Talking along the Nile

Ippolito Rosellini, travellers and scholars of the 19th century in Egypt

Proceedings of the International Conference held on the occasion of the presentation of Progetto Rosellini. Pisa, June 14-16, 2012

edited by Marilina Betrò and Gianluca Miniaci



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The Marquis' excavations. A tale of two diaries

PAUL WHELAN

In August 1898 William George Spencer Scott Compton – who had become the 5th Marquis of Northampton in the previous year and who shared his family's long-standing interest in ancient Egypt – was granted a concession to excavate part of the necropolis of western Thebes, which included the extensive and long-occupied burial ground known as Dra Abu el-Naga (Fig. 1)¹. The Marquis enlisted the services of Egyptologists Percy Newberry and Wilhelm Spiegelberg to supervise the excavations which were to last for just over three months from November 4th 1898 until February 9th 1899. During that time, and employing often more than eighty workers2, they investigated two ruined New Kingdom temples and discovered many dozens of tombs of various periods. Regrettably, the report of their work, which appeared in 1908 - a full nine years after the excavations - falls far short of the standards expected today for archaeological publications. According to its preface, only the "principal results" were published and a more comprehensive record of everything "important and unimportant" discovered would be found in the "Journal of Excavations" deposited in the Egyptological Institute of the

University of Strasbourg³, although if a work bearing this title ever actually existed it has yet to come to light. Fortunately, some additional information relating to the Marquis' excavations can be found in the archives of the Griffith Institute Oxford. Most important among these archive resources is a diary belonging to Percy Newberry who served as the expedition's director, and a written record kept by his colleague Wilhelm Spiegelberg who oversaw excavations and provided expert philological knowledge4. In quite different ways, the documents of these two Egyptologists contribute to a more nuanced view of the progress of their excavations and of the many discoveries made than can be found in the published report, as well as providing insights into their social and professional lives in Egypt over the course of the second half of the excavations. And though both diaries have, especially in recent years, proved valuable to both research Egyptologists and field excavators working at Dra Abu el-Naga⁵, no separate study of their contents or comparison of the two has been undertaken and thus some scholars may be unaware of the range of information con-

¹ The 2nd Marquis of Northampton visited Egypt in 1850 and made at least one sketch of the temple site at Armant (Newberry 1905, p. 100).

² This is the figure given in the published report (Northampton/Spiegelberg/Newberry 1908, p. 4). According to the account ledger of the expedition (also in the Griffith Institute archives), the actual figure reached 87 workers in the period November 28th-3rd December 1898.

³ Northampton/Spiegelberg/Newberry 1908, p. ix.

⁴ The Griffith Institute also has other archival material relating to some tombs encountered by the Marquis' expedition made before and afterwards (for a discussion of this material see Galán 2009, p. 155-81.

⁵ Recent publications include: Whelan 2007; Galán 2009; Miniaci 2009. I am extremely grateful to Cat Warsi of the Griffith Institute for her assistance with my research and for additional information about the two diaries, and to the Griffith Institute for permission to publish here images from the archive.



Fig. 1 - Sketch map showing the extent of the Marquis' concession in western Thebes (after The Marquis of Northampton, Spiegelberg and Newberry 1908, pl. II).

tained in each. Now that the Griffith Institute has made high resolution digital copies of both diaries and their content is readily accessible to all scholars including those unable to visit the archive in person, it seems worthwhile to present here a brief overview of both resources and a miscellany of examples to illustrate the contributions their contents can make to our knowledge of the Marquis' expedition, the personalities and activities of the excavators themselves, and also the broader context of Egyptology at the very end of the nineteenth century⁶.

Of the two records, Wilhelm Spiegelberg's is the better known and more frequently exploited, being entirely filled with details of the tombs, inscriptions and artefacts discovered by the expedition. Spiegelberg used two larger format notebooks (each measuring approximately 20.5 cm by 25.7 cm) filling a total of 115 pages; 95 pages in the first, covering the period of November 7th 1898 to January 27th 1899 and 20 pages of the second volume covering the remainder of their excavations which ended on February 9^{th7}. It is probable that this record is, or was intended to be the basis for, the aforementioned "Journal of Excavations" purportedly given to the Egyptological Institute at Strasbourg by the excavators8. Indeed, though Spiegelberg's record has been referred to as a "travel diary" and more frequently as a "diary" - notably in the Griffith Institute's own Topographical Bibliography¹⁰ – it is neither, containing almost exclusively dated records of antiquities discovered by the expedition and thus being far closer to a "Journal of Excavations"; for this reason the excavator himself entitled it *Fundjournal* (finds journal). The entries were not made for each and every day, presumably because the flow of discoveries was governed by the pace of excavations, and perhaps also by their importance. Although

a few pages in the first volume are filled almost entirely with written descriptions¹¹, the vast majority consist of much shorter notes accompanied by sketches of objects, plans of tombs, copies of inscriptions and even the occasional impression of a scarab seal made in wax¹². With so much detailed information on almost every page, it is clear that Spiegelberg intended his Fundjournal to be an aide memoir for himself as well as for Newberry when writing up the published report. Even so, a good deal of the material contained within it never made it into print, and what did was not always complete or, in some instances, was incorrect. Thus Spiegelberg's record presents us with the possibility to substantially augment our existing knowledge of many of the discoveries made during the Marquis' excavations over a century ago, as the following selection will attempt to show.

The published report gives details of a fragment from one side of a model coffin dedicated to an individual called Sobeknakht, and is described thus: "On one side the sacred eyes are roughly drawn in black ink; on the other side are two vertical lines of cursive hieroglyphs"13. Such characteristics would fit the standard decorative format of many full-size rectangular coffins especially of the First Intermediate Period - Middle Kingdom, which are decorated on the outer face with a pair of wedjat-eyes and on the other side – the inner face of the coffin – with a cursive inscription comprising an offering formula and name of the deceased¹⁴. However, this arrangement would be very strange indeed to find on a model rectangular coffin from this or any other period. While miniature coffins are attested from the 11th Dynasty onwards and are often accurately rendered simulacra of their larger counterparts, even down to the use of

⁶ I would like to express my sincere gratitude to Professor Marilina Betrò for organising a most stimulating congress and for her warm and generous hospitality. I also wish to thank the Fondazione Cassa di Risparmio di Pisa for making the congress possible and for providing the ideal venue at Palazzo Blu. Last, but by no means least, I would like to thank Gianluca Miniaci for his many kindnesses before and during my visit to Pisa.

⁷ This was when the excavations ended, though epigraphy and other recording work continued after February 9th 1899.

⁸ If Spiegelberg's original diary was the "Journal of Excavations", there is no direct connection with Strasbourg in the known and rather tortuous route by which it eventually entered the Griffith Institute (Galán 2009, p. 159).
⁹ Grimm 1995, p. 92 n. 62 (referred to as a "Reisetagebuch"). I am grateful to Beatrix Geßler-Löhr for pointing me to this publication.

¹⁰ PM I², 1, xviii.

¹¹ Most evident on p. 6-9, which mostly refers to the first few days of excavations around the ruined temple of Ahmes-Nefertari and in the north-eastern section of Dra Abu el-Naga between 9th-16th November 1898.

¹² *Fundjournal* p. 44 (see also Fig. 2 of this article), 50-2, 69f, 92, 94f, 102, 109, 112-3.

¹³ Northampton/Spiegelberg/Newberry 1908, p. 30, no. 5 and pl. XVIII (cursive inscription).

¹⁴ Willems 1988, p. 118-22 and 228-9.

the wedjat-eye motif, none that are known to me have their interior surfaces inscribed in any way¹⁵. Without access to the artefact (its whereabouts are unknown to me) and with only the published report as evidence, one would have to conclude that it represents a rather exceptional example of a model coffin of the Middle Kingdom or somewhat later period. Fortunately, an entry in Spiegelberg's Fundjournal provides much more detail and shows that the published information is actually incorrect (Fig. 2)¹⁶. A sketch of the coffin fragment and the inscription accompanied with a brief written note indicates that the dedication was not on the inside of the coffin at all, but actually belongs to a second fragment of the coffin's lid. Not only is this where one would expect to find an offering formula and dedication¹⁷, but also ink inscriptions with the offering formula written in hieroglyphs and the owner's name added in a more cursive, often hieratic, hand such as on this example are fairly common for a class of model coffin of the late 17th - early 18th Dynasty associated with the distinctive so-called 'stick shabtis' found in considerable numbers at Thebes, and not least by the Marguis' expedition¹⁸. Therefore, far from being unique, this model coffin actually belongs to a type well attested at Thebes. Further support for its late Second Intermediate Period - early New Kingdom dating comes from another useful piece of information omitted from the published description,

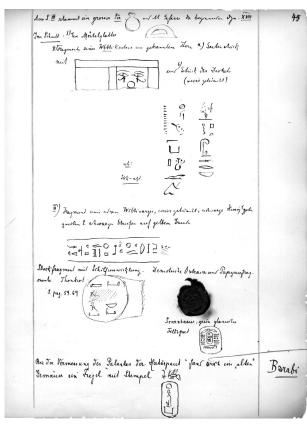


Fig. 2 - Page 44 of Spiegelberg's *Fundjournal* which includes details of a fragment of model coffin that clarify and correct the entry for it in the published report © Griffith Institute, University of Oxford.

which is visible in Spiegelberg's sketch of the fragment of coffin side. It is clear that not only is the fragment an almost complete side panel, but also preserves far more extensive decoration than one might otherwise have gathered from the published report displaying, besides a series of painted bands, a centrally placed *shen*-symbol below the pair of *wedjat*-eyes that has some relevance for dating. As already mentioned, both full-size and model coffins of the First Intermediate Period and Middle Kingdom are frequently painted with a pair of *wedjat*-eyes, however those with the addition of a *shen*-symbol are far less common and only found on coffins of the late 12th-13th Dynasties onwards¹⁹

¹⁵ Arnold 1988, p. 34-9 (Lisht-13th Dynasty-Second Intermediate Period); Bourriau 1988, p. 93, no. 74 (Abydos - late 12th Dynasty); D'Auria/Lacovara/Roehrig 1988, p. 126 no. 55 (provenance unknown - late Middle Kingdom - Second Intermediate Period); Grajetzki 2006 (Thebes? - 13th Dynasty - Second Intermediate Period); examples from Thebes include several 11th Dynasty examples found within or close by Montuhotep II's mortuary complex at Deir el-Bahari: Naville 1907, p. 49-50 and pl. XI. Relevant also are the few miniature rectangular (solid wood) coffins that display the *wedjat-eye* motif on early-mid Middle Kingdom model boats for which see: Reisner 1913, p. 35-6 no. 4847 (Meir), p. 37-8 no. 4850 (Meir).

¹⁶ Fundjournal p. 44.

¹⁷ Whelan 2007, p. 25.

¹⁸ Whelan 2007, p. 40-1.

¹⁹ Full-size coffins: Hayes 1953, p. 314-5, fig. 204 (Meir), p. 347-8, fig. 228 (Thebes); Hayes 1959, p. 347-8, fig. 228 (Thebes); Grajetzki 2010, p. 48 and back cover image (Thebes), p. 59-60 (from Thebes?); Lapp 1993, Tfl. 19d (Meir), 34b (Thebes); Lapp 1996, pl. 11 (The-

and restricted to certain regions, most notably Meir and Thebes²⁰. In respect of Thebes, it can be suggested that its use does not occur before the late 13th Dynasty-Second Intermediate Period following the dating of full-size coffins from there with this decoration²¹. It is also significant in terms of coffin chronology that none of the published full-size Theban coffins of the 11th - late 12th Dynasties display the combined wedjat-eyes and shen-symbol²². So far, of the few model coffins from Thebes with both motifs present, all appear to date to the late Second Intermediate Period and early 18th Dynasty with possibly the latest firmly datable example belonging to the notable Theban elite, Tetiky, in whose tomb complex (TT15) many were deposited²³. Thus, with the extra details contained in Spiegelberg's Fundjournal the fragments discovered by the Marquis' expedition can be

bes); Grajetzki 2010, p. 50-1 (coffins MMA 32.3.428, 32.3.429 and 32.3.431 all three are from Thebes and have a combined *shen*-symbol and *wedjat*-eye motif – these features are unpublished, but have been observed by the present writer); Tiradritti 2010, p. 336 and pl. 115 (Thebes - late Second Intermediate Period - early 18th Dynasty). The combination of these symbols on coffins may be connected with their appearance on stelae, for which see: Grajetzki 2001, p. 61-5.

- ²⁰ The later dating of coffins from Meir with the *shen*-symbol is supported by the absence of such symbols on model coffins from the site (see footnote 15). The apparent regionally restricted use of the combined motifs is highlighted in the study of over 200 full-size rectangular coffins from Assiut of which none display the *shen*-symbol between *wedjat*-eyes (Hannig 2006, p. 41-5 for specific discussion of the *wedjat*-eye motif and passim for the decoration of the corpus of coffins).
- ²¹ Miniaci 2011, p. 15-20; Grajetzki 2010, p. 50-1 (coffins MMA 32.3.428, 32.3.429 and 32.3.431 all have *shen*-symbol with the *wedjat*-eye motif) and p. 55 for a coffin dated to the late Second Intermediate Period early 18th Dynasty.
- ²² Lapp 1993, Tfln. 33a-c, 34a, 35-8; Polz 2007, p. 59-69 (for dating to the second half of the 12th-13th Dynasty see Loprieno 2007, p. 76-80).
- ²³ Bovot 2003, p. 46 and 85 (E32373). For the original discovery of the miniature coffins (with stick shabtis) see: Newberry 1912, p. 19-21 and pls. XI-XII. It is interesting to note that the more refined (later?) miniature coffins containing shabtis belonging to Tetiky's family that were found buried around the tomb shaft had neither *wedjat*-eyes nor *shen*-symbols (*ibid*., p. 19, pl. X).

added with greater precision to the small corpus of distinctively decorated model coffins from a transitional period in Theban funerary culture. These kinds of unpublished data in the Fundjournal also have the obvious potential to assist in the visual and contextual identification of the many artefacts from the excavations that were given to the University of Strasbourg and other institutions either by consent of the 5th Marquis of Northampton or perhaps from Spiegelberg's own private collection²⁴. Several pages of the Strasbourg University's object inventory are apparently filled with "Objets issus des fouilles de Drah-Abu'l Negga et Gurnah, hiver 1898/99²⁵ and it will be interesting to see if Frédéric Colin's current project concerning this material will bring up matches with objects recorded in the Fundjournal.

Another useful yet rarely exploited aspect of the diary is that since most artefacts are dated to within a day or so of their discovery it is possible to assign approximate spatial relationships to many individual artefacts or groups of objects. For example, it appears that none of the 'stick shabtis' that were reported to have been found in considerable numbers during the excavations and that feature so prominently in the published report came from the northeastern part of the site, since the earliest record of such objects is dated to December 12th 1898, a full nineteen days after excavations there had ended²⁶. Therefore, any concentra-

²⁴ Up to now, only a relatively small percentage of objects in Strasbourg University to have been published are identified as coming from the Marquis' excavations (none are mentioned in the article on the collection by Bucher and Leclant 1953-1956; none are included in the 1973 exhibition of 328 objects from l'Institut d'Égyptologie, for which see: Parlebas 1973; just one is published in Colin 2010, p. 41). It should also be noted that Spiegelberg formed his own private collection of antiquities some of which might have come from the Marquis' excavations or were purchased from local dealers and it is possible that the provenance of some may be more confidently identified with help from the *Fundjournal*.

²⁵ Colin 2010, p. 38.

²⁶ The excavations in north-eastern Dra Abu el-Naga lasted from 14th-23rd November (Northampton/Spiegelberg/Newberry 1908, p. 10-2).

tions of 'stick shabti' deposits were confined to the middle and southern sections of Dra Abu el-Naga, a setting corroborated by more recent excavations in this area²⁷. What does seem a little surprising is that this aspect and indeed other pieces of detailed information relating to 'stick shabtis' recorded by Spiegelberg were not included in the published report given that they are the focus of two of its chapters²⁸. Besides the possibility of assigning a general distribution pattern for an artefact type, more precise find spots can be made for individual objects where Spiegelberg includes a particular point of reference in association with the entry. Where this reference point can be related to a known feature (a tomb) still visible in the modern Dra Abu el-Naga landscape, it is possible to extrapolate a reasonably secure and fairly tight zone of discovery for an artefact, as will be highlighted a little later.

It is evident from the Fundjournal that Spiegelberg was largely or even solely responsible for documenting the many artefacts discovered by the expedition as a whole, not least because Newberry's diary is almost devoid of any such material, and he appears to have kept no other record, but also because we know that Spiegelberg incorporated information given to him by Newberry (Fig. 3)²⁹. This is not so surprising given that at times, especially in the earlier stages of their investigations, both excavators could be working in two different sectors of their concession. Spiegelberg's meticulous approach to the maintenance of the Fundjournal tells us something about the man himself and also accounts for the near absence of any personal trivia recorded in it and virtually no details about any of the people he must have encountered

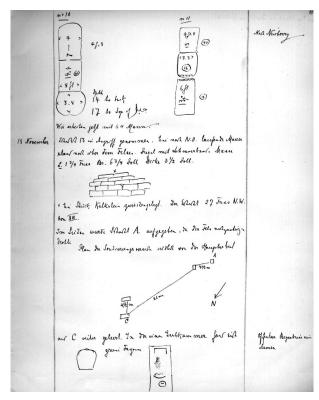


Fig. 3 - Page 11 of the *Fundjournal* shows a plan (top) drawn by Spiegelberg from an original made by Newberry - note "nach Newberry" in the top right corner of the page © Griffith Institute, University of Oxford.

during the excavations. In fact, besides Newberry, the names of only four other individuals are to be found in the record (Fig. 4). The first is the British architect Somers Clark who visited the excavations on 15th November 1898 and offered Spiegelberg his professional expertise on architectural recording³⁰. The second is Howard Carter who is mentioned in an entry dated 3rd December 1898³¹ when he attended the excavations to examine a problematic archaeological stratigraphy encountered by the German. It is a little strange that the professional assistance of neither Egyptologist is acknowledged in the published report, though this is probably be-

²⁷ Whelan 2007, p. 4-8.

²⁸ Newberry 1908a and 1908b.

²⁹ The division of work is also evident by comparing dates in Newberry's diary with the accounts ledger (briefly discussed later and see also Fig. 9); on 6th January 1899 Newberry notes "took 20 men + began work behind Idrîses house" (p. 7), whereas the accounts ledger for that day (p. 24-5) shows that actually a total of 51 men were employed, and so presumably 31 workers were assigned to Spiegelberg.

³⁰ Fundjournal p. 9. In the same year Somers Clarke also assisted the Egypt Exploration Fund's Theban expedition and is credited with providing an architectural description of part of Hatshepsut's mortuary temple at Deir el-Bahari (Naville 1898, preface; also Davies 1982, p. 60).

³¹ Fundjournal p. 31.

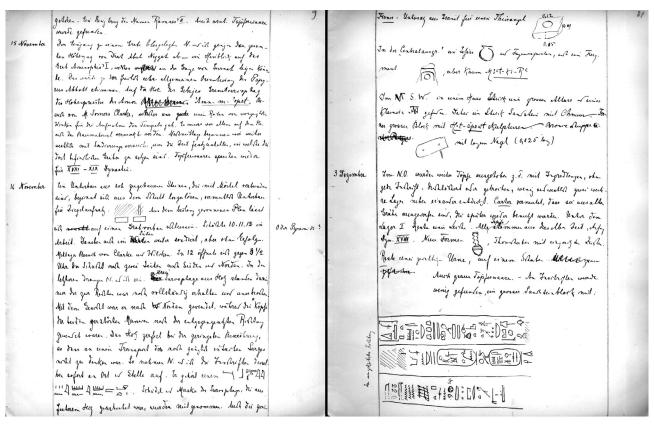


Fig. 4 - (left) Page 9 of the *Fundjournal* recording the visit of Somers Clark; (right) Page 31 records the visit of Howard Carter © Griffith Institute, University of Oxford.

cause Newberry rather than Spiegelberg was largely responsible for writing it³². The third name mentioned occurs on no less than sixteen occasions and belongs to the well-known local antiquities dealer Idris Awad³³, but always only in reference to his house in Dra Abu el-Naga, since he had died in 1898 shortly after the start of the Marquis' excavations. Spiegelberg provided a fitting epitaph for the dealer in his work published in the same year, *Zwei Beiträge zur Geschichte und Topographie der thebanischen Necropolis im Neuen Reich*, describing Idris as probably the most knowledgeable living person in the Theban necropolis³⁴.

The fourth person does not appear in the actual pages of the Fundjournal, but from a personal letter pasted in the back of the second volume (Fig. 5), which although not directly associated with the Marquis' excavations, does belong to a significant period in Spiegelberg's life that ultimately relates to his involvement with the Marquis. Dated 1896, the letter is written by one Arthur Mason Worthington concerning some drawings he had made in the tombs at Aswan and that he wished to give to Spiegelberg. At the time this letter was written Spiegelberg was the newly appointed lecturer for the Faculty of Philosophy at Strasbourg University and was in Egypt for the first time, having travelled there at the end of the previous year, partly to gain first-hand experience of the ancient culture he had chosen to study, but also to acquire artefacts and photographs for the University³⁵.

³² The publication only acknowledges Carter for his watercolour painting (Northampton/Spiegelberg/Newberry 1908, p. ix and 13).

³³ Bierbrier 2012, p. 273.

³⁴ "Aufs beste unterstützt von dem vortrefflichen Idris Awad, wohl dem besten Kennen der thebanischen Totenstadt unter den heutigen Bewohnern derselben" (Spiegelberg 1898, p. 2).

³⁵ A short summary of his career path is given in Grimm 1995, p. 1; Colin 2010, p. 28-9.

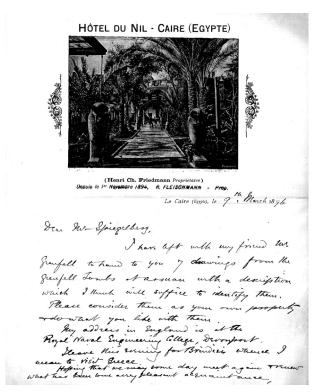


Fig. 5 - A letter pasted in the back of the second volume of the *Fundjournal* written by the British academic Arthur Mason Worthington offering Spiegelberg his copies of Aswan tomb inscriptions © Griffith Institute, University of Oxford.

Spiegelberg may have relished the opportunity to add Worthington's drawings to the research material he had already collected and kept the man's contact details for any future correspondence³⁶. Even though Worthington was not a professional Egyptologist, he was nonetheless a distinguished scholar, being a Fellow of the Royal Society as well as Professor of Physics at the Royal Naval Engineering College, Devonport³⁷, who went on to achieve considerable renown for his scientific work on the characteristics of liquids³⁸.

Besides contact with Worthington, 1896 was also the year that Spiegelberg and Newberry became firm friends. In the foreword to Spiegelberg's abovementioned book on the history and topography of Thebes in the New Kingdom he states that he did not suspect he would find

such a splendid co-worker in his friend Newberry³⁹. The amicability was clearly mutual, for it was most likely Newberry who recommended Spiegelberg to the Marquis two years later. Furthermore, it is no coincidence that the tombs of Djehuty (TT11) and Hery (TT12) were among those excavated by the Northampton expedition, since Spiegelberg had already conducted a preliminary investigation of the latter and made squeezes of some of its reliefs in 1895-96⁴⁰.

In contrast to Wilhelm Spiegelberg's *Fund-journal*, Percy Newberry used a small pocket year diary (measuring approximately 10 cm x 15.6 cm) with each page divided into three days allowing just enough space to write a brief entry for each day. Unfortunately, this diary covers only the second half of the excavations which re-commenced on January 5th 1899. Newberry almost certainly wrote another diary covering the start of the excavations on November 7th until the end of December 1898, but either this has not survived or has yet to be found⁴¹.

Contents-wise, Newberry's diary is almost the complete opposite to that kept by Spiegelberg, containing very little technical information relating to the discoveries made by the expedition; nevertheless its importance lies in the fact that many entries reveal a wealth of detail about daily events, including the fellow Egyptologists

³⁶ It would be interesting to see if any further correspondence or contact took place between them.

³⁷ *Monthly Notices* 1917, p. 308.

³⁸ Worthington 1908.

³⁹ "Ich ahnte damals noch nicht, welchen vortrefflichen Mitarbeiter ich in meinem Freunde Newberry finden würde…" (Spiegelberg 1898, forward).

⁴⁰ The tomb is noted in a record in the Institute of Egyptology Strasbourg as having been opened by Spiegelberg in January 1896 (Colin 2010, p. 37); certainly he made squeezes in the tomb of Hery in that year (Galán 2009, p. 158, 164-5 and figs. 4-5), but in the official report reference is made to the discovery of a mummified ibis in the same tomb in 1895 (Northampton/Spiegelberg/Newberry 1908, p. 23).

⁴¹ The existence of a diary for 1898 might be assumed from several studies which refer to Newberry's 1898/1899 diaries (for example: Colin 2010, p. 47 note 41), but it is probably a confusion caused by the crossed-through label on the separate accounts ledger which reads "Lord Northampton's Excavations 1898/9". Since the Griffith Institute is currently working on a catalogue of all their archival material it is conceivable that a diary for 1898 may yet come to light.

and other visitors Newberry encountered during the second half of the season. The sheer number of names recorded in his diary (over one hundred and thirty westerners and native Egyptians) indicates the vigour with which Newberry maintained existing social and professional relationships and his often pro-active establishment of new ones. His initiative in this way certainly helped his own career advancement and occasionally that of his close colleagues.

In 1898 Percy Newberry turned 30 years of age and was freelance after several years of employment with the Egypt Exploration Fund when he was retained by the 5th Marquis of Northampton. Besides directing the excavations, Newberry was responsible for liaising with the Marquis of Northampton and providing him with progress reports, especially when the latter was absent from Luxor on travels to other parts of Egypt, and also to request funds for the expedition, all of which are noted in the diary. He also hired the local workforce and acted as paymaster, keeping a detailed accounts ledger for the expedition. In addition, it seems that of the two Egyptologists, Newberry was also solely responsible for entertaining the Marquis, his family and friends during their visits to the excavations. With so many distractions, it is understandable why he would not have been best placed to record the finds. Newberry seems to have left the decision as to what information made it into the Fundjournal largely to Spiegelberg and this might explain a number of discrepancies between certain statements made about discoveries in Newberry's diary and the final excavation report. On January 19th 1899 Newberry noted the possible discovery of the tomb of Amenhotep I (Fig. 6a)⁴². This would have been a remarkable event had it been true, but of course the whereabouts of this royal sepulchre has still to be positively identified⁴³. I can think of two possible explanations to account for Newberry's error, though

neither is completely satisfactory. Firstly, that Newberry mistakenly refers to the tomb of Hery (TT12) which certainly dates to the end of the 17th or early 18th Dynasty44. This suggestion would fit with the timing of the entry since Newberry notes the discovery of the tomb of Diehuty (TT11), which shares the entrance with TT12, just two days later (January 21st) in the final entry on the same page. This possibility is also borne out by Spiegelberg's diary which on January 18th and 19th (pages 73-75) records the investigation of the shared entrance, but at that point records only the name of Hery. Newberry's mention of 'heaps of demotic inscriptions', also in the January 19th entry, would certainly be relevant for both TT11 and TT12 which were re-used in later periods⁴⁵. A second explanation is that Newberry was excavating in another part of the concession and discovered, erroneously as it turned out, what he believed to be an 18th Dynasty royal tomb. The published report mentions fragments of sarcophagi recovered from tombs located at the eastern end of Deir el-Bahari (referred to as "el-Birabe") which bore the name of (the deified) Amenhotep I⁴⁶. When the first inscribed fragment came to light perhaps Newberry believed he had found the royal tomb (especially as this was close to the small temple of the same king) 47 .

Most interestingly, Newberry's diary reveals glimpses of the excavator's social and professional life in Egypt, which was particularly active in the few days leading up to the recommencement of excavations following a few days break after Christmas. Though brief, the entries for this period are packed with illuminating detail. From January 1st-3rd Newberry was in Cairo with Spiegelberg (Fig. 6b)⁴⁸. On

⁴² Diary p. 15. The following day Newberry re-evaluated the discovery suggesting that it could belong to "a princess? of Amenhetep's family".

⁴³ Polz 1995, p. 8-21.

⁴⁴ Kampp 1996, vol. 1, p. 192.

⁴⁵ Northampton/Spiegelberg/Newberry 1908, p. 23.

⁴⁶ Northampton/Spiegelberg/Newberry 1908, p. 38.

⁴⁷ Spiegelberg 1898, p. 1-5.

⁴⁸ According to Spiegelberg's *Fundjournal*, the last entry for 1898 was made on December 29th (p. 57) and their departure to Cairo was most likely on the following day. Confirmation of this comes from the expedition accounts ledger, which shows only one man was employed on December 30th and 31st as opposed to 52 men on December

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Fig. 6 - (a: left) Newberry notes the discovery of what he believed to be the tomb of Amenhotep I; (b: right) Newberry's packed day of activities in Cairo on the day of his departure to Luxor (January 3rd 1899) © Griffith Institute, University of Oxford.

the final day before their departure to Luxor (January 3rd), Newberry was kept busy in Cairo with a mixture of personal and professional socialising; in the morning he went with Spiegelberg and the renowned classical philologist Richard August Reitzenstein to the Cairo Museum and met with what can only be described as a roll-call of many of Egyptology's luminaries of the day: Adolf Erman, Émile Brugsch, Ludwig Borchardt, Friedrich von Bissing, James Quibell and Émile Chassinat. This was followed by a trip to Giza to see the Arab Farag, an excavator and antiquities dealer well-known

29th indicating that work had ended. Newberry must have been in Cairo from December 31st at the latest since he was about in Cairo early in the morning of January 1st 1899 (Newberry diary p. 6).

to western Egyptologists including Flinders Petrie⁴⁹. It is reasonable to speculate that these meetings were related to Reitzenstein's and Spiegelberg's acquisition in 1898 and 1899 of important Greek and Egyptian papyri for the Strasbourg University from a fund of 12,000 marks donated by the Prussian crown prince⁵⁰. After the morning's busy activities, Newberry

⁴⁹ Drower 1985, p. 143, 207-8.

⁵⁰ Colin 2010, p. 30-2. While any connection between Farag and Reitzenstein's and Spiegelberg's purchase of papyri remains to be established, the dealer is known to have sold important Greek papyri to Petrie in the mid-1890's (Drower 1985, p. 207-8). Even so, Farag appears to have been in a thorn in Petrie's side for excavating in areas he was interested in and once referred to him as "that brute of a plunderer" (quoted in Drower 1985, p. 191; see also Quirke 2010, p. 123-4).

lunched with his old acquaintance Henry Lyons, the army colonel and excavator who had recently begun a geological and cadastral survey of Egypt⁵¹. Later that afternoon he went shopping; buying silk embroidery for his wife and some 'castings' for Howard Carter which are not further described, but cost the relatively modest sum of £1. Later that evening he boarded the 9.30 pm train for Luxor, accompanied by Spiegelberg and Georges Daressy. Soon after their arrival in Luxor on January 4th Newberry took lunch at his hotel at 1.30pm before calling upon the Marquis of Northampton who was aboard his Dhahabiya called *Maat*, which was clearly the mode of transport for wealthy travellers on a leisurely tour of Egypt in the late nineteenth century⁵². The following day, Newberry arose at 6.30 am and walked over to Dra Abu el-Naga accompanied by Georges Daressy, Spiegelberg and the local effendi in order to resolve a dispute that had arisen in their concession. The diary does not reveal the nature of the disagreement, only that it was satisfactorily resolved and consequently Newberry was able to commence excavations the same day employing 30 workers. The Marquis was present at the opening day of work and stayed for lunch with Newberry and then returned to the excavations on the following day accompanied by his children as well as two siblings of the 26th Earl of Crawford⁵³. It is in this entry that Newberry gives the general location of the excavations at that time as being behind the house of the dealer Idris Awad, which can be more precisely defined by comparing it with Spiegelberg's Fundjournal entry for the same day, since it includes a sketch plan showing the work's location 20m south-east of Idris' house⁵⁴. This is one of the rare instances where an excavation event is recorded in both diaries. The Marquis' presence at the excavations on several other occasions is noted in the diary, but from its pages we also know that he did not stay in Luxor for the duration of his time in Egypt, sailing south early in January to spend some time at Aswan, before returning on January 30^{th55}. During his two or so weeks absence from Luxor Newberry wrote to him four times, no doubt keeping his employer abreast of the expedition's progress.

During the course of the excavations, besides the Marquis and his family, Newberry entertained various Egyptologists and other distinguished visitors to Luxor. These dated encounters are useful for establishing points of contact between Newberry and others. They reveal Newberry's near constant networking, socialising with old friends and colleagues as well as making new acquaintances, some of whom would serve him well in future years. Of the many names scattered throughout the diary (see Appendix), a number are also listed on a single page at the beginning (a few accompanied with addresses), probably as a reminder of encounters made rather than a check list of people to meet⁵⁶. Of all the Egyptologists mentioned the name of Howard Carter stands out. Their friendship went back several years to 1891when Newberry's influence helped secure Carter's employment with the Archaeological Survey of the Egypt Exploration Fund⁵⁷. In total there are 16 pages where his name appears, amounting to 23 separate days, spanning January 4th - March 19th 1899, when Newberry met with Carter, sometimes for lunch, but mostly for dinner at Carter's house⁵⁸. We can imagine Newberry discussed the day's discoveries with Carter, whom we know was consulted at least once about their work from the abovementioned single entry in Spiegelberg's Fundjournal, but it is clear they also enjoyed each other's company and on more than one occasion would play a game of cards after dinner. From time to time they would be joined by Wilhelm Spiegelberg, whom Newberry often

⁵¹ Lyons was on the same boat as Newberry on his very first trip to Egypt in the early 1890's (Drower 1985, p. 172).

⁵² Reid 2002, p. 84-6.

⁵³ January 6th, Diary p. 7.

⁵⁴ Fundjournal p. 57.

⁵⁵ The Marquis must have left Luxor before the 13th since Newberry sent a letter to him on that day (page 11).

⁵⁶ Diary p. 2.

⁵⁷ James 1992, p. 14-6.

⁵⁸ January 4th, 6th-7th, 11th-13th, 17th, 19th-20th, 28th-30th; February 2nd-4th, 20th, 22nd, 26th; March 3rd-4th, 13th-14th, 19th.

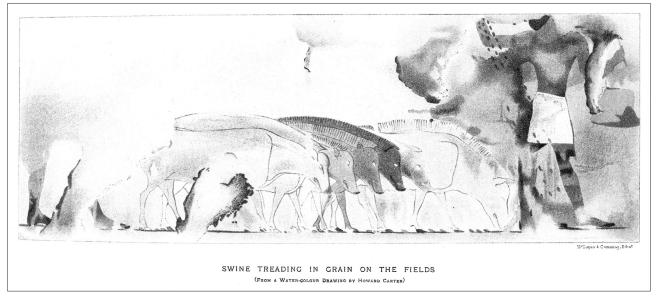


Fig. 7 - Howard Carter's watercolour of a scene in the tomb of Nebamun published in the report of the Marquis of Northampton's expedition (The Marquis of Northampton, Spiegelberg and Newberry 1908, pl. XIII).

nicknamed "Spiegie" in his diary, as well as Edouard Naville and Charles Sillem, an artist who was assisting Carter at that time with epigraphic work in Hatshepsut's temple at Deir el-Bahari⁵⁹. Newberry continued to take an interest in Carter's career, as can be seen from entries relating to another landmark event; namely his first meeting with the wealthy American Theodore M. Davis on February 24th 1899. Davis was on a tour of Egypt and, like the Marquis, travelled in a Dhahabiya ("the Bedouin") with a number of lady travel companions including his relative Emma B. Andrews⁶⁰. This new found relationship would ultimately prove beneficial to Newberry and also to Carter, who was introduced to the American at that time; both would go on to work for Davis on excavations in the Valley of the Kings⁶¹. Carter also benefitted from several commissions to produce a number of fine paintings from Davis and Emma B. Andrews. Indeed, Newberry himself also commissioned Carter to

paint a scene of pigs trampling grain from the tomb of Nebamun, which was discovered on January 31st 1899⁶², for the published report of the Marquis' excavations (Fig. 7). According to Newberry's diary, Carter began painting the scene on February 22nd 1899 and had it completed by March 4^{th63}.

One might assume from Spiegelberg's *Fund-journal* that, at least in terms of discoveries, the excavations came to an end on February 9th, yet Newberry's diary reveals that much work still remained to be done after this date and almost until his departure (and possibly that of Spiegelberg also) to Cairo on March 20^{th64}. On February 9th Newberry was arranging photography and on many subsequent days he was busy tracing inscriptions, photographing and drawing, or packing objects until finally on March 18th he notes in one of his shortest entries "Finished work for Report. Rained in evening"⁶⁵.

⁵⁹ James 1992, p. 59 and 85.

⁶⁰ The meetings between Newberry and Carter were noted by Mrs. Andrews in her diary now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art (their meetings at this time are further discussed with an extract from her diary in James 1992, p. 63-4).

⁶¹ Newberry/Carter 1904, Davis et al. 1907.

 $^{^{62}}$ "Northampton spent whole day with us + we found some remarkable painting (pigs + c)" (page 20).

⁶³ Diary p. 32 and 39.

⁶⁴ The accounts ledger shows that up to February 11th as many as 61 workers each day were still employed (p. 38-9), reducing to 24 from February 13th-19th (p. 40-1), and finally 13 per day from February 20th-25th (p. 42-3).

⁶⁵ Diary p. 47.

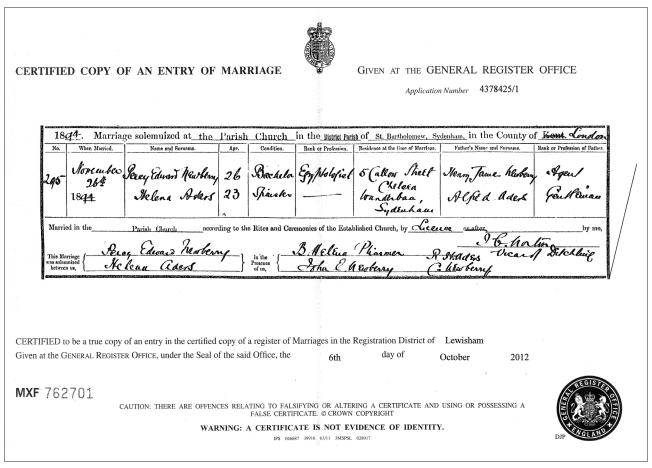


Fig. 8 - Copy of the marriage certificate of Percy Newberry and Helena Aders. The ceremony was held on November 26th 1894 in Sydenham, London. Helena's mother and second husband ("the Plimmers") appear in Newberry's diary © Crown copyright.

Another name appearing frequently in the pages of Newberry's diary is that of his first wife Helena (Fig. 8)⁶⁶. At the time of the Marquis' excavations Newberry had been married for 4 years, and although Helena appears not to have played a particularly active role in her husband's work in Egypt, he notes numerous communications between them⁶⁷. Of the many letters, postcards and occasional parcels sent by Newberry, the majority (totalling 10) were for his wife, whom he endearingly refers to throughout as Nelly. Little has been written about Helena Newberry (née Aders) and what has can sometimes be

confused with Newberry's second wife Essie Winifred, whom he married in 1907 and is well known to Egyptology⁶⁸. Unlike Helena, Essie was more involved with her husband's career, regularly accompanying him to Egypt as well as sharing his interest in collecting antiquities, especially ancient textiles – even working with him in the tomb of Tutankhamun⁶⁹.

Even though Newberry kept a separate accounts ledger for the expedition with records of the payments made to individual workers and overseers, which is also stored in the Griffith Institute (Fig. 9)⁷⁰, he also made random notes

⁶⁶ Special thanks go to my wife Jane Hamilton for obtaining copies of Newberry's marriage certificate and the National Archives' census document for 1911 (the latter confirming the identity of Helena's mother).

⁶⁷ Helena was in Luxor in 1895-6 when Petrie stayed three nights in the Newberry's native house (Drower 1985, p. 219).

⁶⁸ For example in Duggan 2009, it is stated that Newberry married Helena in 1907 (p. 25 footnote), but this is when he married Essie.

⁶⁹ Bierbrier 2012, p. 402.

To It can be presumed that Newberry drew upon a rough or working copy, perhaps also some of the notes recorded in his diary, from which he prepared this final neatly writ-

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Fig. 9 - Pages from the accounts ledger, also housed in the Griffith Institute, produced by Newberry for the Marquis lists the names of native workers hired for each day of the excavations and the amounts they were paid. Over the period 28th November - 3rd December 1898 (p. 10-13) a total of 87 workers were employed – the largest number at any time of the excavations © Griffith Institute, University of Oxford.

about the expedition finances in his daily diary. These jottings were made on the backs of pages with other brief memorandums. Among the minutia of detail we know about amounts loaned or paid on account to Spiegelberg, and that Newberry kept (the expedition?) money in a black tin, and was required to convert large demonination currency into smaller change to pay for workers and incidentals - something that today is still a necessity for most visitors and excavators in Egypt!⁷¹ Besides these tidbits about the expedition finances, details of Newberry's personal provisions can be found, which includes standard fare such as fruit, bread and milk as well as modest luxuries such as his preferred brand of cigarettes, Hantower⁷².

His diary also contains the names of as many as thirty-nine Egyptians (a figure that excludes Egyptian antiquities dealers, who are dealt with separately below), which help to build a picture of relationships between the western excavator and his local workforce. Appreciating the full

ten version entitled "The Theban Necropolis Excavations 1898-1899. Account of Men's Wages for the Marquis of Northampton".

importance of the native Egyptian contribution to the development of western Egyptology and to the overall success of excavations has, until recently, been largely overlooked⁷³. Although the depth of information is limited, the names in Newberry's diary and ledger offer a starting point for further research in this area and at the very least give some recognition to the otherwise largely invisible expedition workforce. As can be seen from the Appendix at the end of this article, the vast majority of the Egyptian names in the diary belong to workers employed by Newberry on the Marquis' excavations, since the same named individuals also appear in the accounts ledger. What the latter document does not reveal about the workers, but is evident in Newberry's diary, is that some of those employed were boys. On January 9th 1899, for example, not long after excavations re-commenced, he "started work again at 7 with 80 men + boys"74. The use of boys was not unusual; indeed it was normal practice for excavators to use workers of various ages including boys, although it should be understood, given today's concerns over exploitative work practices, that

⁷¹ Even the amounts changed are given: p. 8 (£16), p. 13 (£15) and p. 21 (£10).

⁷² Diary p. 49.

⁷³ See the recent ground-breaking study about Flinders Petrie's Egyptian workforce by Quirke 2010.

⁷⁴ Diary p. 8.

some (possibly many) of those referred to as "boys" would now actually be classed as young men. Petrie gives in typically blunt fashion his reasoning as to why 'boys' were preferable to older men in his 1904 book, *Methods and Aims in Archaeology*:

The best age for diggers is about 15 to 20 years. After that many turn stupid, and only a small proportion are worth having between 20 and 40. After 40 very few are of any use, though some robust men will continue to about 50⁷⁵.

Of the few Egyptian names that do not tally with the accounts ledger, three belong to wellknown antiquity dealers, Mohamed Mohassib, Idris Awad and Farag who were likely to have been introduced to Newberry by Petrie. Of the three, Mohamed Mohassib was Petrie's favoured dealer and is mentioned with some frequency in his documents⁷⁶. Newberry's relationship with Mohassib appears to have been equally cordial, even extending to having dinner together on March 12th 189977. Newberry kept an eye on any noteworthy artefacts the dealer had to offer and occasionally noted them in the diary, sometimes accompanied by a copy of their inscription⁷⁸. As with Spiegelberg's Fundjournal, the name of Idris Awad occurs with the most frequency⁷⁹ and Newberry's relationship with him also went back several years when, in 1895, he had rented Idris' house⁸⁰. After the death of the dealer in 1898 Newberry maintained contact with his widow even purchasing the odd antiquity from her, presumably from 'old' stock left by her late husband81, as

well as hiring donkeys⁸². The house of Idris was a landmark building in the Theban necropolis at Dra Abu el-Naga and, being located in the heart of the Marquis' concession, appears as a topographical reference point occasionally in Newberry's diary and frequently in Spiegelberg's Fundjournal⁸³. Two non-Egyptian antiquities dealers also appear in Newberry's diary, the Greek Panayotis Kyticas⁸⁴ and the Italian Giovanni Dattari⁸⁵, both of whom were based in Cairo. In truth, the interactions between the excavator and all the various dealers mentioned in these briefest of entries can mostly only be guessed at, but when combined with documents from other Egyptologists and travellers they do contribute to the picture of a lively antiquities trade in Luxor and Cairo in the latter part of the nineteenth century. As was the case with many of his contemporaries, Newberry's interest in antiquities offered by dealers was not only borne of general and academic curiosity, but also speculation for commercial opportunities⁸⁶. This explains why, when details of an object seen at a dealer are noted in the diary, invariably they are accompanied with the price. The acquisition of antiquities with a view to

⁷⁵ Diary p. 20-1.

⁷⁶ Quirke 2010, p. 39, 74 and 131; Drower 1985, p. 220. Mohassib was also used by Carter for whom more detail documents are available see: Reeves/Taylor 1992, p. 119; James 1992, p. 185, 197-8, 312.

⁷⁷ Diary p. 48.

⁷⁸ Diary p. 9 and 45.

⁷⁹ Diary p. 7, 8, 24, 37 and 49. For a brief biography of Idris see: Bierbrier 2012, 273.

⁸⁰ Bierbrier 2012, 273. This may have been the house where Petrie stayed for three nights (see note 65).

⁸¹ Entry for January 9th 1899 (p. 8) "Bought XVIIth Dyn. figure of a woman 3/- + glass 1/- from Idrises (sic.) wife".

⁸² Diary p. 49 records the hiring of three donkeys from Idris for 17 piastres.

Newberry's diary entry for January 6th 1899 (page 7) "Up 6.30 took on 20 men + began work behind Idrîses (sic.) house"; This area around Idris' house was being investigated in the previous year since Spiegelberg's *Fundjournal* for December 12th 1898 (page 41) notes: "Der südliche Teil von Drah Abul Neggah dicht bei dem Hause des <u>Idris Awad</u> in Angriff genommen". Spiegelberg gives numerous other references as well as several sketch plans indicating the location of the house in relation to notable tombs or artefacts they discovered (see entry for Idris in the Appendix for page refs.), including the tomb of Hery (TT12) situated about 80m north-west of the house (*Fundjournal* page 58f). See also Miniaci 2009, p. 44-5.

⁸⁴ Bierbrier 2012, p. 304.

⁸⁵ Bierbrier 2012, p. 143.

⁸⁶ For instance, Newberry wrote briefly about a cylinder he spotted in the shop of Mohamed Mohassib that he subsequently acquired for Lord Amherst (Newberry 1899, p. 282-3). Likewise, a Ramesside shabti for Paser, Mayor of Thebes, purchased by Newberry from another Luxor dealer, Abd el Megid, also ended up in the Amherst collection (Newberry 1900, p. 64-5).

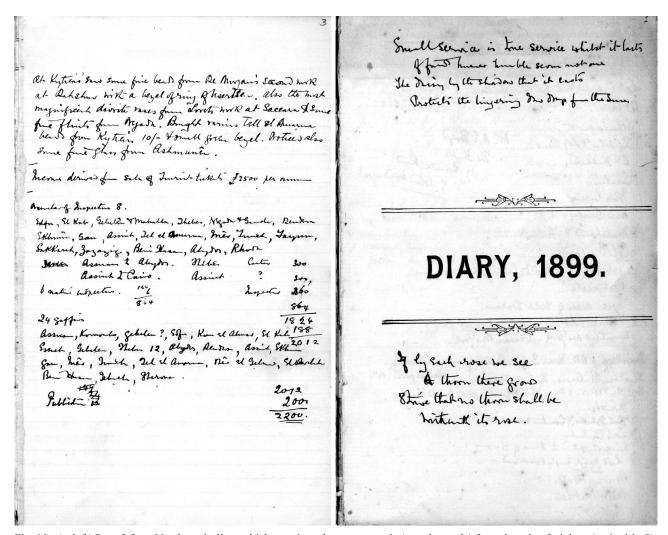


Fig. 10 - (a: left) Page 3 from Newberry's diary which mentions the money made (or to be made) from the sale of trinkets (antiquities?); (b: right) The cover page of Newberry's diary with two handwritten verses © Griffith Institute, University of Oxford.

sell either to wealthy contacts, institutions or to tourists had long been a way western excavators could supplement their income. And clearly this could be considerable, as a note on page 3 (Fig. 10a) of the diary reveals: "Income derived from sale of tourist trinkets £2500 per annum". It is not indicated if the figure quoted relates to actual or prospective sales or to Newberry's activities or those of another person such as Carter, the latter being well-known for dealing in antiquities as well as producing paintings for sale to tourists⁸⁷.

Small service is true service whilst it lasts Of friends, however humble, scorn not one The daisy by the shadow that it casts Protects the lingering dew drop from the sun⁸⁸

One could speculate that the verse served as an inspirational mantra for Newberry during his

The most personal of Newberry's entries are two hand-written verses on the title page of the diary (Fig. 10b), which reveal a lyrical side to his character. The first is a slightly inaccurate copy of a William Wordsworth verse written in 1834:

⁸⁷ For examples of his work with brief comments see: Reeves/Taylor 1992, p. 52-3.

⁸⁸ For the original version see Reed 1837, p. 117.

short period in the service of the Marquis and as a reminder of the value of friendships old and new, all of which are certainly evident throughout his diary.

The second verse, for which I have yet to find a parallel, may be entirely Newberry's own creation:

If by each rose we see A thorn there grows Strive that no thorn shall be Without its rose

I would like to think here that Newberry saw himself as the "thorn" and his wife Helena as the "rose" who, though many miles away in England, was evidently often in his thoughts.

The floral theme running through both verses also embodies Newberry's longstanding passion for botany, a passion that predated his Egyptological career yet may have been responsible for it. After all, it was through his published articles on gardens that he became acquainted with the Amherst family, the well-known benefactors of Egyptology and whose collection of Egyptian antiquities was amongst the finest in private ownership in the nineteenth century. Indeed, Newberry's earliest articles about the history of English gardens were published in 1888-89, several years prior to his employment by the

Egypt Exploration Fund, in a periodical called *Gardener's Chronicle*⁸⁹. Even after he became a seasoned excavator in Egypt, his early interest in botany was to serve him well at times when he encountered ancient flower, plant and tree remains, most notably during his work in the clearance of Tutankhamun's tomb⁹⁰.

The few examples given here demonstrate the considerable contribution the written records made by Wilhelm Spiegelberg and Percy Newberry can make to our knowledge of the Marquis of Northampton's excavations and of the discoveries made than can otherwise be appreciated from the published report alone, and for allowing us rare personal glimpses of an excavator's life in the vibrant early years of modern Egyptology.

Notes to the Appendix

The Appendix at the end of this article lists the names of the many individuals recorded in Wilhelm Spiegelberg's *Fundjournal* and Percy Newberry's diary. Where the identity of an individual is secure (or almost certain) it is accompanied with a brief biographical note and single bibliographical reference. Where a name has proved difficult to read (mostly when it occurs only once and cannot be compared) it is followed by (?).

⁸⁹ James 1992, p. 11.

⁹⁰ For example, his catalogue on the shabtis in the Cairo Museum (Newberry 1930-1957) often provides the timber species.

APPENDIX

Name in diary	Page number(s)	Identity
	WILHE	LM SPIEGELBERG'S FUNDJOURNAL
Clarke	9	Somers Clarke, British architect and archaeologist (Bierbrier 2012, p. 124)
Carter	31	Howard Carter, British Egyptologist (Bierbrier 2012, p. 105-6)
Idris	41, 43, 54, 57, 58, 58f, 59, 62, 69, 74, 75, 86, 92, 109, 112, 114	Idris Awad (effendi), Egyptian antiquities dealer who died in 1898 (Bierbrier 2012, p. 273). All mentions refer to the house of Idris rather than personal encounters
Worthington	23 (letter pasted in back of second volume)	Arthur Mason Worthington, British academic, Fellow of the Royal Society as well as Professor of Physics at the Royal Naval Engineering College Greenwich (Monthly Notices of the Royal Astronomical Society 1917, p. 308)
		PERCY NEWBERRY'S DIARY
Andrews	2, 48	Mrs. Andrews - Most likely to be Emma B. Andrews (Bierbrier 2012, p. 21), American relative and travel companion of the wealthy American business- man Theodore Montgomery Davis (see respective entry below)
Amherst	6, 12, 20, 32, 39, 47	1 st Baron William Amhurst Tyssen-Amherst, British collector and patron of Egyptology (Bierbrier 2012, p. 18)
Amherst	19	Alicia Amherst, daughter of above (James 1992, p. 11 for her scholarly friendship with Newberry)
Ashburton	20	Lady (Mary Florence Baring) Ashburton, daughter of William Baring, 2nd Baron Ashburton and wife of the 5 th Marquis of Northampton (http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/William_Compton, _5th_Marquess_of_Northampton, accessed 20/09/12)
Baring	2	Mrs. Baring, possibly a member of the family of Sir Evelyn Baring, who is referred to as (1st Earl of) Cromer in the diary (for the entry see below under Cromer). It cannot be Sir Evelyn Baring's first wife Ethel Errington who died in 1898
Becker	36	Herr Baurat Th. Becker, German architect who spent two days (28 th February - March 1 st 1899) making a drawing of the façade of the tomb of Nebamun for the published report (The Marquis of Northampton/Spiegelberg/Newberry 1908, p.ix and pl.XIV)
Benson	16, 20	Margaret Benson, British excavator (Bierbrier 2012, p. 54)
Bissing	2, 6, 28, 31, 52	Friedrich Wilhelm Bissing, German Egyptologist (Bierbrier 2012, p. 60-1)
Blackwood	2, 43	Ian Basil Gawaine Temple Hamilton-Temple-Blackwood, son of Frederick Hamilton-Temple-Blackwood, 1st Marquess of Dufferin and Ava (http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Basil_Temple_Blackwood accessed 12/10/2012)
Blackwood	40	"young Blackwood" - possibly another son of the Frederick Hamilton-Tem- ple-Blackwood, 1st Marquess of Dufferin (unlikely to be a reference to Basil Gawaine Temple Hamilton-Temple-Blackwood who at twenty-nine years of age is perhaps past being referred to as "young")
Borchardt	2, 6	Ludwig Borchardt, German Egyptologist (Bierbrier 2012, p. 68-9)
Brown	53	Major Robert Hanbury Brown, British military officer (Royal Engineers) who served as Inspector General of Irrigation in Upper Egypt and wrote a book about the Fayum region (Brown 1892)
Brugsch	6, 51	Heinrich Ferdinand Karl Brugsch, German Egyptologist (Bierbrier 2012, p. 84-5)
Budge	8, 11, 12, 28	Ernest Alfred Thompson Budge, British Egyptologist (Bierbrier 2012, p. 90-2)
Buttles	39	Janet R. Buttles, American writer and relative of Theodore Davis (Bierbrier 2012, p. 98)

Name in diary	Page number(s)	Identity
Carlisle	2, 40, 43	Lord Carlisle, probably George James Stanley Howard, 9th Earl of Carlisle (Christopher Ridgway, 'Howard, George James, ninth earl of Carlisle (1843-1911)', Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, Oxford University Press, 2004 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/34019, accessed 16/10/2012])
Carter	6, 7, 8, 11, 12, 15, 19, 20, 23, 32, 36, 37, 39, 44, 46, 48	Howard Carter, British Egyptologist (see entry for Spiegelberg's Fundjournal)
Cash	44	Mrs. Cash, perhaps an American lady travelling with Theodore M. Davis' party (she is mentioned with Miss Foot - see entry)
Chassinat	6	Émile Chassinat, French Egyptologist (Bierbrier 2012, p. 117-8)
Cogordau	6	George Cogordau, French Minister (Berger-Levrault et al 1906, p. 302)
Compton	7	This cannot be William George Spencer Scott Compton, 5 th Marquis of Northampton as he is also mentioned in the same diary entry (perhaps his son William Bingham Compton?)
Compton	201, 54	Lady Margaret Georgiana Compton was the daughter of Admiral William Compton, 4th Marquis of Northampton
Crawford	7, 8, 24	Lord James Lindsay Crawford, 26th Earl of Crawford (http://thepeerage.com/p1776.htm#i17753 accessed 30/09/2012)
Cromer	11	Sir Evelyn Baring, 1st Earl of Cromer, British diplomat and British Consul-General (J. G. Darwin, 'Baring, Evelyn, first earl of Cromer (1841-1917)', Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn., Jan 2008 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/30583, accessed 28/10/2012)
Daressy	6, 7, 43?², 48?³	Georges Émile Jules Daressy, French Egyptologist (Bierbrier 2012,p. 142-3)
Dattari	6	Giovanni Dattari, Italian collector based in Cairo (Bierbrier 2012, p. 143)
Davis	2, 35, 36, 51, 52, 53	Theodore Montgomery Davis, American lawyer, businessman, excavator and benefactor (Bierbrier 2012, p. 145-6)
Dingli	6	Possibly a Maltese companion of Count Riamo d'Hulst since both are mentioned together in the same diary entry 2 nd January 1899. (for the Maltese origin surname see: http://www.searchmalta.com/surnames/dingli/index.shtml, accessed 28/11/2012)
Erman	2, 47	Jean Pierre Adolf Erman, German Egyptologist (Bierbrier 2012, p. 180-1)
Esdaile	12, 15, 23	Colonel Esdaile, British army officer who worked with Margaret Benson at the Temple of Mut, Karnak (Benson/Gourlay 1899, p. viii)
Evans	2, 12	Sir John Evans, British archaeologist (J. L. Myres, 'Evans, Sir Arthur John (1851-1941)', rev. A. M. Snodgrass, Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn., May 2007 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/33032, accessed 20/10/2012])
Evans	2, 12	Lady Harriet Ann Evans, wife of above
Eyres	2, 15	Owner of a yacht "Soprano" and companion of Dr. Hubbard (see entry below)
Farag	6	Farag, Egyptian antiquities dealer and excavator (Drower 1985, p. 143 and passim)
Farman	28	E.E. Farman, American diplomat who served as Latin American Consul General in Cairo (http://warsawhistory.org/farman.html)
Foot	44, 51	Miss Foot, perhaps a travel companion of Theodore M. Davis (p. 51 "where I met [D]avis + Miss Foot). This is probably the same person as the Miss Foote mentioned on p. 39 and 52 (see entry below)
Foote	2	Moses Melvin(?) Foote, possibly a relative of Miss Foot(e)
Foote	39, 52	Dorothea Foote, is unlikely to be the wife of above since she is referred to as "Miss Foote" on p. 39; therefore perhaps his daughter or sister?
Garstin	2, 6, 7, 19, 51, 52	Sir William Garstin, Under Secretary, Department of Public Works Egypt (Drower 1985, p. 241, 272)

Name in diary	Page number(s)	Identity
Gorst (Miss)	2	Perhaps relative of Sir Eldon Gorst, British diplomat and in 1907 successor to Lord Cromer as British Consul-General in Egypt (Drower 1985, p. 306, 311, 325)
Gourlay	16, 20, 23 ⁵	Janetta Agnes Gourlay, British excavator (Bierbrier 2012, p. 219)
Grenfell	23, 47	Francis Algernon Wallace Grenfell, British soldier and excavator (Bierbrier 2012, p. 226)
Grenfell	48, 51	Bernard Pyne Grenfell, British papyrologist (Bierbrier 2012, p. 225-6)
Halton	2	Mr. Marchand Halton, whose relationship to Newberry is not known
Halton	2	Mrs. Frich Halton, wife of above
Hornblower	2	George Hornblower, British official serving in the Ministry of Interior in Egypt (Drower 1985, p. 276)
Hubbard	2, 15	A doctor and friend of Mr. Eyres (see entry for Eyres above)
d'Hulst	6	Count Riamo d'Hulst, German excavator (Bierbrier 2012, p. 268-9)
Hubelt(?)	12, 27	Uncertain reading
Hunt	48, 51	Arthur Surridge Hunt, British papyrologist (Bierbrier 2012, p. 269-70)
Idris	7, 37, 49	Idris Awad (effendi), Egyptian antiquities dealer who died in 1898 (see entry for Spiegelberg's <i>Fundjournal</i> for reference)
Idris	8, 24	Wife of above
Irwin	8	A couple ("the Irwins") who wrote to Newberry, full identity not known
Jackson	47	Miss Jackson, a lady to whom Newberry wrote
John	59, 60	John Newberry, Percy's brother and a British architect who worked on excavations for Egypt Exploration Fund in the 1890's (Bierbrier 2012, p. 402)
Kingsford	35	Perhaps Miss Florence Kingsford, a British lady who is known to have travelled with Mrs. Petrie in the early 1900's (Drower 1985, p. 288 and 290)
Kyticas	3	Panayotis Kyticas, Greek antiquities dealer based in Cairo (Bierbrier 2012, p. 304) ⁶
Legrain	8, 24, 48	Georges Legrain, French Egyptologist (Bierbrier 2012, p. 320-1)
Legrain	8, 24	Madame Legrain, wife of above
Lidor(?)	7	Uncertain reading
Lindsay	35	Probably not one of the offspring of Lord Crawford mentioned elsewhere in the diary (for these see entry below and for Lord Crawford)
Lindsays	7, 23 ⁷ , 24	Two unidentified sons of Lord Crawford (see entry). They could be any two of Crawford's six sons (http://thepeerage.com/p1776.htm#i17753 accessed 30/09/2012)
Loret	3, 6	Victor Loret, French Egyptologist (Bierbrier 2012, p. 338-9)
Lyons	6, 11, 19, 24, 27, 36, 48, 52	Sir Henry George Lyons, British army officer and excavator (Bierbrier 2012, p. 344)
Lyons	7, 19, 20, 27, 43, 44, 52, 53	Wife of above
Matchett	2, 56	Major Matchett, perhaps the promoted Captain H.K. Matchett, British military officer who formed a new battalion for the native Egyptian army in Cairo in 1897 (Atteridge 1902, p. 40)
McIlraith	28	A couple ("the McIlraiths") known to Newberry
Mohassib	9, 45, 48	Mohammed Mohassib, Egyptian antiquities dealer based in Luxor (Bierbrier 2012, p. 376-7)
de Morgan	3	Jacques Jean Marie de Morgan, French archaeologist (Bierbrier 2012, p. 386)
Murray	12, 19, 23	Margaret Alice Murray, British Egyptologist (Bierbrier 2012, p. 393-4)
Naville	5, 28, 31, 32, 35, 39, 43, 44, 48, 51	Édouard Naville, Swiss Egyptologist (Bierbrier 2012, p. 398-400)

Name in diary	Page number(s)	Identity
Nelly	6, 8, 12, 15, 16, 19, 20, 23, 24, 27, 28, 31, 32, 35, 36, 39, 43, 47, 52	Helena Newberry (née Aders), Newberry's first wife (married in 1894)
Percival	2, 39, 43, 44, 51, 52, 53	Perhaps Francis William Percival, British traveller and committee member of the Egypt Exploration Fund (Bierbrier 2012, p. 422-3)
Percival	39, 44, 51	Mrs. Percival, wife of above
Petrie	6, 11, 19, 24, 32, 40, 45, 59	Sir William Matthew Flinders Petrie, British Egyptologist (Bierbrier 2012, p. 428-30)
Petrie	28	Hilda Mary Isabel Petrie, British Egyptologist and wife of above (Bierbrier 2012, p. 427-8)
Plimmer	59	Two individuals with this name "Plimmer(s)". Almost certainly Bertha Helene Plimmer (née Aders) who was Helene Newberry's mother and her second husband (Bertha Plimmer witnessed the Newberry's marriage certificate - see fig. 9)
Prince of Borussia	2, 43	Presumably Crown Prince Friedrich Wilhelm Victor August Ernst, son of Friedrich Wilhelm Viktor Albert (Wilhelm II) (Jonas 1961, p. 24-5).
Princess Mary	56	Victoria Mary Augusta Louise Olga Pauline Claudine Agnes, consort of George V (Frank Prochaska, 'Mary (1867-1953)', Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn., Jan 2011 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/34914, accessed 16/10/2012)
Quaritch	7, 38	Probably Quaritch the antiquarian bookseller and publishing company based in London
Quibell	6, 47, 51	James Edward Quibell, British Egyptologist (Bierbrier 2012, p. 450-1)
Quibell	47	Annie Abernethie Quibell, British Egyptologist and wife of above (Bierbrier 2012, p. 450)
Reeves	20, 31	Full identity not known, but either an acquaintance/relative of Newberry or even a stationers, who supplied him with notebooks
Reisner	2, 48, 49, 51	George Andrew Reisner, American Egyptologist (Bierbrier 2012, p. 459-60)
Reitzenstein	2, 6, 32	Richard August Reitzenstein, German classical philologist and scholar (http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Richard_August_Reitzenstein, accessed 10/10/2012)
Sayce	43, 44	Archibald Henry Sayce, British Assyriologist (Bierbrier 2012, p. 489-90)
Scharhib	27	Full identity uncertain, but a relatively uncommon surname. A Dr. H. Scharhib is mentioned in <i>The London Gazette</i> , September 10, 1901 p. 5969 (http://www.london-gazette.co.uk/issues/27353/pages/5969/page.pdf, accessed 16/10/2012)
Schweinfurth	2, 11, 23, 39, 438, 489	Georg August Schweinfurth, German explorer and botanist (Bierbrier 2012, p. 497)
Sillem	7, 8, 15, 23, 32, 43, 48	Charles Sillem, British artist who worked with Howard Carter at Deir el-Bahari (James 1992, p. 59, 85)
Spencer	2, 35	John Poyntz Spencer, fifth Earl Spencer (Peter Gordon, 'Spencer, John Poyntz, fifth Earl Spencer (1835-1910)', Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn., Jan 2008 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/36209, accessed 16/10/2012]
Spencer	2, 35	Lady Charlotte Frances Frederica Seymour Spencer, wife of the fifth Earl Spencer (see citation above)
Thompson	6	Possibly Edward Maunde Thompson, Vice-President and Chairman of the Egypt Exploration Fund (James 1992, p. 56)
Tottenham	12	Probably Paul Tottenham who became Adviser to the Ministry of Public Works in Egypt (James 1992, p. 230 and <i>passim</i>)
Walker	2, 7, 8, 12, 24, 36	Dr. James Herbert Walker, British medical doctor and Egyptologist (Bierbrier 2012, p. 563)
Walker	36	Mrs. Walker, wife of above

Name in diary	Page number(s)	Identity
Ward	32, 35	Probably John Ward, British artist and traveller (Bierbrier 2012, p. 567)
Whalling	2, 36, 39	Chrysteth Arnold Whalling; perhaps a travelling companion of Mrs. Emma B. Andrews (see entry for Andrews)
Wilson	51	Perhaps Edward Livingston Wilson, American photographer who worked in Egypt in the late nineteenth century (Bierbrier 2012, p. 582)
Woodhouse	27	Identity uncertain, perhaps an acquaintance of Scharhib (see entry) since they are mentioned together ("Scharhib + Woodhouse came over + had tea with us in the afternoon")
Wright	6	Mrs. Wright, whose full identity is not known, but who sent to Newberry
		TIANS MENTIONED BY NEWBERRY cnown antiquities dealers who are listed above)
Abdullah	18, 21, 33, 34, 38, 41	A worker named Abdullah el Ayat appears in the accounts ledger but only from 2 nd -7 th January 1899
Ahmed	41, 45	Perhaps Mohamed Ahmed listed below or one of several Ahmed's listed in the accounts ledger
Mohamed Ahmed	15	A worker named Mohamed Ahmed is listed in the accounts ledger
Ali	41	Several Ali's are listed in the accounts ledger
Said Ali	22	A worker named Ali Said occurs in the accounts ledger
Chaaban effendi ¹⁰	9	Likely to be Mohammed Effendi Chaaban (James 1992, p. 346)
Farid	35	The name does not appear in the accounts ledger
Gad	14, 46	Several Gad's are listed in the accounts ledger
Gadri	49	Perhaps a full (or inaccurate) writing of Gad (see above). The name does appear in the accounts ledger
Ali Habibi	9	A worker named Ali Habibi occurs in the accounts ledger
El Hammuds fallah	15	Possibly the 'farmer' of Mohammed el-Hammud (listed in accounts ledger)
Yusef Hasan	48	The name is not found in the accounts ledger
Hasan	26	Possibly referring to Yusef Hasan above; other individuals named Hasan are found in the accounts ledger
Ali Hebebe	45	A worker named Ali Hebebe is listed in the accounts ledger
Henen	15, 17, 22, 25, 30, 32, 33, 34, 38, 41, 48, 44, 46	Probably Henen Bishai, amongst the highest paid Egyptians listed in the accounts ledger
Henen boy	13	An aid to Henen (see above)?
Hes	19	The name does not appear in the accounts ledger
Husein(?)	34	Uncertain reading
Said Ali Lôl	34	A worker with the same name occurs in the accounts ledger
Mohamed Ali Lôl	34	A worker with the same name occurs in the accounts ledger
Madgib(?)	46	Uncertain reading
Maggar	41	Uncertain reading
Malluk	52, 53	Perhaps a Cairo-based antiquities dealer (on March 27 th 1899 Newberry "settled up with Malluk, bought 2 scarabs 4/-")
Mahmud	26	Several Mahmud's occur in the accounts journal
Mansour	48, 49	Several workers named Mansour are listed in the accounts ledger
Mohamed effendi	17, 21, 23, 24, 25, 37	Identified in the accounts ledger as the "Museum Reise" and the highest paid individual

Name in diary	Page number(s)	Identity
Mohamed	13, 2511, 34, 35	Possibly Mohamed effendi, although several other individuals named Mohamed are listed in the accounts ledger
Mursi	13, 21, 22, 23, 29, 30, 31, 33, 34, 37, 38, 41	Perhaps a member of Newberry's personal staff, since Mursi does not appear in the expedition accounts ledger whereas his name occurs in the diary follo- wed by an amount of money and often groceries of some kind
Gurneh Omdeh	8, 1112	Possibly Hassan el-Hashash who is given as an ex-Omdeh of Gurneh in an Egyptian Antiquities Service report for 1905 (Weigall 1907, p. 12)
Osman	48	Possibly the same as Said Osman (see below); several workers named Osman are listed in the accounts ledger
Said Osman	14, 25, 26, 34	A worker of the same name is listed in the accounts ledger
Said	25, 26, 41	Possibly short for Said Osman
Said boy	13	A helper for Said (citation above)?
Ahmed Salem	41	A Mohamed Ahmed Salem occurs in the accounts ledger
Sehmda	8, 13, 17, 21, 22 24, 25, 33	Probably Sehmda Beshai who is listed in the accounts ledger for the entire season with the last entry on the page dated February 20 th -25 th (1899) which corresponds to the last entry in Newberry's diary
Sufrangi(?)	49	Uncertain reading, possibly even the name of an object rather than person
Ahmed Suliman	44, 46	Owner of a house used by Newberry (perhaps as accommodation or for storage - "moved everything from Ahmed Suliman's house")
Tain	41, 45	A worker named Tain Amr occurs in the accounts ledger
Ayub Yusef	33	Ayub Yusef is the name of a worker in the accounts ledger

¹ Here referred to as "Lady M".

² Perhaps a misspelling of Georges (Daressy) or Georg (Schweinfurth).

³ See above note.

⁴ I am grateful to Jane Hamilton for her help with this entry.

⁵ Here referred to as "Jan".
⁶ I am grateful to Paolo del Vesco for reading this name.

⁷ Here just two Lindsays are mentioned.

⁸ Perhaps a misspelling of Georg (Schweinfurth) (however, see note for Daressy).

⁹ See note above.

¹⁰ I am again grateful to Paolo del Vesco for reading his name.

¹¹ This is probably Mohamed Effendi who occurs on the same page.

¹² Here referred to as simply "omdeh".

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Abstract

The Griffith Institute archive in Oxford includes documents relating to the Theban excavations funded by the Marquis of Northampton in 1898-99. Among them is a diary belonging to the expedition's director, Percy Newberry, and a two-volume finds-journal ("Fundjournal") kept by the German philologist Wilhelm Spiegelberg. Newberry's pocket-sized diary contains very little archaeological in-

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formation about the excavations, whereas Spiegelberg made a highly detailed record of their discoveries, not all of which made it into the published report. As divergent as these records are, together they help not only to provide background information and technical detail about the discoveries made during the excavations, but also insight into the differing responsibilities of the two eminent Egyptologists within the expedition, as well as the visitors they encountered during the course of their work.