Hathor of Abshek are not featured at all, and the tour continues via the Second Cataract (II:98) to Omdurman and the tomb of the Mahdi (II:99). Kitchener's campaign (1886-1899), following the death of General Gordon in 1885, and which culminated in the defeat and death of the Mahdi at the battle of Omdurman in 1898, was naturally fresh in the minds of Breasted's readers, and was no doubt included at the insistence of the Underwood brothers

³⁷ For an overview of hydraulic engineering at Aswan, see ADDISON 1959.

³⁸ Jaromir himself took part in the Campaign with a Czech team, and is immortalized in the documentary film "In Search of Wonderful Things". A Czechoslovak Television Production for Channel 4. Directed by Jan Bonek in 1988.

who would have seen the inclusion of this view, and of the armoured steamer leaving Khartoum (II:100), as likely to appeal to British as well as American viewers.

Conclusion

Whilst the stereoscopic views produced by *Underwood and Underwood* have not enjoyed the lasting critical acclaim of those made by Frith, and indeed others, they are certainly worthy of merit and repay closer study.

The first series of views, with its interesting 'ethnographic scenes' is of some value, and in terms of photographic history the choice of views, and the manner in which they are taken, is of considerable interest. In the few years between Bert Underwood taking the first series and Charles H. Baker making the second on behalf of the company much had changed in the world of stereoscopic photography. Not only had equipment improved, but much more significantly, the market had expanded and the educational possibilities of such views had been understood. The involvement of James Henry Breasted in the project was a very shrewd piece of marketing on the part of the Underwoods, and his entertaining and enthusiastic text can still be read with profit today. What comes across most strongly in Breasted's text is his enthusiasm for Egypt, and his people — both ancient and modern — and his desire to communicate this enthusiasm widely. He clearly took to heart the instruction that he should write as though he were standing next to the viewer and explaining the scene, and the whole concept of the stereoviews and their complementary works beautifully under his guidance.

Quite apart from Breasted's text, or indeed that of the Underwoods' original attempt, the views stand as a reminder of an Egypt which was already beginning to modernise. The coming of the Aswan Dam, and the greater ease of mass tourism (a process which had been expanding throughout the 19th Century) were beginning to change Egypt and the views capture many of these changes. The opportunity to visit the sites of Egypt and see them (almost literally) through the eyes of a late 19th/early 20th century traveller is a rare one and offers glimpses of excavation practice (I:70 = II:54) as well as showing sites as they were changed forever in an attempt to make them accessible (II:55-56) and in newly excavated condition (I:85-86). Some of the landmarks of those times are now long gone, but are preserved here as a valuable record of a now lost Egypt.

Table 1. Comparison of the subjects and positions of views in the Underwood and Underwood Egypt sets of 1896-7 and 1905.³⁹

Position	1897 (Boxed 1900)	1905
1.	The Suez Canal at Port Said, Egypt.	Pompey's Pillar, the sailors' landmark, and modern Alexandria, north toward the sea, Egypt.
2.	Ali Kaka Dancers at the Arab Market, Zakazik, Egypt.	Cairo, home of the Arabian Nights, the greatest city of Africa, northwest from Saladin's citadel to the Nile, Egypt.
3.	Cairo, Egypt — The City of the Khalifs.	Citadel and Mohammed Ali Mosque, beyond the Bab el-Wezir Cemetery, at the Feast of Bairam, Cairo, Egypt.
4.	The Road to the Pyramids, Egypt.	Cairo, looking southwest across the city to the Great Pyramids, that furnished stone for many of its buildings, Egypt.
5.	The Farewell Offering — Leaving for the Desert, Egypt.	A "Ship of the Desert" passing the tombs of by-gone Moslem rulers, outside the east wall of Cairo, Egypt.
6.	Ruins of the Temple, Sphinx and Great Pyramid, Egypt.	Tomb Mosque of Sultan Kait Bey, the most beautiful of the Tombs of Cairo, Egypt.
7.	The Great Sphinx and Pyramid of Chefren, Egypt.	The prayer niche, southeast toward Mecca, and the pulpit in the Tomb Mosque of Kait Bey, Cairo, Egypt.
8.	Cheops, The Greatest of the Pyramids, Egypt.	The Holy Carpet parade with the Mahmal, before the departure of the pilgrims for Mecca, Cairo, Egypt.
9.	Climbing Cheops, The Greatest of the Pyramids, Egypt.	The harem windows in the court of a wealthy Cairene's house, Egypt.
10.	The Mena House Dining Room at the Gizeh Pyramids, Egypt.	Diorite portrait statue of King Khafre, the builder of the Second Pyramid of Gizeh, Cairo, Egypt.

³⁹ Spellings are as given on the cards, and can vary between cards/series.

Position	1897 (Boxed 1900)	1905
11.	A Typical Donkey Boy of Cairo, Egypt.	The famous wooden statue called the Shekh El-Beled, in the Cairo Museum, Cairo, Egypt.
12.	A Crowded Street In Cairo, Egypt.	The body of Sethos I, who lived in the middle of the fourteenth century B.C., Museum at Cairo, Egypt.
13.	Mosque of Sultan Barkuk, Cairo, Egypt.	The magnificent jewelry of the Pharaohs (Queen Ahhotep, seventeenth century B.C.), Cairo Museum, Egypt.
14.	Worshipping in the Mosque of Sultan Barkuk, Cairo, Egypt.	The Stela of Amenophis III, reused by Merneptah, and bearing the earliest mention of Israel; Cairo, Egypt.
15.	A Ship of the Desert Passing the Tombs of the Khalifs, Cairo, Egypt.	The great Nile Bridge at Cairo open for the passage of the daily fleet of cargo boats — (N.E.), Egypt.
16.	A Ship of the Desert — An Egyptian Tâkht Rawân.	The road to the pyramids, Egypt.
17.	The Kait Bey Mosque, Cairo, Egypt.	The Great Pyramid of Gizeh, a tomb of 5,000 years ago, from S.E., Egypt.
18.	Interior of the Kait Bey Mosque, Cairo, Egypt.	King Khufu's tomb, the Great Pyramid of Gizeh, and the sepulchres of his nobles (from N.W.), Egypt.
19.	The Indian Palms' in Ezbekiyeh Garden, Cairo, Egypt.	Looking up the N.E. corner of the Great Pyramid, where the tourists ascend, Egypt. ⁴⁰
20.	His Sacred Highness, the Cheik El-Sadaat, Egypt.	View from the summit of the Great Pyramid, east over the valley of the Nile, Egypt.
21.	The harem windows in the court of a wealthy Cairene's house, Egypt.	The Second Pyramid with its crown of original casing masonry, southwest from the summit of the Great Pyramid, Egypt.

⁴⁰ The accompanying book (BREADED 1900, 115) requests the viewer to "Raise the instrument and look upward" and the card itself is marked "look upward" in order to obtain the most spectacular stereoscopic effect.

Position	1897 (Boxed 1900)	1905
22.	Water-Carriers at the Nile, Bulak, Egypt.	Looking down the S.W. corner of the Great Pyramid upon the mastabas of Khufu's lords, Egypt.
23.	A Fleet of Arab Boats upon the Nile, Egypt.	The entrance to the Great Pyramid, the sepulcher of Khufu (in north face), seen from below, Egypt.
24.	A Howling Dervish, Cairo, Egypt.	Looking down the main passage leading to Khufu's sepulcher within the Great Pyramid, Egypt.
25.	The Great Nile Bridge, Cairo, Egypt.	Khufu's sarcophagus, broken by robbers in the sepulchre-chamber of the Great Pyramid, Egypt.
26.	Boats along the Nile, Egypt.	Ruins of the Granite Temple by the Sphinx, with the Great Pyramid of Gizeh at the N.W., Egypt.
27.	An Arab Market Boat on the Nile, Egypt.	The great sphinx of Gizeh, the largest royal portrait ever hewn, Egypt.
28.	A Royal Equipage before the Khedivial Palace of Girzireh, Cairo, Egypt.	Statue of Ramses II, and embellishment of a now vanished temple of Memphis, Egypt.
29.	Taking Tea at the English Military Tournament, Cairo, Egypt.	The earliest occupation of men and the first attempt at a pyramid, Sakkara, Egypt.
30.	The Arab Merchants of Cairo, Egypt.	Quarry chambers of Masara whence came the blocks for the Great Pyramid, Egypt.
31.	Obelisk of Heliopolis — All That Remains of the Ancient City of the Sun, Egypt.	The sole survivor of a great city, the Obelisk of Heliopolis, Egypt.
32.	The Virgin's Tree — traditionally where Mary rested during the Flight into Egypt.	The brick store-chambers of Pithom, the city built by Hebrew bondsmen — (looking north), Egypt.
33.	The Greatest of Birds, the Ostrich, Matariyeh, Egypt.	Dahabiyehs on the river ready for the journey to the Upper Nile, Egypt.
34.	Donkey, Buffalo and Camel Market.	Watching a sand whirlwind from the summit of the Hawara Pyramid (view S.E. to Pyramid of Illahun), Egypt.

Position	1897 (Boxed 1900)	1905
35.	An Egyptian Drummer, Cairo, Egypt.	An Egyptian Shaduf, the oldest of well-sweeps, lifting the Nile waters to the thirsty fields.
36.	A Baby of the Desert, Egypt.	An Egyptian Sakieh, or ox-driven bucket-pump raising water for irrigation.
37.	Leaving Cheeps for the Desert, Egypt.	"Thou shalt not muzzle the ox when he treadeth the corn" — Threshing in modern Egypt.
38.	The Arab's Shibriyeh — A home on the Desert, Egypt.	The winnowing of the grain after threshing — field work of peasant laborers, Egypt.
39.	A Bedouin Village on the Libyan Desert, Egypt.	Brick making, the task of the Hebrews, as seen to-day among the ruins of Crocoditopolis, Egypt.
40.	Bedouins of the Desert, Egypt.	The tomb of a feudal lord at Benihasan, built about 1900 B.C., Egypt.
41.	The Earliest Occupation of Men and the Oldest Structure — The Step Pyramid, Egypt.	Cliff tombs of the lords of Assiut — the king-makers of 4,000 years ago, Egypt.
42.	Statue of Ramses the Great, on the Site of Ancient Memphis, Egypt.	Assiut, the largest city of Upper Egypt, seen from the cliffs at the west.
43.	An Egyptian Sakieh Drawing Nile Water for Irrigation, Egypt.	The Temple of Sethos I — view south-west to its dismantled front-abydos, Egypt.
44.	On the Nile, the Life Stream of Egypt.	Columns of the great Hypostyle Temple of Sethos I at Abydos, Egypt.
45.	The Moslem Cemetery, Bab-el-Wesir, Cairo, Egypt.	Sethos I and his son Ramses II worshipping their ancestors in Sethos' great Temple, Abydos, Egypt.
46.	Mosque Mohammed Ali, the largest Mosque of Cairo, Egypt.	The beautiful Temple of Hathor at Denderah-view S. over the remains of a vanished city, Egypt.
47.	Interior of Mosque Kalaun Cairo, Egypt.	Across the Plain of Thebes and past the Memnon statues, from the western cliffs toward Luxor, Egypt.

Position	1897 (Boxed 1900)	1905
48.	"Tombs of the Mamelukes", Cairo, Egypt.	Magnificent desolation—the deserted Temple at Luxor, south-west from the top of the first pylon, Egypt.
49.	The Elite Dancing Girl of Cairo, Egypt.	The Moslem mosque in the Court of Ramses II, at Luxor Temple, Thebes, Egypt.
50.	The Palm-Fringed Nile, Egypt.	The most beautiful colonnade in Egypt—south across the court of Amenophis III, Luxor Temple, Thebes.
51.	Market Boats of Old Cairo, Egypt.	The obelisk of Ramses II, and the front of the Luxor Temple (view to S.W.), Thebes, Egypt.
52.	The Temple of Seti I. at Abydos, Upper Egypt.	Grand avenue of rams, one of the southern approaches to the temples of Karnak, Thebes, Egypt.
53.	As Lasting as the Ages — Hieroglyphics, Temple of Seti I, Abydos, Egypt.	The entire length of the gigantic Temple of Amon at Karnak (view N.W.), Thebes, Egypt.
54.	The Pillars of Abydos Temple, Upper Egypt.	Excavating the famous avenue of rams, southeast of the Temple of Karnak, Thebes, Egypt.
55.	A Part of the Famous "Tablet of Abydos", Egypt.	Avenue of sacred rams, leading from the river to W. entrance (after excavation) Karnak, Thebes, Egypt.
56.	King Seti I. Offering to the God Amen-Ra, Egypt.	The great court of the Karnak Temple seen (S.E.) from the top of the first pylon, Thebes, Egypt.
57.	Village Dwelling Houses of Central Egypt.	The famous colonnade of the great Hypostyle Hall in the Temple of Karnak, Thebes, Egypt.
58.	Dahabiyehs on the Nile at Girgeh, Egypt.	Looking across the Sacred Lake (N.N.W.) to the great Hypostyle Hall of Karnak, Thebes, Egypt.
59.	Temple of Denderah, Egypt.	Middle Aisle of the great Hypostyle and the obelisk of Thutmosis I, from the top of the fourth pylon, Karnak, Thebes, Egypt.

Position	1897 (Boxed 1900)	1905
60.	The Famous Picture of Cleopatra on the Wall of Denderah Temple, Egypt.	The tallest obelisk in Egypt, erected by Queen Makere (Hatshepsut) in the Karnak Temple at Thebes, Egypt.
61.	A Well on the Libyan Desert, Africa.	Plants and animals brought to Egypt from the Pharaoh's campaigns in Syria, Karnak, Thebes, Egypt.
62.	At the Boat-Landing, Keneh, Upper Egypt.	Great war reliefs of Sethos I, on N. wall, outside the Hypostyle of Karnak Temple, Thebes, Egypt.
63.	The Great Court of the Temple of Luxor, Upper Egypt.	Records of the campaign of Shishak, who captured Jerusalem; relief at Karnak, Thebes, Egypt.
64.	Ruins in the Front Part of Luxor Temple, Upper Egypt.	Colossal "Memnon" statues at Thebes — the farther one used to utter a cry at sunrise, Egypt.
65.	The Best Preserved Statue of Ramses II, Luxor Temple, Upper Egypt.	The Ramessesum, mortuary temple of Ramses II — northwest toward the tombs in the cliffs, Thebes, Egypt.
66.	The Obelisk and Pylon of the Temple of Luxor, Upper Egypt.	From the roof of the Ramessesum past the fallen Colossus of Ramses II, southeast over the Plain of Thebes, Egypt.
67.	The Beautiful Lotus Pillars and Grand Colonnade, Upper Egypt.	Plain of Thebes and the Colossi of Memnon seen at the south from the roof of the Ramessesum, Egypt.
68.	The Splendid Gate of Ptolemy IX, Karnak, Upper Egypt.	Looking S. over the Theban Plain and the temples of Medinet Habu, from the cemetery of Abd el-Kurna, Egypt.
69.	The Sacred Lake and Temple of Karnak, Upper Egypt.	Painted tomb chamber of Prince Sen-Nofer, hewn in the rock of the western cliffs, Thebes, Egypt.
70.	Excavating the Famous Avenue of Sphinxes, Karnak Temple, Upper Egypt.	Buried for ages — colonnaded terraces of Queen Makere's magnificent temple, Der el-Bahri (N.) Thebes, Egypt.

Position	1897 (Boxed 1900)	1905
71.	The Famous Hall of Pillars, Great Temple of Karnak, Upper Egypt.	Queen Makere's expedition to E. Africa in the sixteenth century before Christ — reliefs at Der el-Bahri, Thebes, Egypt.
72.	Looking into the Famous Hall of Pillars, Temple of Karnak, Upper Egypt.	From the high cliffs above Der el-Bahri, S.E. across the plain to Luxor and the Nile, Thebes, Egypt.
73.	"How are the Mighty Fallen," The Broken Obelisk of Karnak, Upper Egypt.	Down the Nile (N.E.) across the western cliffs of Thebes, Egypt.
74.	The Sacred Lotus Columns, "Holy of Holies", Temple of Karnak Upper Egypt.	The Valley of the Kings' Tombs at Thebes, where the great conquerors of Egypt were buried, Egypt.
75.	King Ramses IV., Offering to the God Menthu, Temple of Karnak, Upper Egypt.	Descending gallery in the tomb of Sethos I, Valley of the Kings' Tombs, Thebes, Egypt.
76.	An Egyptian "Ferris Wheel."	Looking north to the mortuary temple of Sethos I at Thebes, Egypt.
77.	The Colossi of Memnon, Thebes, Upper Egypt.	The first pylon of Ramses III's great mortuary temple at Medinet Habu (view N.), Thebes.
78.	Pretty Little Water Girls of Thebes, Upper Egypt.	The hunting of the wild bull depicted on the temple wall of Ramses III, Medinet Habu, Thebes, Egypt.
79.	The Temple of Medinet Habu, Thebes Egypt.	Scenes of battle and the chase on the wall of Ramses III's Temple, Medinet Habu, Thebes, Egypt.
80.	The Hunting Scene of Ramses III., Medinet Hab, Thebes, Egypt.	Walled city of El Kab, ancient capital of Upper Egypt, southwest from the door of a cliff tomb, Egypt.
81.	Upper Egypt, "Princes of the Blood," Ancient and Modern.	The pylons and the court of the Temple of Horus at Edfu (looking E. to the Nile), Egypt.
82.	Luncheon in the Temple of Medinet Habu, Thebes, Egypt.	The wonderfully preserved Temple of Edfu, seen (N.) from the top of the first pylon, Egypt.

Position	1897 (Boxed 1900)	1905
83.	Temple of Ramessesum, Thebes, Upper Egypt.	The Holy of Holies and the granite shrine for the divine Image in the Temple of Edfu, Egypt.
84.	The Broken Statue of Ramses II., the Greatest Statue Found in Egypt.	Assuan and the Island of Elephantine (S.) from the western cliffs of the cemetery, Egypt.
85.	Buried for Ages — The Newly-Excavated Temple of Der el-Bahari, Upper Egypt.	Tomb of Harkhuf, a frontier baron in the days of the pyramid-builders, Assuan, Upper Egypt.
86.	Arch of Der el-Bahari (newly excavated), Thebes, Upper Egypt.	The Nilometer, (measurer of inundations), Island of Elephantine, first cataract, Egypt.
87.	The Temple of Kournah, Thebes, Upper Egypt.	Ninety-two-foot obelisk still lying in the Assuan granite quarry at the first cataract, Egypt.
88.	Falling Rocks, Temple of Kournah, Thebes, Upper Egypt.	Remarkable inscription of a Seven Years' Famine on the Island of Sehel, (1 st cataract), Egypt.
89.	An Egyptian Shaduf, the oldest of well sweeps, lifting the Nile waters to the thirsty fields.	Philae the "Pearl of Egypt," the templed island now doomed to destruction (view S.), Egypt.
90.	A Characteristic Scene by the Dom Palm Southern Egypt ⁴¹ .	Looking down (N.E.) upon the island of Philae and its temples from the island of Bigh, Egypt.
91.	A Nubian Dancing Girl, Egypt.	The great Assuan dam N.W. from the first pylon of the Philae Temple, Egypt.
92.	Bishareen Types from the Arabian Desert, Africa.	The Nubian temple of Kalabsh, built in the days of the Roman Emperor Augustus (view E.), Egypt.
93.	A Bishareen Home upon the Arabian Desert, Africa.	Kasr Ibrim (the Fort of Ibrim) and a Nile vista to the N.N.E. in lower Nubia, Egypt.
94.	Degenerate Egypt — Wretchedness of the People.	The grotto temple of Abu Simbel, seen N.W. from a boat on the Nile, Egypt.
95.	Industry as Taught at the American Mission, Assiout, Upper Egypt.	The sixty-five-foot portrait statues of Ramses II, before the rock-hewn temple of Abu Simbel, Egypt.

Position	1897 (Boxed 1900)	1905
96.	Boys Studying on the Housetop, Assiout, Upper Egypt.	Looking up the river across the front of the Abu Simbel temple, from the sand drift at north, Egypt.
97.	Egypt for Christ! The Boys' Chapel, Assiout, Upper Egypt.	Interior of the rock-hewn temple of Abu Simbel — Holy of Holies, in rear and statues of gods, Egypt.
98.	The City of the Moslem Dead, Assiout, Upper Egypt.	Second Cataract of the Nile, from the S.W., the first obstruction to navigation for 1000 miles, Egypt.
99.	The Holy Carpet Parade Starting for Mecca, Cairo, Egypt.	The tomb of the Mahdi at Omdurman — Kerrerri Hills at left, scene of Kitchener's victory, Sudan.
100.	A Daughter of Pharaoh-Now a Drawer of Water, Egypt.	Governor's Palace and an armored steamer leaving Khartum for Fashoda and the Blue Nile, Sudan.

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I am grateful to Janine Bourriau and Stephen Quirke for the invitation to provide a paper for this volume, and for their help in its production. Peter French confirmed some of the details of railway development in Egypt in the 19th Century. Figure 6 was supplied by *Topfoto* (Topham Picture-point) and I am grateful to them for their permission to use the image here. Figure 10 was provided by Bob Aldridge and I am grateful to him for permission to reproduce it. The rest of the images are from the author's collection and are believed to be out of copyright. Cerian Whitehurst kindly commented on a draft of the manuscript.

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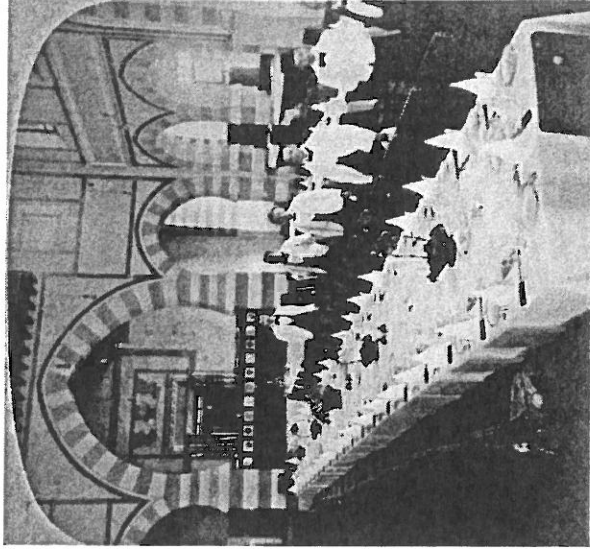


Fig. 1. "The Mena House Dining Room at the Giza Pyramids Egypt" (Underwood & Underwood 1897).

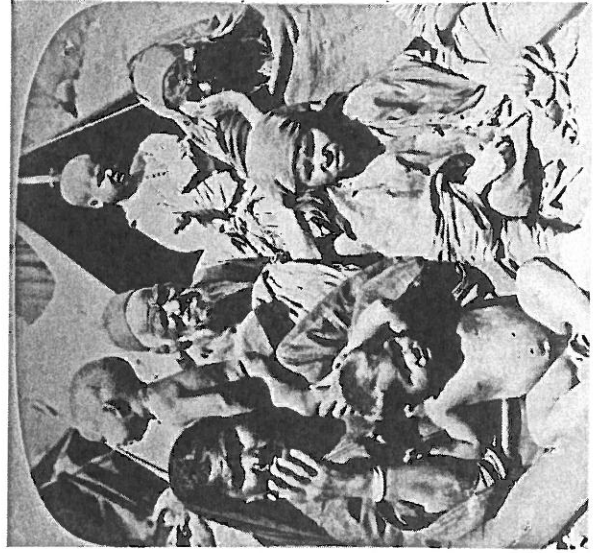


Fig. 2. "Degenerate Egypt - Wretchedness of the People" (Underwood & Underwood 1896)

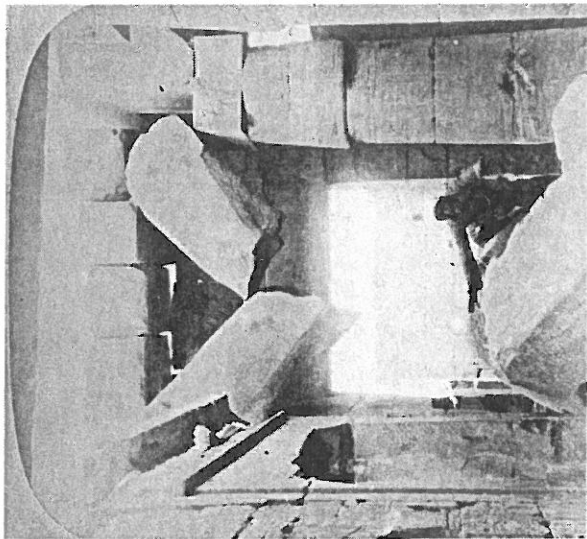


Fig. 3. "Falling Rocks, Temple of Koumah, Thebes, Upper Egypt" (Underwood & Underwood 1896).

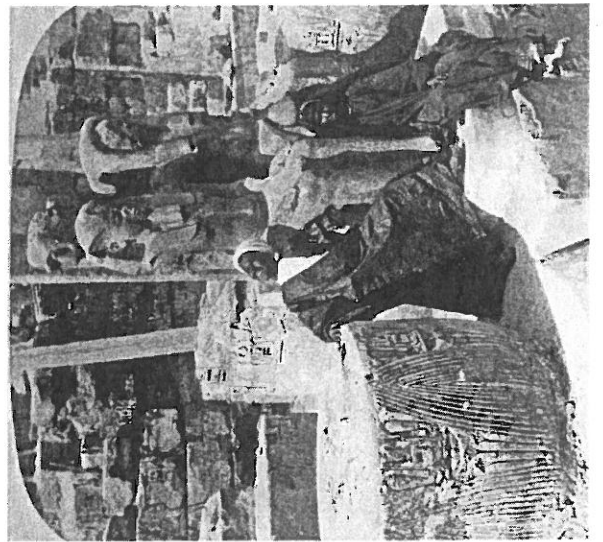


Fig. 4. "Upper Egypt, 'Princes of the Blood', Ancient and Modern" (Underwood & Underwood 1896).

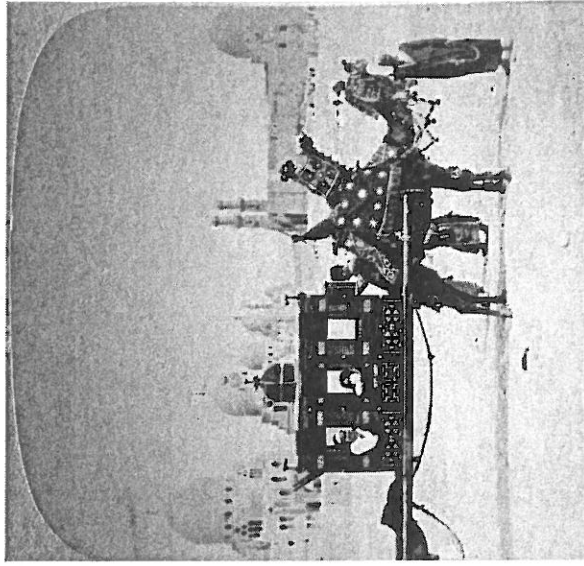


Fig. 5. "A Ship of the Desert passing the Tombs of the Khalifs, Cairo, Egypt" (Underwood & Underwood 1896).

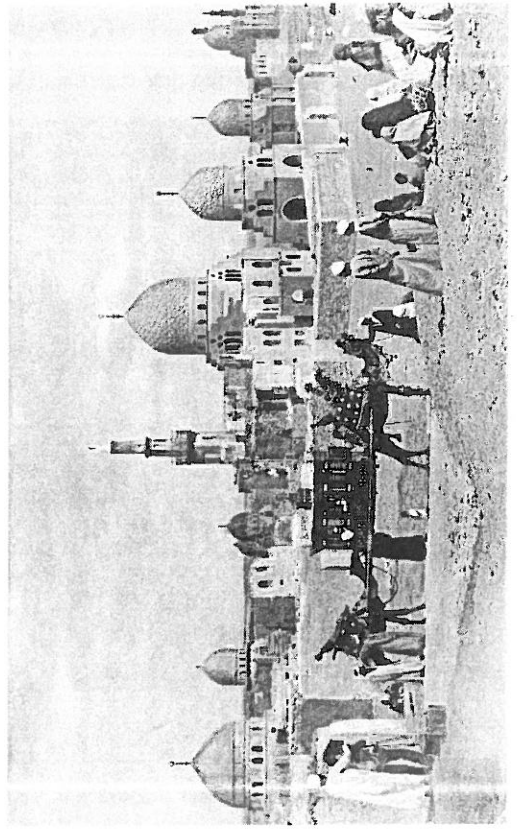


Fig. 6. A scene photographed on the same day as that in Figure 5, and demonstrating that it was a 'staged' event. Note the photographer on the far left (Copyright TomFoto)



Fig. 7. "The Elite Dancing Girl of Cairo, Egypt" (Underwood & Underwood 1897). This too is a posed image as can be seen from the inexpertly positioned backcloth.

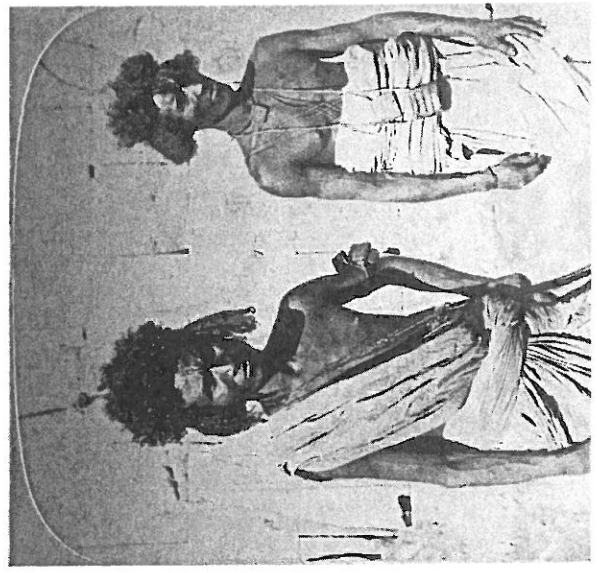


Fig. 8. "Bishareen Types from the Arabian Desert, Africa"

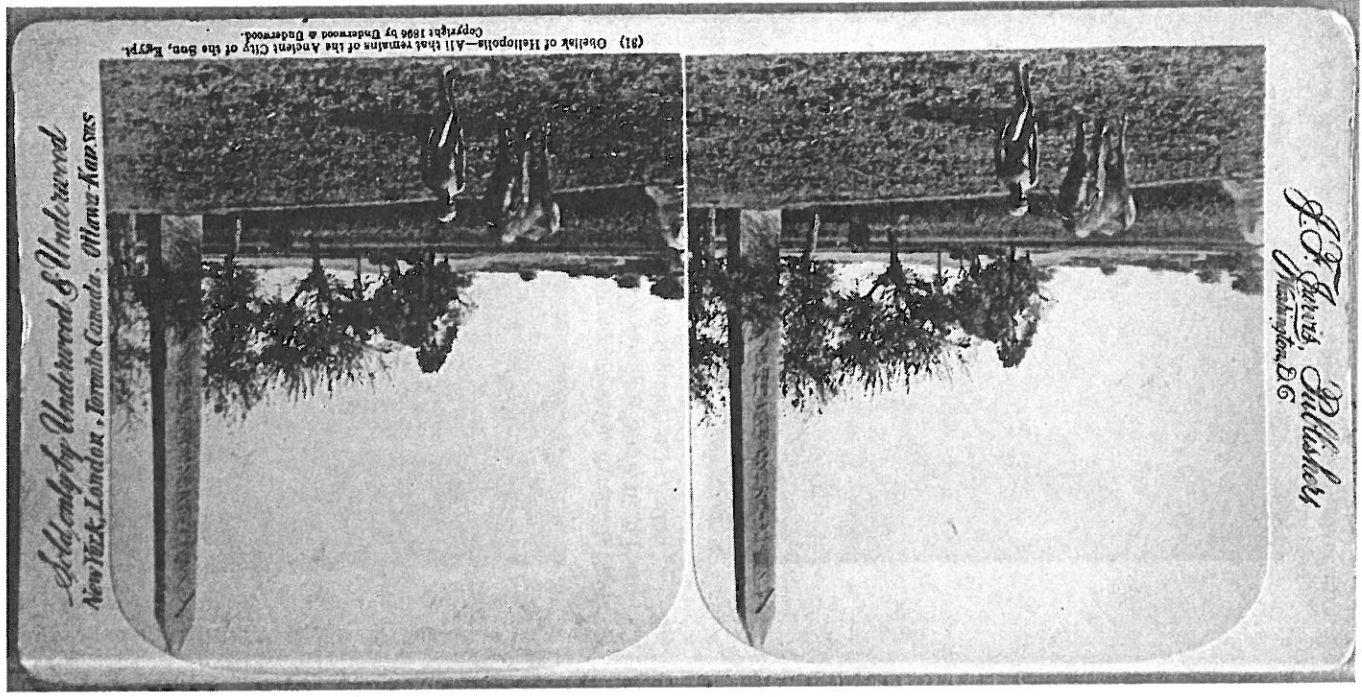


Fig. 9. "Obelisk of Heliopolis — All that remains of the Ancient City of the Sun, Egypt" (Underwood & Underwood 1896). This view is very widely photographed by visitors in the late 19th century. It is presented here in both images to show the typical Underwood & Underwood buff card mount.

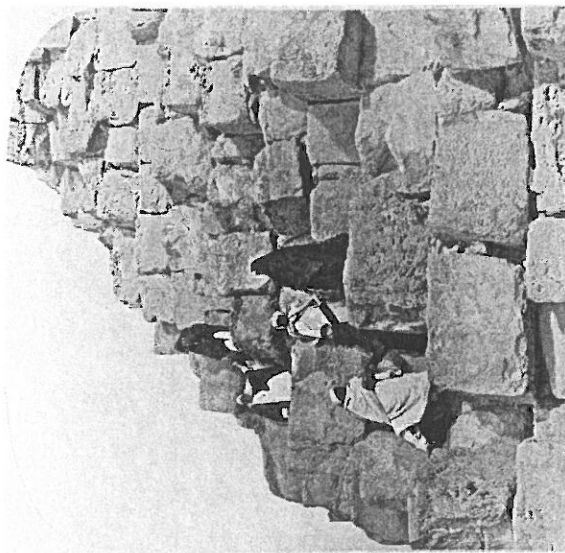


Fig. 10. "Climbing Cheops the greatest of the Pyramid, Egypt" (Underwood & Underwood 1896). This is one of at least two different images published under this caption.

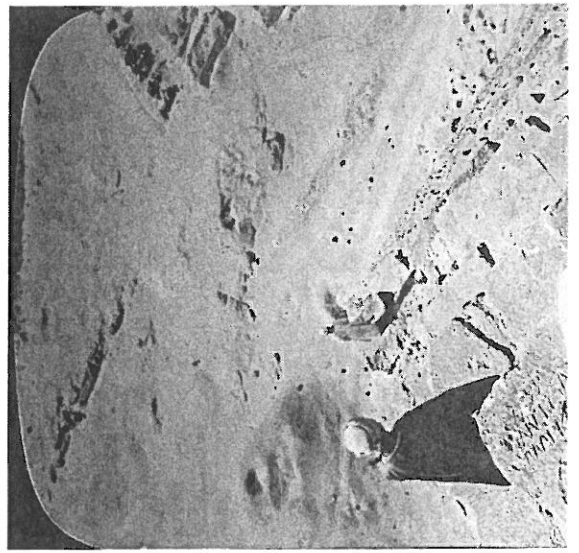


Fig. 11. "Looking down the S.W. corner of the Great Pyramid upon the" (Underwood & Underwood 1896).

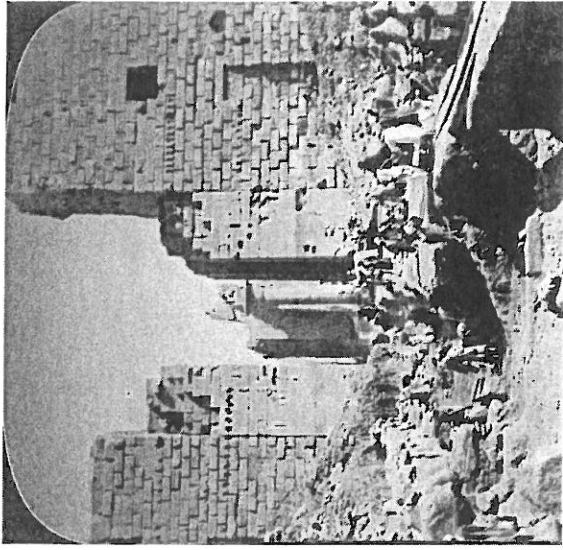


Fig. 12. "Excavating the famous Avenue of the Rams, S.E. of Temple of Karnak, Thebes, Egypt" (Underwood & Underwood 1896).

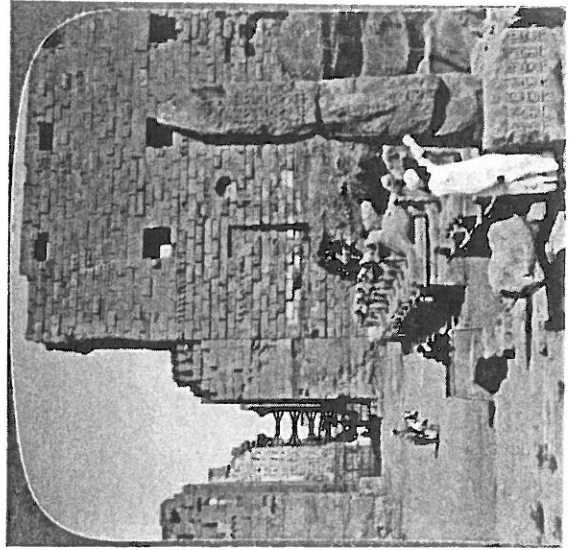


Fig. 13. "Avenue of Sacred Rams, leading from river to W. entrance (after excavation) Karnak, Thebes, Egypt" (Underwood & Underwood 1904).

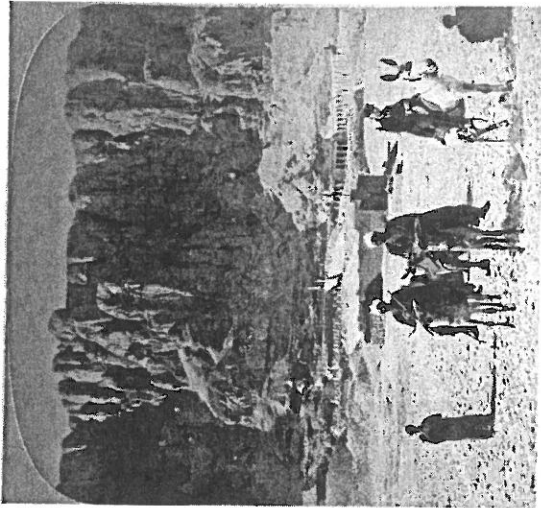


Fig. 14. "Buried for Ages — the newly excavated Temple of Der el-Bahari, Upper Egypt" (Underwood & Underwood 1897). The figure on the white donkey can be seen directly behind the two Egyptians on donkeys. and features in several other views.

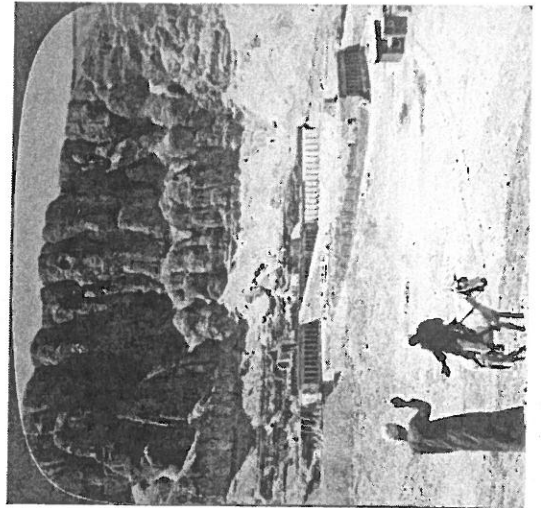


Fig. 15. "Buried for Ages — Colonnaded terraces of Queen Makere's temple Der el-Bahari (N.), Thebes, Egypt" (Underwood & Underwood 1902). The copyright date on this may be somewhat misleading and possibly

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