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Ancient Corpses as Curiosities: Mummymania in the Age of Early Travel

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Abstract

During the 19th to early 20th centuries, when "Egyptomania" swept the western world, swathes of travelers and tourists ventured to Egypt to indulge their obsessive interest in the land of the Nile. These early travelers enjoyed access to Egypt's ancient past to an extent unimaginable today, and many returned with mummy souvenirs that now fill museum collections around the globe. An examination of the many personal travelogues published in this period provides insight into Victorian "mummymania" and the lengths to which early travelers often went to procure a mummy as a memento of their time spent in the land of the Nile.

Experiencing Egypt

"[. . .] [I]t would be scarcely respectable, on returning from Egypt, to present oneself in Europe without a mummy in one hand and a crocodile in the other."[1]

During the Victorian era, the Western world was seemingly subject to an all-encompassing obsession with everything Egyptian, to the extent that the land of the Nile came to influence fashion,[2] architectural style,[3] gothic literature,[4] and even the form and design of tombstones and mausoleums.[5] This ardent obsession, now known under the popular term "Egyptomania,"[6] was greatly influenced by the news of archeological discoveries made in Egypt and the exhibition of ancient mummies and artifacts in museums across the globe.

One particular source of inspiration for this interest in Egypt's ancient past were early travelers' tales.[7] During the 19th century, swathes of tourists ventured to Egypt to gain first-hand experiences of the sites and scenes that so captivated the Victorian imagination. Many were inspired to travel after reading the published personal accounts of those who had visited Egypt before them. As Egypt became an ever-more popular destination, interest in these travelogues increased, with the most enthralling extracts often serialized in local newspapers and periodicals.[8] They proved so popular, in fact, that the literary market was ostensibly inundated with tales of experiences in that exotic land, exasperating those who viewed themselves as "serious" travel authors as early as 1835:

> Of late years we have had a literary inundation of the Nile, and so much has been published on that subject by learned and unlearned travellers, that the mere mention of the river, or the pyramids, the tombs, the mummy pits, crocodile, or temple at Dendera, gives us an unconquerable fit of yawning.[9]

These travel accounts provide a glimpse into Egypt's heritage in what is considered to have been the "golden age" of travel,[10] when new sites and wonders were being uncovered daily and when travelers were free to explore the monuments in a manner unimaginable to modern tourists. It is also these accounts that preserve contemporary attitudes toward a land steeped in a rich history:

> Life and death here are indeed in excess, and in perfect contrast. Nowhere is the sentiment of life, its returning bloom and freshness, so felt as here [. . .] Oh, that one but had these tombs at one's door, to return again and again and master each hidden meaning and enjoy each brilliant sculpture.[11]

Such attitudes were not always "respectful," at least to modern sensibilities. It appears that the Victorian traveler was more often than not obsessed with possessing a part of this ancient culture, a sentiment that induced many travelers to procure (and, if necessary, smuggle) antiquities home as mementos of their trip.[12] There also appears to have been a common desire for visitors to leave a

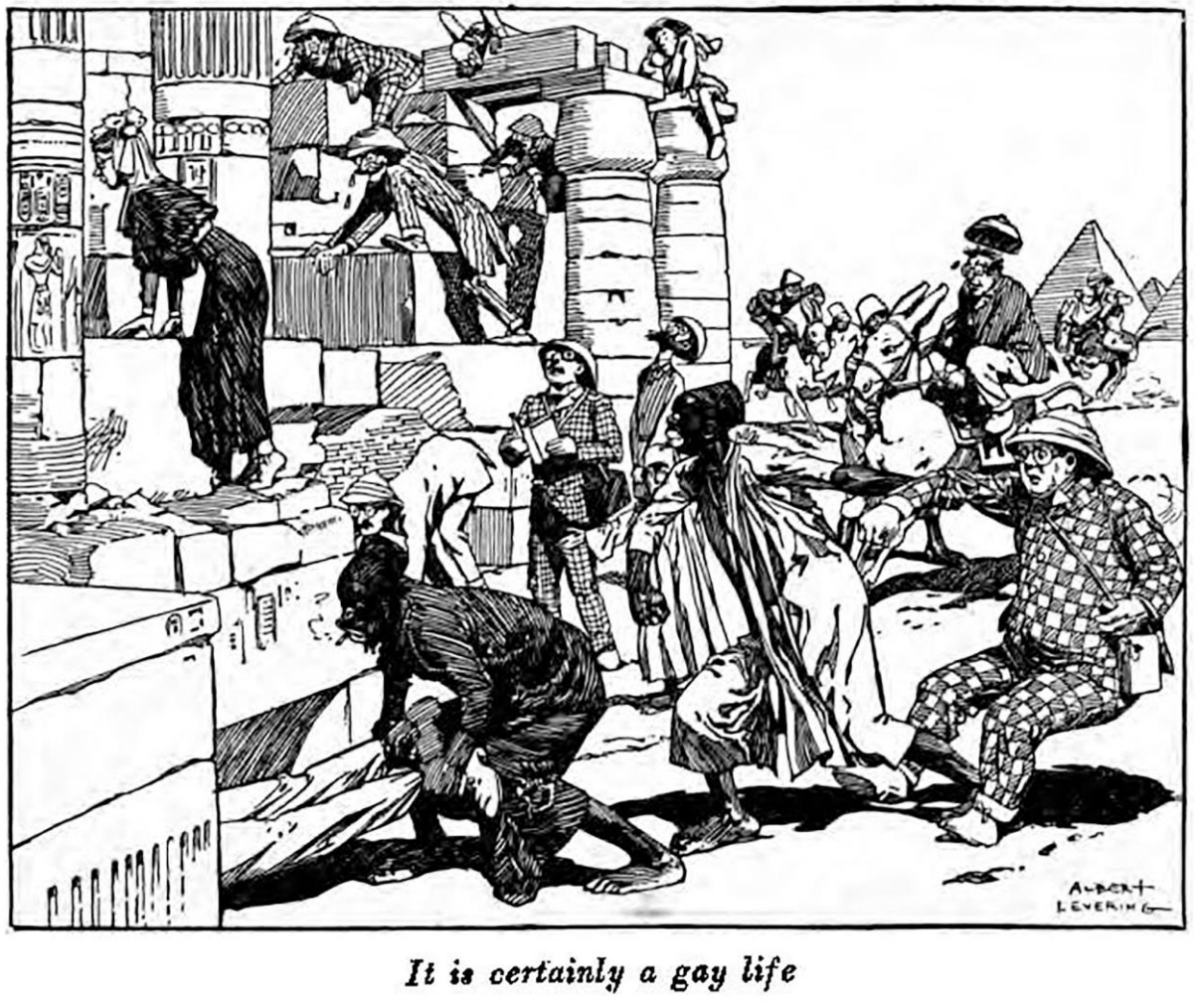


Figure 1: Comical cartoon depicting travelers and tourists clambering over an Egyptian temple; from George Ade, *In Pastures New* (New York: McClure, Phillips & Co., 1906), 186.

permanent record of their presence in Egypt, which created a craze for carving names or initials on ancient tombs and temples.[13] This practice continued well into the late 19th century and inspired the traveler George Allsopp (1846–1907) to lament in 1879: "Can one imagine anything more sad than to see the hieroglyphics so dreadfully marred by the autographs of such celebrated people as Jones of Wales, Murphy of Dublin, or Smith of London?"[14]

Travelers would also commonly clamber over the monuments (Figure 1) to study the hieroglyphic inscriptions, to copy or even prize off carved or painted scenes (Figure 2),[15] or simply to obtain a superior vantage point of the historic landscape around them. Climbing the Great Pyramid at Giza,[16] for instance, was a common item on the Victorian traveler's itinerary. The travel party could expect to have their efforts rewarded with a picnic at the top,[17] where they could mark the feat by carving their name and the date of their ascent in the stone blocks at the summit. Theodore Walker[18] reported in 1886 that, upon completing the ascent, his wife was approached by their guide to join the ranks of those who has climbed the pyramid before them, which included several famous names: "'Now, lady, good Arab write your name.' As I hesitated, he said, 'Come, see Prince of Wales' name on the top [. . .].'"[19] The ascent of the pyramid required reasonable exertion and the assistance of at least three Egyptians to pull and push travelers up the monument (Figure 3), as Walker comically described to his readers:

> It was very amusing to watch the various people being dragged up. A very stout lady protested in vain that she did not want to go up. "Good Arab drag



Figure 2: "Modern Iconoclasts at Work on the Monuments of Ancient Egypt," from *The Daily Graphic* (26 July 1890): 84.

> lady up, better view Madame; see Howadgi," and up she went with a bound and a spring, one lusty Arab holding each hand and one pushing behind.[20]

For those put off by such an endeavor, which was not without its dangers,[21] travelers could instead place bets on local pyramid-runners,[22] who would compete to make the ascent and descent in the fastest time.[23]

This was a different age, when access to the remnants of Egypt's ancient past was of a level unimaginable to the tourist of today. Victorian travelers were permitted to explore the monuments and tombs with relative freedom, their only obstacles being the negotiation of a suitable fee in the form of "*backsheesh*" for the guide and the difficulties of scrambling among sand- and mummy-filled passages beneath the desert surface. As Mary (Marianne) Postans (1811–1897) relates in her account of 1844:

> The guides, lighting a couple of candles, disappeared through the opening, and called us to follow. Taking off my bonnet, and lying flat on the ground, I was drawn backwards through the aperture, immediately within which the height of the roof permitted me to crawl on my hands and knees, and I found myself in a passage, surrounded by entire mummies, which the Arabs had dragged forward to rifle by the little light that reached them through the pit.[24]

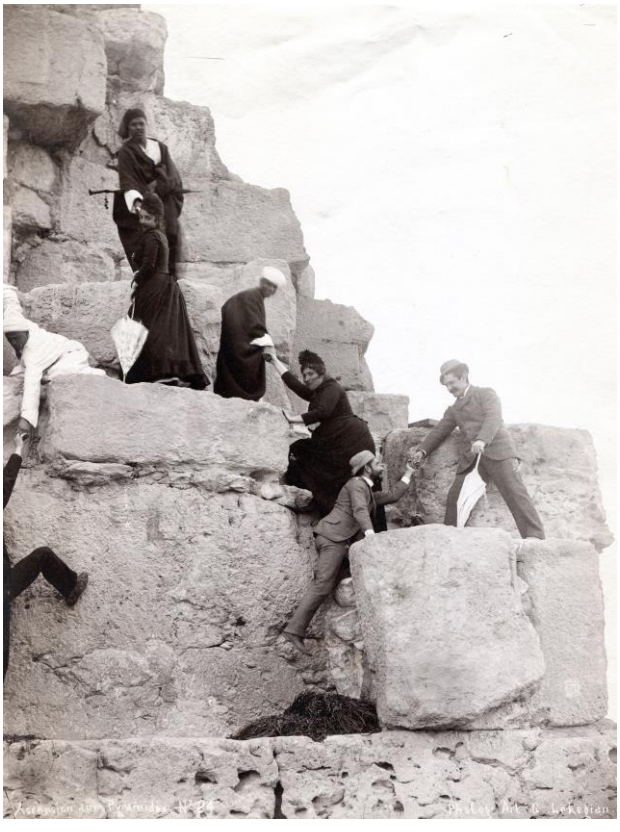


Figure 3: ***"Ascension aux Pyramides"*** **(No. 24) by Gabriel Lekegian (c. 1890). Courtesy of the Egypt Exploration Society.**

Early travelers in this period could lunch in tombs filled with mummies[25] and bear witness to the uncovering of freshly discovered burials, or even direct the locals to dig up relics for them.[26] This, however, was rarely necessary, as it was not uncommon for travelers to be offered antiquities by the local inhabitants at almost every site visited, a practice that persisted well into the early 20th century, as evidenced in accounts such as that published by Julius Chambers (1850–1920) in 1901: "'I get you a skull?' asked one of the donkey-drivers, 'Good remembrance of Sakkara.'"[27] Travelers even record being propositioned to purchase *"antikas"* at the top or even during the ascent of the Giza pyramids, as the 1915 account of Joseph Rowland testifies: "I told him that I had not expected to go into the undertaking business and did not care to have a corpse on my hands, ascending the pyramids [. . .]"[28]

Those venturing to Egypt during the 19th and early 20th centuries were free to explore the subterranean last houses of Egypt's ancient dead, where they turned over bodies in search of hidden relics and acquired all manner of antiquities as mementos of their Eastern adventures. Nothing was more sought after than the embalmed body of an ancient Egyptian.

Morbid Curiosity and Corpse Collecting

"The most valuable plunder in Egypt will be the mummies which are eagerly bought as bric-a-brac."[29]

Travelers of the Victorian age found that it was possible for virtually any paying tourist to enter mummy-laden tombs and lay claim to any mummies they desired. While many were surprised if not aghast at the unbridled access to tombs and graves afforded to them, many relished the ease with which they could collect antiquities, as Amelia Edwards (1831–1892) reflected upon in 1877:

> Shocked at first, they denounce with horror the whole system of sepulchral excavation, legal as well as predatory; acquiring, however, a taste for scarabs and mummy-gods, they soon begin to buy with eagerness the spoils of the dead; finally, they forget all their former scruples, and ask no better fortune than to discover and confiscate a tomb for themselves.[30]

Although small, portable antiquities of a funerary nature such as amulets, shabtis, and scarabs remained popular as souvenirs throughout the Victorian period, the mummy best encapsulated the exoticism of the land of the Nile (Figure 4)[31] and the peculiarities of the ancient Egyptian beliefs surrounding the eternal preservation of the body. Mysterious, otherworldly, ancient, and quintessentially Egyptian, mummies were considered by many travelers to be the ultimate souvenir and were highly sought after even in the late 19th century, as testified by Anthony Wilkin (d. 1901) in 1897: "Mummies seemed to be a 'drug in the market' when we were there."[32]

This fascination appears to have been driven by a desire to experience a closeness to or connection with a bygone age: "if we could [. . .] bring back the spirit which once animated [. . .] these bodies, what wonders would be revealed."[33] These embalmed bodies inspired gothic literary works that explored themes of death, immortality, and resurrection.[34] Works of mummy fiction of this period imagined the inherent "spirits" of these mummies prevailing upon their new, foreign owners to release them to their own land and time.[35] Tales of curses bestowed upon those who removed these ancient corpses from their eternal place of rest became popular in this period[36] and prevailed well into the early 20th century, with the sinking of the *Titanic*[37] and the allegedly untimely deaths of individuals who discovered or visited the tomb of Tutankhamun[38] being attributed to the retributive forces of a mummy's curse.

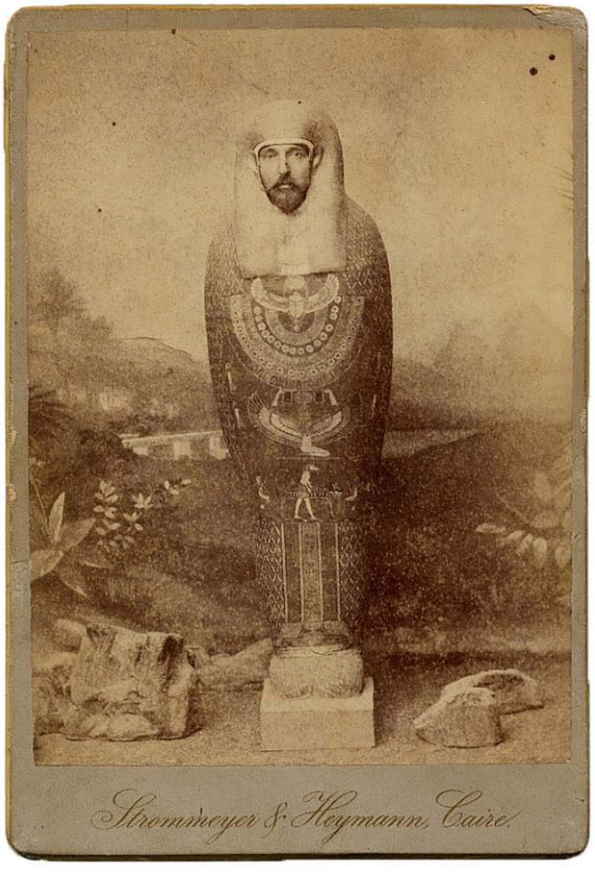


Figure 4: An unknown tourist poses as a pharaoh (c. 1885) in the Strommeyer and Heymann photographic studio in Cairo. Private collection; © František Gregor.

The popular notion of the ancient Egyptian obsession with death mirrored that of the Western world in the Victorian era, a period that saw a growing devotion to the "spectacle" of death and outward displays of grief and mourning. Funeral processions became more opulent[39] and gravestones more elaborate;[40] memorial keepsakes (such as lockets containing locks of hair taken from the deceased)[41] and *memento mori* (post-mortem photographs)[42] became popular.

In a period subject to high mortality rates,[43] death was ever present; as cities expanded in the wake of the industrial revolution, traditional church graveyards struggled to accommodate the dead, leading to the establishment of town cemeteries[44] designed in a manner to permit the living to walk among the deceased and to engage, contemplate, and confront death:

> Amid the green glades and gloomy cypresses which surround and overshadow the vast variety of sepulchral monuments [. . .] the contemplative mind is not only impressed with sentiments of solemn sublimity and religious awe, but with those of the most tender and heart-affecting melancholy.[45]

Although death was familiar to the Victorians, it remained enigmatic, intriguing, and "sublime, because it borders upon things immortal, so mysterious, on account of its silence."[46] As Egypt was a land famous for its ancient dead, it is perhaps not surprising that it should become a popular tourist destination in this period and that the bodies of embalmed Egyptians should become popular souvenirs.[47]

It would have been hard to resist the temptation of bringing a mummy home, particularly as these were practically thrust upon travelers when they arrived in Egypt, a custom that evidently repulsed Catharine Janeway, as she relates in 1894: "I was much annoyed by an Arab, who had the hand of a mummy for sale; he followed me about, and kept thrusting this horrid object close to my face, telling me that I should have it cheap."[48] Obtaining a mummy was relatively easy; they could be bought in hotels or even local museums, with the Egyptian Museum in Cairo being known for its "saleroom for surplus antiquities,"[49] where mummies and other relics could be bought well into the late 19th century.

Reports that mummies could be found in their millions in the tombs and catacombs[50] of the Western Desert[51] appear to have alleviated many travelers' potential feelings of guilt that they were involved in the desecrating of ancient burial grounds:

> The ground in one place was so thickly strown [*sic*] with dead bodies and fragments of them, that care had to be used not to step upon them in walking. The horses and donkeys which are kept here to be hired to travellers, are so familiar with these sights that they do not so much as prick their ears at stepping over a corpse or stumbling against a skull.[52]

Local mummy hunters were often described by travelers as "resurrection men,"[53] the term used to describe those who ransacked British cemeteries in pursuit of cadavers for medical dissection[54]—a comparison that could be interpreted as a justification of the removal of these ancient remains as articles of "scientific" curiosity and intrigue.

Mummies became so popular with travelers that demand soon outstripped supply, and by the late 19th century enterprising antiquities dealers were manufacturing fakes to satisfy tourists' demands,[55] as reported by the *Wichita Daily Eagle* in 1888: "[. . .] in many



Figure 5: "Egyptian Mummies Made While You Wait": the manufacture of fake mummies in Los Angeles, where a mummy-manufacturer had reportedly formed a profitable business that had been in operation for 27 years. From the *Los Angeles Herald Sunday Supplement* (30 September, 1906): 11.

of the [mummy] mines Egyptians are not found in paying quantities. As a result of this an inferior style of mummy is being made, both there on the ground and here in New York."[56] The success of the mummy trade and the prevalence of modern mummy manufacturers both within Egypt and beyond (Figure 5) evidence the level of obsession that travelers had for such souvenirs at this time.

Travelers therefore often struggled to discern whether the mummies they had purchased were genuine; indeed, later examination by an expert or an unwrapping of the mummy revealed many to be modern fakes.[57] This disappointment appears to have been suffered particularly by travelers who ventured to Egypt in the late 1800s and early 1900s, as both mummies and antiquities by this time appear to have been hard to acquire, as noted by Amos Wenger (1867–1935) during his travels in 1899: "Many of the natives are engaged in making articles that very much resemble the genuine antiques and you must be exceedingly careful or you will get only imitations instead of relics of the ancients."[58]

Some travelers thus sought to acquire their relics from reputable and well-known antiquities dealers, some of whom resided in major cities frequented by tourists, such as the Swiss merchant André Bircher (1838–1926), who catered to tourists in Cairo during the mid- to late 19th century;[59] other dealers could be found selling their wares at the ancient sites themselves. Signor Piccinini (fl.1819–1829) traded in the Theban necropolis from a hut built of elaborately decorated coffins and filled with mummy merchandise and other antiques, where he provided souvenirs to visiting travelers throughout the early 1800s.[60]

Other travelers simply sought to procure mummies directly from the burial-grounds themselves; the most suitable place to source these souvenirs were the notorious "mummy pits," famously known to contain innumerable mummies.



Figure 6: "Digging for Mummies" by Amelia Edwards (1831–1892). This illustration demonstrates how mummies were procured for travelers from the famous "mummy pits." From Amelia B. Edwards, *A Thousand Miles Up the Nile* (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1877), 413.

THE MYSTERIOUS "MUMMY PITS"

"Until I talked to the dealer I had no idea that mummies were so plentiful. In some parts of Egypt people go out and dig them up just as they would dig potatoes."[61]

The so-called mummy pits (Figure 6) that could be found at sites across Egypt were reported to contain hundreds and even thousands of mummies, piled up in large heaps in rough-hewn caverns below the desert surface. These "pits" had been an attraction for travelers for several centuries but became particularly popular during the Victorian era.[62] The first detailed accounts of this period appeared in the early 1800s, with travel companions Captains Charles L. Irby (1789–1845) and James Mangles (1786–1867) providing a particularly grisly account in 1823 of the contents of a mummy pit they visited in 1817:

> Imagine a cave of considerable magnitude filled with heaps of dead bodies in all directions, and in the most whimsical attitudes; some with extended arms, others holding out a right hand, and apparently in the attitude of addressing you; some prostrate, others with their heels sticking up in the air; at every step you thrust your foot through a body or crush a head.[63]

Of unknown origin or purpose,[64] these mummy-filled pits were thought to contain an inexhaustible supply of ancient corpses, as Sarah Lushington (d. 1839) relates in her 1829 account of the "pits" at Thebes: "It would scarcely be an exaggeration to say, the mountains are merely roofs over the masses of mummies within them."[65] From perhaps as early as the 16th century,[66] they served as a constant source of the mummy mementos so desired by travelers and

continued to do so right up to the early 20th century.[67] Travelers who braved the dissent into these "dark abodes of death"[68] to acquire mummy souvenirs, reported having to crawl through ill-lit and difficult passages filled with the dismembered dead. Benjamin Bausman (1824–1909) described this unpleasant ordeal during his exploration of a mummy pit at Saqqara in 1857: "We stooped our way through the dark winding streets of the dead of old, with the aid of dim tapers, and walked over places literally strewn with dead men's bones."[69]

The rifled nature of the contents of the mummy pits gave them a reputation for being horror-filled charnel houses or "plague-pits" of death. Although the ancient dead were often found strewn about in these subterranean burial places, to the more attentive traveler it was clear that this state was likely the result of the rifling activities of mummy hunters and not a true representation of how these bodies had been laid to rest in ancient times:

> The farther we penetrated into these dismal recesses, we found the bodies much more entire, and every thing less disturbed; and I make no sort of doubt, that if any person had the courage to go to the extremity of the catacombs, he would find many bodies, which had never been examined, and discover curiosities, which would amply recompense the fatigue and danger.[70]

Whether the pits were simply mass burials for victims of conflict or an epidemic, "caches" collected together by grave robbers, or an unusual and as yet unrecognized communal form of ancient burial custom,[71] most travelers viewed the "mummy pits" simply as valuable sources of souvenirs, and there was little interest in the scientific study of their contents.

Instead, it was the horror of these burial places that became their ultimate attraction, as they provided travelers with colorful anecdotes of time spent exploring the depths of these mummy-filled pits. Such adventure was not without its dangers, and many a traveler grew apprehensive when confined in close quarters with these great piles of mummies, having heard that their pungent effluvium had caused past visitors to faint or even perish as they suffocated in the stifling air.[72] Others were fearful of the flammability of the mummies' resin-soaked wrappings,[73] which could be ignited accidently by a stray torch flame, as highlighted in the aptly titled 1867 article "Horrors of a Mummy Pit" in the *Detroit Free Press*:

> The cave was filled with a thousand mummies, drier than the driest tinder, and soaked in bitumen; each one wrapped in many folds of mummy cloth, as inflammable as gun cotton. A single spark from one of the candles would have spread like wildfire, and no power upon earth could have saved us from a fearful death; we would have been roasted alive in five minutes.[74]

Travelers had been known to have been subjected to this unfortunate fate, with the blaze in one case apparently producing an inferno so fierce that the pit smoldered for several weeks—or so the local Egyptians claimed.[75]

Although such incidents were rare, the mummy pits were at least mildly perilous. Travelers had to crawl on their bellies through sand-filled passages, descend into gloomy recesses, and wade through mummy remains in chambers of unknown extent. A few travelers paid the price for forging ahead in their excitement to explore the pits without equipping themselves properly: "I read the other day of a traveller who foolishly went exploring in the dark, and stumbled into a pit thirty feet deep. He broke his ankle, besides other bruises."[76]

Intrepid travelers were rewarded with relics hand-picked from a treasure trove unavailable to the more tentative who remained on the surface; they were rewarded also with their own personal and entertaining tales of their exploits in one of Egypt's most popular attractions, which evidently comforted Mary Postans after a frightful ordeal in the pits in 1838: "Glad was I to return, and inhale the breezes of the upper air; yet I congratulated myself on having seen one of the greatest among the characteristic features of ancient Egypt."[77]

The mummy pits proved to be at their most popular during the mid- to late 19th century, when fake mummies were being routinely manufactured and sold (Figure 7), as the pits could provide travelers with souvenirs of undoubted authenticity that they could select themselves. The pits contained a surprising assortment of mummies; though predominantly formed of the plainly wrapped bodies of the "poor,"[78] the heaps of human remains within the pits also contained those of superior wealth and status, complete with elaborately decorated coffins and grave goods such as amulets, jewelry, and shabtis. The more elaborate mummies, though rare, were sought-after souvenirs that could fetch mummy hawkers a good return, as the Reverend Stephen Olin (1797–1851) noted in 1843: "Occasionally a mummy is found so elaborately prepared and in such good preservation as to be in itself a valuable object of merchandise."[79] Why such richly adorned bodies were found buried with the lower classes did not seem to concern most travelers and certainly not the mummy hunters who knew these more elaborate mummies to be highly collectible.

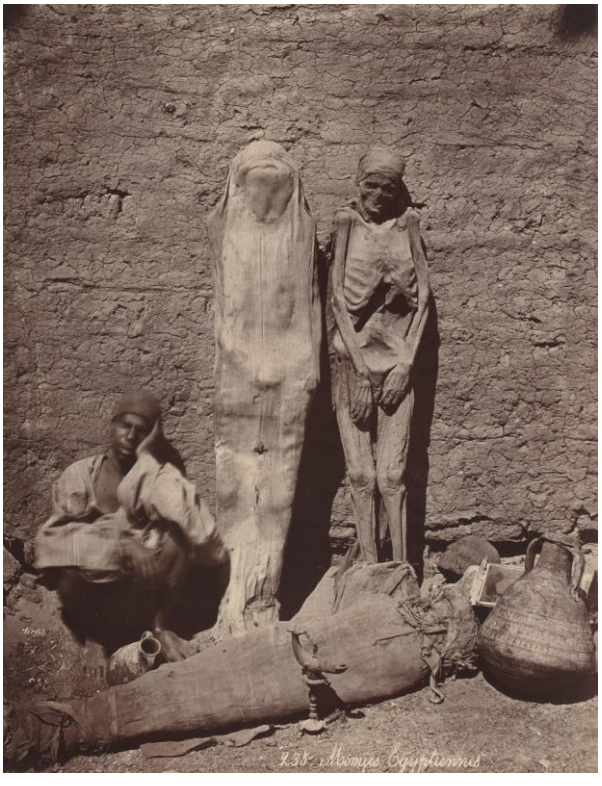


Figure 7: "*Momies égyptiennes.*" A mummy trader at Cairo (c. 1870) by Félix Bonfils (1831–1885). The mummies for sale are most likely modern fakes. Courtesy of the National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.

Soon the mummy pits gained a reputation as being the place to cater for those in want of a mummy, at prices to suit any traveler's means. Whether removed and passed onto antiquities dealers in Luxor or Cairo or sold directly to travelers in the pits themselves, the mummy of a "pharaoh"[80] could be acquired for £200, a "prince" or military commander for a mere £30, a priest for as little as £12 to £15, with a lowly commoner costing only £1 10s, as reported in the *Daily News* (Perth, Australia) in 1907.[81] Such reports published in several newspapers throughout the period of early travel demonstrate the availability of mummies as souvenirs to tourists even as late as the early 20th century.[82] However, the rise in popularity of the fragments of mummies, or "mummy-parts" as souvenirs from the mid-19th century onwards, suggests that complete mummy specimens were not always easy for early travelers to acquire.

Mummy Parts as Portable Curios

"One of our party is always in treaty for something, particularly hands or feet of mummies, so he has a good swarm round him constantly."[83]

Dominique-Vivant Denon (1747–1825), who accompanied Napoleon's savants to Egypt in 1798–1801, offered his guides "an unlimited reward to any who should procure one [a mummy] whole and untouched."[84] Yet nothing but mummy fragments could be found, and he instead brought away with him the mummified head "of an old woman."[85] Even in this early period, the availability of mummies as souvenirs depended on the discovery of suitable burials that had not already been rifled for antiquities[86] and, of course, on the willingness of the proprietors of these burial places to share the contents with interested parties. As tombs and mummy pits were discovered, they were exploited as sources of souvenirs, then abandoned and quickly forgotten. These plundered burial places might be uncovered several more times over the succeeding years, their dwindling remnants satisfying travelers who (like Denon), having failed to acquire the higher-class mummies they desired, settled instead on what was available to them. The necessity for compromise increased in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, when it became increasingly difficult both to acquire mummy souvenirs and to transport them discreetly out of the country.

In time, this ransacking and destruction of mummies meant that the contents of the mummy pits began to empty, and as the numbers of tourists venturing to Egypt increased during the late 1800s, it became difficult for travelers to acquire complete mummy specimens. This appears to have been exacerbated by the parallel demand for the amulets and other objects often found accompanying the mummies in these pits. Often offered to travelers as they approached the ancient sites, these were regarded by some as more agreeable mementos than the body or body part of an embalmed Egyptian, as indicated in the 1846 account of Isabella Romer (1798–1852):

> We were beset through the whole district by men and boys all loaded with their ghasty merchandize, some carrying a swathed leg and foot over one arm, others offering a basket full of hands, black and dried up, but the nails perfect and deeply tinted with red. Others again offered for sale less revolting spoils,

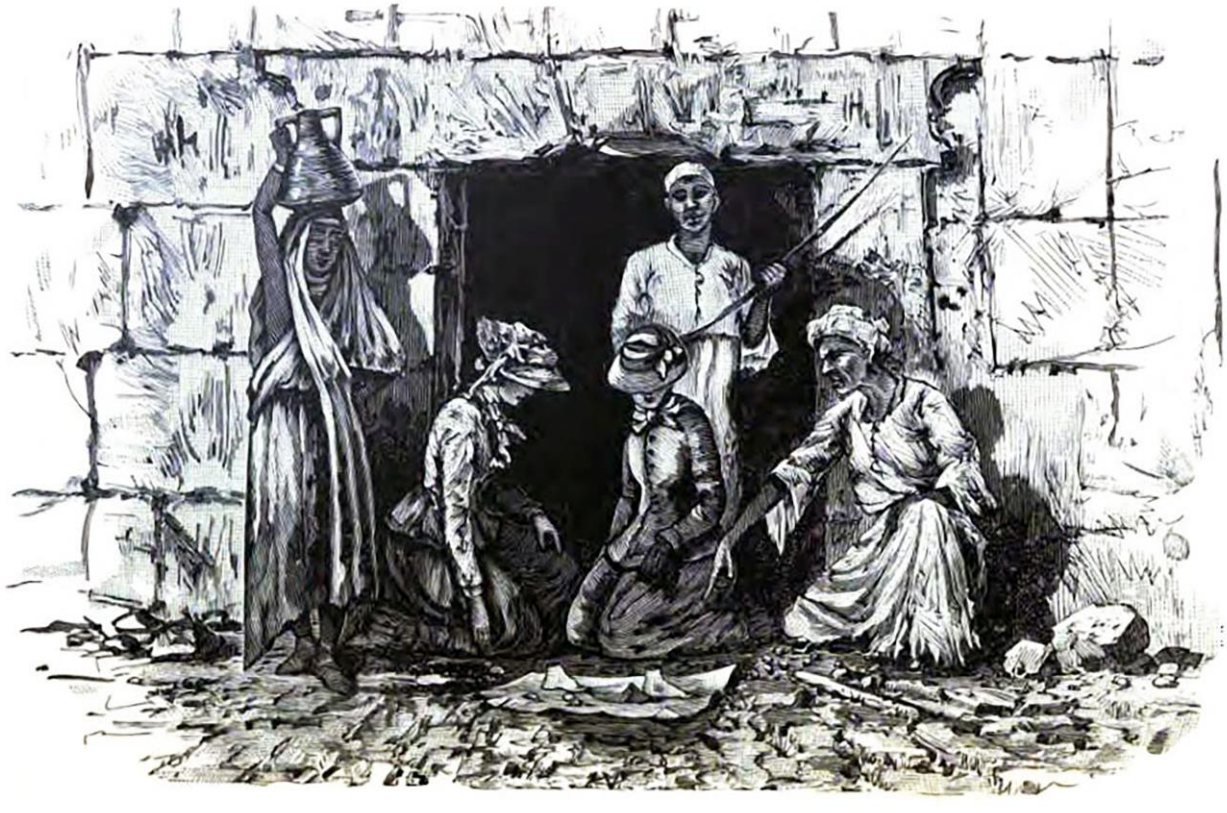


Figure 8: "Shall it be a hand or a foot?" Illustration from the account of Mary Louise Gamewell (1858–1947), depicting an encounter with a mummy hawker at Thebes. From Mary L. Gamewell, *We Two Alone in Europe* (Chicago: Jansen, McClurg and Co., 1886), 259.

> such as scarabæi, small porcelain images, necklaces of beads found upon the mummies, and various little articles placed with them in the tomb, many of which I purchased.[87]

Mummies were therefore routinely pillaged and even torn apart by local relic hunters in search of antiquities, a practice that appears to have been rife even in the early 19th century, as Henry Measor (1844) testifies: "I found clothes, bones, skulls, and coffins, heaped in one disgusting *mêlée* of sepulchral confusion,—the work of curiosity and plunder."[88]

The desire to acquire mummies thus appears to have been in conflict with tourists' equal desire to obtain genuine artifacts, which in order to guarantee their authenticity were often ripped from the bandages of the mummies in the presence of travelers, as Stephen Olin (1843) relates:

> Their business is to remove the rubbish and earth from the tombs and mummy-pits which have not already been rifled by their predecessors, to drag out the embalmed dead to the long-forgotten light, to strip them of their antique, dingy aromatic habiliments, and to search their ears, necks, fingers, wrists, ancles [*sic*] &c., in quest of any jewelry, bracelets, amulets, or images of sacred animals or gods, or articles of greater value which may have been deposited with them in the grave.[89]

As a result, many travelers reported that, during their exploration of the mummy pits, it was difficult to discern any bodies that remained unrifled and intact.[90]

An untold number of mummies were thus destroyed in the 19th century in the hunt for antiquities, making it increasingly difficult for travelers to obtain mummies themselves as souvenirs. The desire to procure such souvenirs had not yet waned, however, and the solution for local mummy hawkers was to offer the dismembered body parts found scattered in the pits as collectible "curios" (Figure 8). As Joseph Thompson (1819–1879) wrote of his travels in 1853: "The traveller, resting for his noontide lunch, is besieged by mummy venders, who unroll before



Figure 9: Mummy head (EA54742), mounted for display in a glass-domed case (removed for the purpose of photographing the remains). Anonymously donated to the British Museum in 1920. Photograph © Tessa T. Baber. Courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum.

his eyes—perhaps upon his very plate— a head, a hand, a foot, all swathed in musty cloth and bitumen, which they offer at any price, from a pound sterling to a piastre."[91] In the early to mid-19th century, when these mummy parts were a relatively new curiosity, these remnants held little interest or value to some travelers who preferred to search for complete mummy specimens or antiquities; Stephen Olin even goes as far as to suggest purchasing such souvenirs revealed one's ignorance of the value and importance of the artifacts made available to travelers: "they frequently offer to novices things of no value, such as parts of mummies, a hand with the nails dyed or gilded, or shreds of mummy cloth."[92]

As the 19th century wore on however, these mummy fragments became increasingly popular and part of their popularity was undoubtedly their affordability ("human hands were persistently offered for about 25 cents each")[93], as well as their availability, as they were routinely offered to travelers during their exploration of the sites. Randal McGavock (1826–1863) lamented that his enjoyment of the monuments was affected by this practice during his travels through Egypt in 1851: "[. . .] the pleasure of one's visit to Thebes is almost destroyed by these grave-robbers, who hang around with their arms filled with skulls, hands, feet, and other portions of the human body, for you to purchase."[94] Even so, mummy remnants appear to have had an appeal all of their own, as some travelers even sought to collect mummy parts in lieu of the full specimens, as "objects of curiosity."[95]

On a trip to Egypt in 1850, Maxime du Camp (1822–1894) collected several mummy fragments: "from one I took its gilded feet, from another its head with its long tress of hair, from a third its dry black hands."[96] Camp's travel companion, Gustave Flaubert (1821–1880), brought home a mummy foot that he kept in his study as a curio for the rest of his life; his servant occasionally gave it a good buff with shoe-polish to ensure it remained presentable.[97]

For many collectors, it was the "gruesome" nature of these dismembered mummy parts that gave them an appeal of their own as macabre "relics" of a land famed for its dead. There were echoes in the mummy remains themselves of the ghastliness of the ancient burial grounds and the grisly methods by which the mummy fragments were acquired: with mummy heads with faces that seem to scream in eternal agony[98] and withered, gnarled fingers of hands permanently separated from their owners: "It was dry, black and claw-like, and was even more hideous than it need have been by the loss of one finger."[99] Mummy heads appear to have been particularly prized. Undeniably human, they made fascinating "exhibits" with a greater impact on their admirers than a mere mummy hand or foot, explaining perhaps the popularity of mounting these heads in special display cases (Figure 9),[100] for the perusal and amusement of visitors to the homes of their collectors. Mummy parts were also popular with collectors because they could be easily handled, allowing those fascinated by Egypt's past to come into direct contact with those who had once inhabited that ancient land.

Mummy remnants became especially popular when the Egyptian government introduced stricter sanctions on the export of mummies from Egypt (such as the Antiquities Law passed by Pasha Mohamed Ali on the 15th August 1835),[101] as these smaller portions of mummy could be easily concealed in luggage and smuggled out of the country. During the early 19th century, although cursory examination of the monuments by early archeologists had already begun,[102] excavation of Egyptian sites still remained largely within the domain of relic hunters and antiquities dealers.[103] Protestations were made against the wanton destruction of important monuments and sites during this period in an attempt to prevent further damage to Egypt's heritage. Influential figures such as George Gliddon (1809–1857), American vice-consul in Alexandria and Cairo, appealed to his fellow scholars to take a stand to

protect important sites and artifacts, submitting a plea in 1841 to the "antiquaries of Europe"[104] to take further steps to prevent the wanton destruction of Egypt's ancient monuments:

> No voice from the tomb is needed to warn the antiquary, "that yet a little while," and such will be the end—that, if he and his colleagues in research do not step forward for the preservation of Egyptian monuments, in a very few years travellers may save themselves the trouble of a journey beyond the precincts of the British and continental museums [. . .][105]

Unfortunately, such pleas appear to have largely fallen on deaf ears, and although Pasha Mohamed Ali (1769–1849) had introduced the new Antiquities Law of 1835[106] in order supposedly to combat the illicit digging of sites, the trade in both artifacts and mummies appears to have continued unabated, albeit in a less conspicuous manner.

The popularity of these mummy parts unfortunately led to the further destruction of an unknown number of mummies; thus the new laws intended to protect them in fact conspired in their destruction, as Edward Wilson (1838–1903) reveals in his account of 1890: "When they found a mummy it being forbidden by law to sell it, the head and hands and feet were wrenched off and sold on the sly, while the torso was kicked about the ruined temples until the jackals came and carried it away."[107] Some travelers who acquired mummies or mummy parts in this later period appear to have quickly regretted doing so, as they did not wish to risk reprimand if caught smuggling their purchase out of the country. Marianne Brocklehurst (1832–1898),[108] who secretly acquired a mummy in the dead of night during her travels in 1873, later chose to bury it on the banks of the Nile, for fear that its pungent odor would prompt its discovery by the cook aboard her *dahabeya*.[109]

Fragmentary mummy remains offered travelers the opportunity to inconspicuously transport ancient Egyptians to their home country, while also satisfying the widespread morbid fascination with the dead, thus increasing their popularity as souvenirs in this later period:

> In the hills back of Medinet-Abou are the mummy-pits [. . .] and we hasten to visit them. We enter the black cavern and look down the preliminary pit-hole, only to shrink back affrighted; but we *must* carry home a small bit of a mummy. So we clamber down the tense, and the stench appalling. With a grab at a few relics we hasten forth to the pure light of day, and, as we assort our specimens, we recall the words of Hamlet: "To what base uses we may return, Horatio!"[110]

The appeal of these mummy parts as souvenirs, and indeed mummies in general, was also heightened by the changes to tourism during the 19th and early 20th centuries, the most significant change being the marked increase in the number of tourists venturing to Egypt in the latter 19th century, after commercial steamboat travel was introduced. The first steamships to travel up the Nile were inaugurated by Abbas Pasha (1812–1854) in 1851,[111] offering a monthly service between Cairo and Aswan. This service was, however, unreliable, infrequent, and could not be described as anywhere near luxurious.[112] The first steamers to offer both comfort and convenience, and to achieve commercial success, were introduced by Thomas Cook (1808–1892) after he was awarded a concession by Khedive Isma'il (1830–1895) for passenger traffic on the Nile in 1870. This permitted his company, Thomas Cook and Son, Ltd., to act as government agent for steamship travel in Egypt.[113] Following the completion of the Suez Canal in 1869, it became possible for steamers to transport passengers from Britain to Egypt and beyond as a cheaper,[114] quicker and more direct method of travel.[115] Cook's steamers made Egypt more accessible to a greater number of people, and Thomas Cook himself boasted of its benefits over the more traditional methods of travel: "Travelling by steamboat calls for the exercise of patience than exertion, and in this we had the advantage over the voyagers by the old Nile boats, whose patient endurance must have been very severely tested."[116] Travelers in this later period were able to visit the major sites in a mere three weeks, when previously a tour of the sites in a *dahabeya* had taken several months.[117]

For travelers writing in late 19th century, it is clear that often a distinction was made between the more scholarly "traveler" with a vested interest in the country's ancient past and the "tourist" who spent little time studying the monuments, a notion Amelia Edwards evidently subscribed to:

> Such is the *esprit du Nil*. The people in dahabeeyahs despise Cook's tourists; those who are bound for the Second Cataract look down with lofty compassion upon those whose ambition extends only to the First; and travellers who engage their boat by the month hold their heads a trifle higher than those who contract for the trip.[118]

These "tourists" would become increasingly common from the early 1870s onward and typically acquired any manner of relic offered to them. As mummy parts were affordable and widely-available, they became popular amongst tourists considered to be of "low-class."[119] Mummy fragments thus became less exclusive in the late Victorian period and were



Figure 10: "Mummified Hand of Cleopatra" with display case, acquired by Sir Thomas Bowser (1749–1833) while in Egypt in 1794. Sold at auction (Ancient Resource, LLC, Montrose, Calif., 19 February 2011, lot. 86) with an estimate of $25,000–30,000. Courtesy of Liveauctioneers.com and Ancient Resource, LLC.

viewed less as "curiosities" and more as morbid offerings from those with little else to sell, routinely purchased by those with little appreciation of antiquities of monetary or historical value.

For those unwilling to take possession of a mummy hand or foot merely for curiosity sake, mummy parts became more attractive collectables when it was implied that they had once belonged to a pharaoh or a princess. Far from being "royal" in any sense, these remains appear to have instead derived from a commoner sort of mummy, embellished with rings and scarabs to convince tourists of their royal status, as Charles Dudley Warner (1829–1900) was astute enough to determine when he was offered a mummy hand to purchase during his travels in 1875:

> This hand has been "doctored" to sell; the present owner has re-wrapped its bitumen soaked flesh in mummy-cloth, and partially concealed three rings on the fingers. Of course the hand is old and the cheap rings are new. It is pleasant to think of these merchants in dried flesh prowling among the dead, selecting a limb here and there that they think will decorate well, and tricking out with cheap jewelry those mortal fragments.[120]

Claiming these appendages belonged to royal personages appears to have been common practice and perhaps explains the appearance on more than one occasion of the hand or foot of "Cleopatra" or another figure of equal status on the antiquities market (Figure 10). However, the potential royal nature of these mummy parts did not always attract a sale. During a visit to Thebes in 1891, Mrs. Charles John Brook[121] found herself plagued by a crowd clamoring to sell her a mummy hand they claimed belonged to Ramesses II; they would not take no for an answer and she had to fend them away with her parasol.[122]

Clearly some travelers were offended by the flagrant exploitation of the dead. This repulsion became more marked as the 19th century progressed, and, as travelers obtained a greater knowledge of the significance of the finds offered to them as souvenirs, they often appear torn between a desire to acquire mummy souvenirs and the desire to adhere to moral sensibilities that called for respectful treatment of the dead. Although the mummies themselves may have been viewed as providing a tantalizing liminal connection between the past and the present/the living and the dead,[123] the very notion that they were once the living inhabitants of Egypt was too tangible and uncomfortable for many would-be collectors. It appears to be more of a moral burden borne by tourists exploring the ancient sites at the beginning of the 20th century, when attitudes toward Egypt's ancient dead had clearly changed; far from being intrigued by these mummy remnants, travelers such as Amos Wenger (1902) could not

be persuaded to bring one home as a souvenir: "They had pieces of human bodies that they tried hard to sell, but the thought of carrying them in my satchel was repulsive."[124]

Many travelers of the later 19th and early 20th centuries appear to have compromised their sense of morality, allowing their desire to obtain unique and exotic souvenirs to prevail. These travelers often profess to be "reluctant" in their acquisition of mummies and mummy parts, which they apparently purchased out of "guilt" felt at the prospect of abandoning these remains to those who might not treat them with the respect they deserved. The Reverend Henry Ottley (1850–1932) took it upon himself to "rescue" several mummy parts from the local Egyptians during his travels in 1883: "I myself have saved from Arab desecration and now possess the mummified hands and feet of four persons who were buried at Thebes [. . .] 2459 years ago!"[125] Other travelers simply claim to have purchased them to prevent the Egyptians from harassing them further, as Wenger (1902) protests: "I was obliged to buy something from the Arabs to get rid of them."[126]

Regardless of their sensibilities, travelers could not escape the constant barrage of local mummy hawkers besieging them to buy ancient Egyptians, and refusal did not always bode well for the mummies. Edward Joy Morris's (1815–1881) account of 1843 reveals how he was startled at Thebes by men who came running toward him from a mummy pit, brandishing the arms, legs, and skulls of mummies, demanding him to buy them. When Morris refused to purchase a mummy from a young boy, the boy responded by breaking it over the head of his donkey,[127] demonstrating quite clearly that if mummies could not be sold as souvenirs, they were deemed worthless.

Although attitudes toward the collecting of mummy fragments clearly appear to have changed over the course of the Victorian period, travelers still sought to procure intact mummy specimens, which were still deemed to be the ultimate collectable in way of souvenirs. This was not only because they made impressive exhibits but also because they held the promise of additional relics concealed among the wrappings. Travelers thus often brought back mummies for the express purpose of seeing them unwrapped once home.

Rewards for Unrollers

"When the body is fully exposed, other objects of interest will doubtless be discovered."[128]

Part of the attraction of obtaining a mummy was undoubtedly the mystery surrounding its contents,[129] that is, uncovering the artifacts that had been placed with the deceased during the wrapping process and of course, the identity of the individual who had not seen the light of day for thousands of years.[130] Many travelers witnessed or even participated in the unraveling of mummies in Egypt in the search for objects of antiquity, yet for the most part the mummies chosen for unwrapping were often deemed to have little value or historical significance and rarely provided much in the way of artifacts. Therefore, great efforts were made by some travelers to procure a mummy of satisfactory status that, once "unrolled," might yield objects of intrigue: "having found [. . .] that no good ones [mummies], opened, were to be found in this place [Alexandria] or Cairo, commissioned a person going to Thebes to select one, and he succeeded in procuring the best that had been seen for a long time."[131]

Mummy "unrollings" were usually conducted in the company of family and friends and were often made into a spectacle, the pinnacle of an evening's entertainment, a famous example being the soirée held by Lord Londesborough (1805–1860) in 1850, for which specially prepared invitations were handed out to invited guests.[132] Such gatherings were not the exclusive preserve of the elite: "American visitors to Egypt are accounted the best customers of Egyptian body-snatchers. They are glad to return home with a mummy; they are proud of being able to invite their friends to see it unrolled."[133] To partake in or witness the unrolling a mummy allowed Westerners to indulge their fascination with Egypt's ancient past, to satisfy their curiosity while ultimately demystifying ancient Egyptian beliefs about death and the afterlife. Invitations to such events were highly prized because guests were often welcome to keep amulets, items of jewelry, or pieces of mummy wrappings as a memento of the evening. Failure to procure such "trinkets" provided bitter disappointment for participants, even scholars, as Heinrich Brugsch (1827–1894) noted during his attendance of a mummy unrolling in 1883: "Not a single amulet, no jewellery, no rolls of papyrus were found [. . .] Everyone felt the same sense of disappointment."[134]

Travelers who wished to promote a more "scientific" interest in Egypt's ancient dead donated their mummies to be unwrapped by professional mummy unrollers[135] at public gatherings, the results of which were often published in local newspapers. These public unrollings proved so popular that it was often difficult to acquire tickets, as was the case with the public unwrapping of the mummy of Horsiesi[136] performed by famed mummy unroller Thomas Pettigrew (1791–1865) at the Royal College of Surgeons in 1834: "Visitors in considerable numbers arrived very early and filled all the seats; many were obliged to stand; and many others retired from all the doors who could not find admission."[137] This particular unrolling drew such a crowd that the Archbishop of



Figure 11: (Left) Mummy wrapping (21.24/91) taken as a memento of the unrolling of a mummy by Augustus Bozzi Granville (1783–1872) at the Royal Institution in London in 1830. Wynne of Penarth collection. (Right) Mummy wrapping (21.24/92) taken as a memento of the unrolling of a "Priestess of Ammon" by Samuel Birch (1813–1885) at Shrewsbury Shire Hall (England) in 1842. Wynne of Penarth collection. Photograph © Tessa T. Baber. Courtesy of Amgueddfa Cymru—National Museum of Wales.



Figure 12: Mummy hand (Ha 5978) now in the collections of the Bristol Museum and Art Gallery. No record survives of the donor or date of donation, but the accompanying label for the hand states that it was gifted to the donor by Thomas Pettigrew after a public mummy unrolling. Courtesy of Bristol Museums, Galleries and Archives.

Canterbury and the Bishop of London were turned away because of a lack of seating.[138]

These supposed "scientific" unwrappings, were, however, not too dissimilar to those held by travelers in their own parlors, in that audience members were permitted keepsakes to mark the event (Figure 11).[139] This practice appears to have continued well into the early 20th century; attendees at the 1908 unwrapping of the mummy of Khnum-Nakht (one of the famous "Two Brothers") by Dr. Margaret Murray (1863–1963) were invited by the chairman to leave their name and address should they wish to receive a piece mummy wrapping as a memento.[140] Pettigrew even appears to have given the hand of a mummy to a fortunate spectator of one of his unrollings (Figure 12).[141]

The "mania" over mummies in this period was driven in part, it seems, by a desire to establish some form of personal connection with these long-dead Egyptians; these mummy unrollings saw the collected mummy souvenirs of travelers transition from "exotic commodity" to "scientific object" as the mummy was unwrapped and revealed to a captivated audience.[142] Through the unrolling of these ancient embalmed bodies and distribution of funerary elements such as mummy wrappings among the spectators,[143] a palpable bond between ancient and modern realms could be established,[144] as spectators claimed to "feel delight in witnessing the unrolling of endless bandages [. . .] staring at the dried remains of a being who moved on the earth three or four thousand years ago."[145] The unrolling and unveiling of mummies brought them figuratively to life, "resurrecting" these ancient bodies that had lain dormant for millennia.[146] These public unwrappings were multisensory experiences[147] that allowed spectators to be transported to a distant period, across temporal boundaries, between the margins of life and death, mortality and eternity.[148] To witness an unrolling was therefore an occasion not to be missed,[149] and many mummy enthusiasts were disappointed when not able to secure tickets; in order to satisfy the curiosity of these Egyptophiles, the unwrapped mummy was often put on display (Figure 13),[150] to be examined by the public at leisure for a small fee.[151]

The ethereal experience of close contact with these ancient bodies had previously been the preserve of those who traveled to the exotic land whence they had come. The opportunity to attend either a public unrolling or a private unwrapping party brought a physical part of the travelers' experiences and the exoticism of the Nile to a greater sphere of the mummy-obsessed public, who may never have the opportunity to venture into Egypt: "The lively curiosity this spectacle excited, which was new to most of those present, and the interest they evinced, merit a full detail of the operation."[152] Thus Victorian "mummyphiles" could immerse themselves in the romantic fantasy of Egypt's ancient past and fully indulge desires to experience the otherworldly atmosphere of the immediate space occupied by the unwrapped body of an old Egyptian.

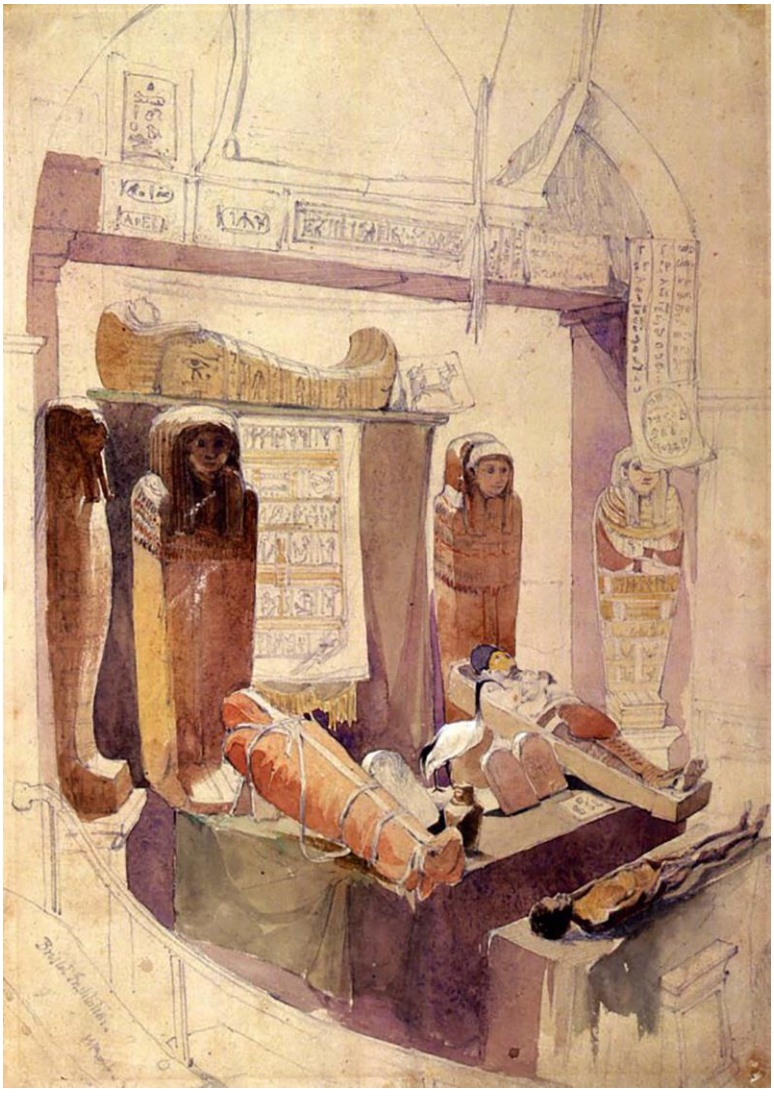


Figure 13: "The Theatre of the Bristol Royal Institution, Park Street, during the Delivery of Dr Prichard's Lectures on Egyptian Antiquities" by John Skinner Prout (1805–1876) (BCMAG M3984). Courtesy of Bristol Museums, Galleries and Archives.

The public unrolling of mummies allowed mummy enthusiasts to sit in the company of the scholars and academics who gave credence to these "scientific" affairs,[153] which, although highly destructive to the mummies,[154] were often justified by the claim that they allowed scholars a greater understanding of ancient mummification and wrapping techniques, which could be reconstructed after observation of, in effect, reverse-engineering the process.[155] However, in reality, the theatricality of these spectacles often served to fetishize the dead and ultimately to satisfy curiosity about the Oriental "other," rather than to promote academic interest in the historical aspects of the mummified body.[156]

Nevertheless, notions of the "scholarly" aspect of such unrollings may have induced some travelers to conduct their own investigations of the mummies they had brought back from Egypt or purchased from collectors; this may explain why some chose to unwrap their mummy souvenirs at the site of discovery, perhaps determining that it was the unveiling of the body and the discovery of its associated artifacts that were of greatest interest.

On occasion, on-site unwrappings in Egypt were similarly made into a great spectacle, such as those carried out by mummy vendors, who intended to entertain guests and induce them to purchase the uncovered antiquities. Sarah Lushington recorded her anticipation and excitement at having been invited to witness an unrolling at the aforementioned Signor Piccinini's house in 1828: "In the evening I accepted the invitation of Signor Piccinini [. . .] who had resided about nine years at Thebes, to see the opening of a mummy, that I might myself take out the scarabæus, or any such sacred ornament as might be found

in the coffin."[157] Invitations to these events appear to have been as highly prized as the contemporary private unwrapping parties and public unrollings carried out in Europe and America, but these on-site unrollings were all the more exclusive; set against the backdrop of the Egyptian landscape or even taking place within the ancient tombs themselves, they provided travelers with unique and rare accounts of the experience, which could later be read by the less intrepid from the comfort of their own armchairs.

In some rare instances, however, these on-site unrollings were conducted out of curiosity about embalming methods and additional preparation of the body for the afterlife. Lady Harriet Kavanagh (1799–1885) records in 1847 being party to the unwrapping of a "Roman soldier" by antiquities dealer André Castellari (d. c.1848).[158] The unrolling revealed that, although the body was in "a very perfect state of preservation," it contained very little in the way of amulets and other objects of antiquity: "There was nothing found on him but some gilt tinsel and endless bandages of linen which were divided amongst the spectators."[159] As with those conducted at home, this unwrapping was commemorated by the handing out of mummy bandages. Once the examination was complete, Kavanagh requested that the mummy be reburied in the sand,[160] a somewhat unusual practice in an age when mummies were commonly considered merchandise and objectified as commodities.

These unrollings usually took place, however, firmly within the context of tomb rifling and mummy hunting. Unlike the specimens unrolled in the company of academics in the dissection halls of scientific institutions, which were often later acquired by local museums,[161] the intention was often solely to secure antiquities. Sarah Lushington was aghast to witness that the remains of the mummy and its accompaniments unrolled by Piccinini, were tossed out as worthless refuse, as nothing of "value" was found among the wrappings.[162] Such disposable of the dead was unfortunately common practice throughout this period of early travel, even among tourists who had often labored to secure their mummy souvenirs. Many travelers were simply too impatient to determine whether their mummies contained any articles of value; the unrolling itself, far from being a spectacle, was often a means to an end: to acquire rare and genuine artifacts.

Even early Egyptologists wreaked destruction upon Egypt's ancient dead in pursuit of rare antiquities, as Walter Thornbury (1828–1876) professed in 1873: "the Lord of the Two Egypts [*sic*] has been torn piece-meal by antiquarians to spice library drawers, or has been dismembered by popular lecturers searching for papyri."[163]

Prior to the rise in popularity of mummy unrollings in the 19th century, mummies were regarded as prized specimens held in personal collections, valued for their "inherent spectacularity" and deemed too visually impressive to be unwrapped.[164] Following the craze for mummy unrollings in the early to mid-1800s, mummies were transformed from "curios" that encapsulated both the inherent mystery surrounding death and the exoticism of the land of the Nile, into disposable "objects"[165] prized more as a source of potential "trinkets" than for their historical value.[166]

Travelers' attitudes toward mummies in the Victorian period seemed to waver among avaricious rapacity to acquire important and ancient relics, ambivalence regarding or even aversion to the handling of mummy remains, and repulsion at such exploitation of the dead.

Travelers often expressed indignation and embarrassment at the behavior of the local villagers, who they often claimed labored under the mistaken belief that they were simply pandering to Western desires to possess such "souvenirs." Although many travelers protest that they were constantly accosted to purchase mummy souvenirs during their travels, others were still desirous to possess them, although even then many were clearly not comfortable with the methods by which these souvenirs were acquired, as Mary Postans' account (1844) demonstrates:

> [. . .] I was not yet reconciled to the horrible effects of Arab tomb-rifling, and the dismembered bodies, female heads, and severed limbs I had passed on the way [. . .] Here a horrible scene presented itself—hundreds of human bodies, piled one upon another, lay under out feet, torn and rifled by the Arabs, stripped of their cerecloth, crushed and dismembered. Even now, the guides and Arabs turned them over as if they had been logs of wood, laughed hideously as some distortion became apparent by the flickering lights, and stamped upon the heap in a way that made the blood curdle in one's veins.[167]

Perhaps it was this aversion to the thought of possessing human remains—despite the popular attraction of the tombs and mummy pits from which they were drawn—that ultimately led to mummy mementos losing their exoticism and appeal by the close of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century. These souvenirs do not appear to have retained the same nostalgic charm for the succeeding generations that inherited them, and so they soon found their way into local antique dealers, were donated to local museums, or were simply disposed of.

The End of an Era

"[R]epresentatives of a cultured Christian race are setting a bad example to the uncivilized by hunting up the bones of ancient kings and exhibiting them to gratify the curiosity of tourists."[168]

Mummies were still a curiosity for many travelers at the beginning of the 19th century, but as archaeological discoveries were made by Egyptologists in the late 1800s and early 1900s, public knowledge and understanding of ancient Egyptian burial practice gradually matured. As travelers began to acquire knowledge from the study of these embalmed bodies in situ, it became more uncomfortable for collectors to continue to display these ancient corpses as curiosities, as exemplified in travelogues of the period, such as the 1906 account of Oswald Hardy (b.1853):

> that poor marred head, thus ruthlessly handled and laid daily baking in the sun to tempt some curious foreigner to take it 3,000 miles away and put it in a cupboard with *bric-a-brac* or geological specimens or discarded ornaments [...] Did it deserve to come to this? Should not this traffic be stopped?[169]

The acquisition and collection of mummy parts appear to have particularly offended the moral susceptibilities of early 20th century travelers. Henry V. Morton (1892–1979) relates his horror at being accosted by the local Egyptians during a visit to Thebes in 1923 and asked to buy a mummy hand:

> When I came out of the tombs at Qurna, and before my eyes had become used to the light, I was aware that people were running towards me. One of the first to arrive thrust something into my hand. I looked down and saw that I was holding the hand of a mummy [. . .] The man to whom it belonged refused to take it back, believing that as long as I held it there was a chance that I might give him the shilling he was asking in preference to all the other things that old and young were thrusting on me [. . .][170]

Morton ultimately purchased the hand so that he could bury it and "put it out of its misery."[171] Although there had already been some indignation expressed over the acquisition of such souvenirs in the 19th century,[172] it seems that it wasn't until the early 1900s that travelers became widely averse to this practice.

It is clear that attitudes toward the collecting of mummies as souvenirs changed gradually over the course of the 19th century, which can be explained by the amount of information that was made available to the public during this period. Several distinct "waves" of Egyptomania and the mummymania that accompanied it can be identified in this period, which heralded significant discoveries that were disseminated amongst the general public and which affected the level of interest in Egypt's ancient past (and her dead).

The first wave is generally accredited to the investigations made by the savants of the Napoleonic expedition (1798–1801), who studied and recorded the sites and monuments of Egypt on a grand scale. Their findings were later published as *Le Description de l'Égypte* in twenty-one volumes between 1809 and 1822.[173] This important work exposed the Western world to the wonders of Egypt, inspiring many others to venture to the country to explore the sites and monuments so eloquently depicted in these volumes.[174] In the ensuing years, travel literature became popular and encouraged yet more Egyptophiles to travel to Egypt. One of the most popular was the account published by proto-Egyptologist Giovanni Battista Belzoni (1778–1823) in 1820, *Narrative of the Operations and Recent Discoveries in Egypt and Nubia*, which ran to three editions by 1822.[175] This early period also saw the public exposition of important archeological discoveries, such as Belzoni's Great Exhibition of 1821, which showcased his recent discovery of the tomb of Seti I at Thebes.[176] The most captivating element of the exhibit was the mummy of "a young man"[177] that drew in crowds of visitors and inspired Horace Smith (1779–1849) to compose his "Address to an Egyptian Mummy":

> And thou hast walk'd about (how strange a story!)
> In Thebes's street three thousand years ago,
> When the Memnonium was in all its glory,
> And Time had not begun to overthrow
> Those temples, palaces, and piles stupendous,
> Of which the very ruins are tremendous.
>
> Speak! For thou long enough hast acted Dummy,
> Thou hast a tongue—come—let us hear its tune;
> Thou'rt standing on thy legs, above-ground, Mummy!
> Revisiting the glimpses of the moon,
> Not like thin ghosts or disembodied creatures,
> But with thy bones and flesh, and limbs, and features [...][178]

In the succeeding decades, further enthusiasm for Egypt's heritage was encouraged by the establishment of new Egyptian collections displayed to the public, such as the mummy-filled Egyptian room in the British Museum,

which opened to the public in 1837,[179] and the ever-popular mummy unrollings of the 1830s and 1840s, which both entertained and educated the masses.[180] In the mid-19th century, Egyptologists made important discoveries: Auguste Mariette (1821–1881) discovered the Serapeum and catacomb of the Apis Bulls at Saqqara in 1851,[181] and the first in-depth survey of the sites and monuments were carried out by archeologists such as Carl Richard Lepsius (1810–1884),[182] Colonel Howard Vyse (1784–1853), John Shae Perring (1813–1869), and Captain Giovanni Battista Caviglia (1770–1845),[183] all of which helped to further stimulate the public's fascination with Egypt's ancient past.

In 1881, the Deir el-Bahri cache (DB320) was discovered, containing the mummies of pharaohs, queens, and their royal children, that had long been absent from their tombs.[184] The subsequent discovery in 1891 of the second Deir el-Bahri cache, at Bab el-Gasus, containing the bodies of the priests and priestesses of Amun,[185] and the later discovery in 1898 of an additional royal cache in the tomb of Amenhotep II (KV35),[186] led to a surge of interest in the funerary archeology of Egypt and no doubt, to a greater appreciation of the rarity of these ancient preserved bodies and the potential history still to be recovered:

> There appears to be a mania for mummies just at present. Respectable Egyptians who have been sleeping the sleep of the just—or the unjust—for the last twenty-five or thirty centuries, have been stripped of their venerable cerements, and ruthlessly exposed to the gaze of the British public [. . .] wise men who imparted Egyptian learning to Moses, as well as plain agriculturists and vulgar tradesmen, have been torn from their sepulchres and stripped naked to please the curiosity of people whose ancestors were painted savages when the men who are now mummies were cultured gentlemen and learned scholars [. . .][187]

The discovery of the Bab el-Gasus cache highlighted the lack of "collectible" mummies in this late period, as various institutions around the world vied for possession of these ancient embalmed bodies; having become rare by the late 19th century, they could be used to political advantage as diplomatic gifts:

> [. . .] the Egyptian Government has just addressed to the representatives of the six Great Powers a note to the effect that it has been decided to make a gift of a portion of the mummies of the High Priest of Ammon, found two years ago in Upper Egypt, and now at the Ghizeh Museum, to the museums of London, Paris, Berlin, Vienna, St Petersburg, and Rome. These mummies are to be divided into six lots, and to be drawn for by each of the Powers.[188]

The competition for mummies was at this time being played out in Egypt on a grand scale by the various colonial powers that laid claim to Egypt's heritage; the consuls of England, France, Germany, Italy, and so on, all competing to obtain the most prized artifacts for museum collections in their home country.

Late 19th century travelers on the hunt for mummies were thus in direct competition with agents collecting for museums or institutions, who intended a more academic application for the remains.

Furthermore, travelers were navigating their way through the ethical implications of acquiring human remains at a time when burials were being archeologically investigated and concerted efforts were being made to protect them by organizations such as the Egypt Exploration Fund (EEF; founded in 1882).[189] Publicity of the removal of mummies from Egypt at this time was set firmly in the context of the undertakings of official and scholarly institutions. Gone were the days when the export of fine mummy specimens by travelers were advertised to the public, as had been the case in the late 18th and early 19th centuries.[190] Of course, collectors could circumnavigate the ethical dubiousness of exporting mummies for their personal collections during this period, by sponsoring archeologists' excavations which entitled them to a share of the finds uncovered during the investigation. For many travelers, however, efforts were instead placed on collecting artifacts with more obvious historical value and application, such as papyri, stelae and the ever-popular shabtis and scarabs: "one gets over the awkwardness of one's feelings, and is quite ready to pocket a rare scarab, or an amulet, or a papyrus roll if fortunate enough to get one."[191] The mania for collecting mummies was, by the late 1800s, on the wane.

The final wave of Egyptomania swept over the Western world in the 1920s, the period that saw Howard Carter's (1874–1939) discovery of the intact tomb of Tutankhamun in 1922.[192] Although this spectacular find renewed interest in Egypt's heritage, attitudes toward the collecting of mummies as souvenirs had clearly changed by this time. This is borne out in the travel accounts of the period, which more often than not protest at the sacrilegious treatment of Egypt's ancient dead, as the 1923 account of Grace Seton (1872–1959) testifies: "It is an age of exploitation and utilitarianism [. . .] [T]his company of the dead must be routed out of their peace and made to furnish a passing show for the giggling school child of today."[193]

The disruption to tourism caused by both the First and Second World Wars also had a marked effect on the

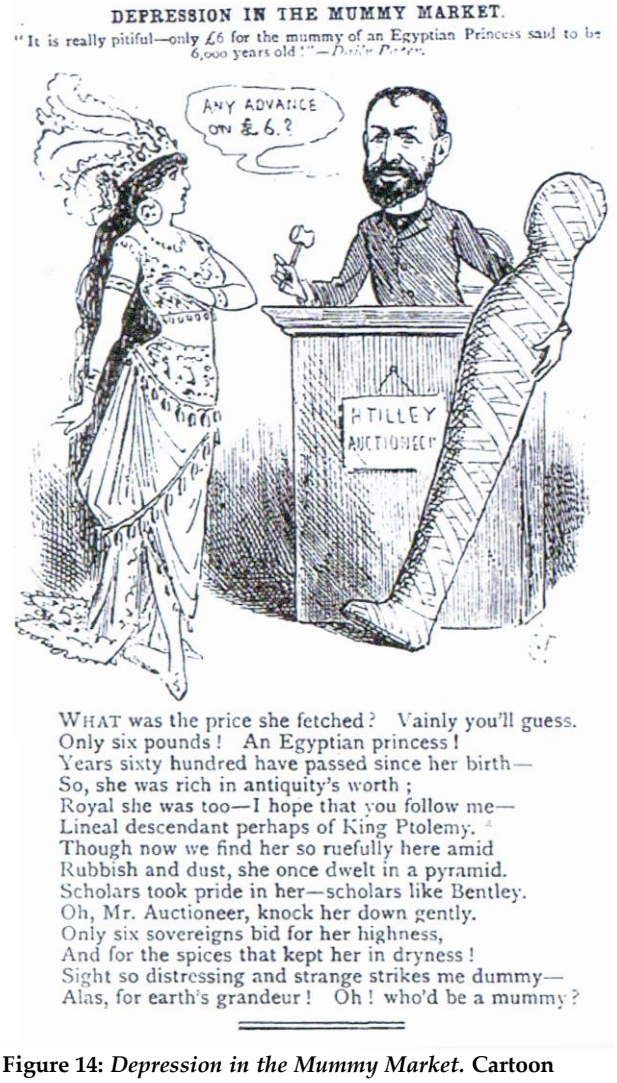


Figure 14: ***Depression in the Mummy Market.*** **Cartoon and verse published in Judy (London). A satirical note on the "mummymania" which swept the Western world in early-mid 19th century, which due to changing attitudes towards corpse-collecting, had by the late 1800s, begun to fall out of fashion. From** ***Judy; or the London Serio-comic Journal*** **(24 March 1886): 140.**

antiquities trade as the numbers of tourists traveling to Egypt dwindled. By the time tourism experienced a resurgence in the 1920s,'30s, and '50s, mummy hunting had become an antiquated pastime, the mummy pits were now long forgotten, and one sees a marked disinterest in the acquisition of mummies as souvenirs in this period.

There had, however, always been travelers who viewed the exploits of tourists such as the looting of tombs and vandalizing of monuments to be in extreme poor taste. This is evident in the 1862 account of Bayard Taylor (1825–1878), who traveled though Egypt in the early 1850s:

> I cannot conceive the passion which some travellers have, of carrying away withered hands and fleshless legs, and disfiguring the abodes of the dead with their insignificant names. I should as soon think of carving my initials on the back of a live Arab, as on these venerable monuments.[194]

For many travelers, the local Egyptians' treatment of the dead was too blasé, and the unending beseeching to buy mummies and relics left some travelers bewildered and disillusioned over the possible merits of visiting Egypt's ancient burial sites, a situation experienced and reflected upon with humor by William Leighton (1826–1883), during his travels in 1874:

> Of the Sphinx I really cannot say much, for we were so persecuted by wild Arabs getting in the way, offering to go up and down the Great Pyramid in nine minutes for a franc, or to bring you a bit of the top of the Sphinx's head in no time, that it was quite bewildering [. . .] I tried to ascertain what it would cost to pitch into an Arab: it would have been well worth a night's imprisonment and a moderate fine; but then he might have pitched into me [. . .][195]

The once popular pastime of mummy hunting (Figure 14) was, by the close of the 19th century, in conflict with more "modern" perceptions of how the past should be preserved and protected: "Nothing could have been more distasteful to those ancients, who believed that they were preserving their bodies for a future life, than the thought of being thus torn to pieces."[196] As the era of forming private collections containing mummy souvenirs was nearing its end, the loss of interest was undoubtedly exacerbated by the increasing difficulty in procuring mummies: "Mummies can be bought secretly through dealers in antiquities, who have under-ground relations with the grave robbers. Twenty or thirty years ago, however, there was a great deal more of this rascality than now, for the government if trying hard to stop it."[197]

For those already in possession of a mummy or mummy part, "generous" donations were made to museums, societies, and scholarly institutions.[198] Some were simply stowed away and forgotten, to be rediscovered by descendants, some of whom appear not to know what to do with these ancient relics and simply threw them out:

> A labourer was searching amongst a heap of rubbish near Maidenhead on Monday, when he discovered a human hand and foot. He called the police, and the remains were taken to a local doctor for examination. The medical gentleman gave it as his opinion that the

> remains were those of an Egyptian mummy, and yesterday morning Superintendent Taylor conveyed the hand and foot to Dr Budge at the British Museum, who confirmed the Maidenhead doctor's opinion, declaring that the remains were bound in linen dating about a thousand years before Christ.[199]

On occasion this disposal of these unwanted heirlooms caused quite a stir as they drew the attention of the authorities at the possibility of having to conduct a murder inquiry: "The discovery by a child of a pair of human feet in the yard of an empty house at Hare-hills, which at first led to suspicion of foul play, has been explained to the satisfaction of the police. The feet were part of a mummy."[200] Possibly the disposers were ashamed or embarrassed that family members had possessed such unusual keepsakes, or perhaps they were simply repelled by the notion of having to continue to care for the remains themselves.

Mass Exploitation of Mummies

"The wanton destruction of mummies and their wholesale importation to this country, where they have been ground up and used as fertilizers, is going to make good mummies scarce and high."[201]

As time passed and tombs were pillaged of their contents, Egypt's burial grounds lay strewn with the rifled remnants of the ancient dead, as Henry Measor reported as early as 1844: "the usual havoc is visible; bones, mummy-cloths, and fragments of coffins, cover a vast extent of the ground, while everything of the least interest or worth has been carried off."[202] Very little survived in the way of suitable specimens for souvenirs by the late 1800s, and the mummies that remained in the tombs and pits had any valuable articles removed before being abandoned by travelers and relic hunters. This wanton destruction and abandonment of mummies perhaps explains the impetus behind their mass exploitation for the industrial manufacture of paper,[203] fertilizer, [204] and a pigment known as "mummy brown"[205] in the mid- to late 19th century.

In this period, several reports of the wholesale removal of mummy remains from Egyptian necropolises reached the Western world. Often directly witnessed by passing travelers or resident newspaper correspondents, it soon became clear that mummies were being exported from Egypt for several industrial uses:

> Mummies beat up into powder and mixed with a little oil make for artists in Egypt richer tones of brown than any other substance. Modern perfumers used to prepare the perfumes and spices found inside of the mummies in such a way as to make ladies "dote on it." Paper manufacturers have used the wrapping of mummies to make coarse paper, and the cloth of rags have been used as clothing.[206]

Mummies had been used for a time for several novel uses. Travelers report witnessing the use of mummies as stopgaps in the broken roofs of local Egyptian houses,[207] and their coffins used as water troughs for donkeys.[208] Mummies were even chopped up and burnt as firewood, as Walter Thornbury (1828–1876) reported in 1873: "Yesterday I was scrambling over millions of tons of rubbish of Old Thebes, or stumbling over the black skulls, brown shrunken hands, and shreds of the tawny grave-clothes of learned Thebans, parts of whom had been burnt in peasant's fires [...]"[209]

Such uses reflected the common notion throughout the 19th century that mummies were expendable, as their supply was thought to be inexhaustible; the *Sydney Morning Herald* reported on this disturbing "modern" treatment of Egyptian mummies as early as 1849:[210] "Their coffins are burnt to make an English lady's tea tray; their cere-cloths are made into paper to wrap up an Arab's tobacco [...] for mummies are little more respected in Europe than by the ignorant Arabs who pull them up, and to pieces for sale [...]."[211]

Mummies, however, had a much longer history of exploitation, having been used as the main constituent of a medicine known as *mumia*[212] from perhaps as early as the 13th century CE.[213] Believed to be so potent that it could instantaneously heal cuts and contusions and could remedy fractures in a matter of minutes,[214] *mumia* was likely made from the lower-status mummies taken from the mummy pits, where they had often been observed being removed for sale to European apothecaries.[215] Considered of no scientific value and more widely available than those popular as souvenirs, these mummies were deemed consumable and ideal for use as medicine as they were believed to prepared with a profusion of "bitumen" (or what resembled bitumen), the main constituent of the drug.[216] The numbers of these mummies were so great that enterprising merchants were able to use them once again in the mid- to late 1800s as material for the manufacture of paper[217] and fertilizer;[218] this particular exploitation was in response to a crisis in the supply of the fundamental constituents of these products: rags and bones, for which the mummies and their wrappings were substituted.

The exploitation of mummy material in the manufacture of such products even appears to have been sanctioned by the Egyptian government,[219] thereby



GROUND MUMMIES MAKE GOOD PAINT

Business of Pulverizing Defunct Egyptians May Cease for Lack of Supply.

NEW YORK, Jan. 23. — Mummy — powdered mummy—makes one of the best and most popular colors used by artists. Every large dealer in oil paints sells powdered mummy, and almost every manufacturer of pigments has a mummy department, where, in a spice-laden atmosphere, amid surroundings picturesque and grewsome, young men and women grind up the dried bodies of Egyptian princesses and priests, mix the powder with poppy oil and bottle it for the market in little tubes of tin.

This business of making paint out of mummies is of long standing, but it is now threatened with destruction. For the supply of mummies is daily growing scarcer, while the demand for them increases. If, then, for the benefit of the museums and people of the future, any mummies at all are to be preserved, the commerce in them must at once cease. That is the view which the government of Egypt is taking, and the governments of France and England are supporting her. In the London and Paris newspapers have appeared of late a number of articles urging the instant prohibition all over the world of the mummy paint industry.

Figure 15: "Ground Mummies Make Good Paint:" article detailing the use of powdered mummy in the manufacture of paint and the likelihood that supplies of the pigment would soon run dry, as Egyptian mummies had become almost impossible to source by the early 1900s. From *The St. Paul Globe* (24 January 1904): 28.

legalizing a practice that was considered a highly lucrative business in the mid- to late 19th century:

> Any mummy mining company that can make a satisfactory arrangement with the Khédive and begin work almost anywhere in Egypt, will be reasonably sure to strike mummies and papyri in paying quantities, and to make a dividend within six months after driving the first spade into the ground.[220]

It was so profitable in fact, that reports of the exploitation of mummies continued well into the early 1900s, with certain mummy products, such as mummy paint, ceasing production only because of the difficulty of procuring mummy specimens as material: "We are badly in want of one [a mummy] at a suitable price, but find considerable difficulty in obtaining it. It may appear strange to you, but we require our mummy for making colour"[221] (Figure 15).

Such exploitation appears to have amused some travelers, while certain pragmatic tourists viewed it as a sensible solution for clearing up the mummy remains that lay strewn about the desert surface: "heaps of mummies are left to fall to dust upon the surface [. . .] Yet, were all these remains collected, and consumed in one pile, or even burned piecemeal by the Arabs, it would be less offensive to the feelings than to behold them thus wantonly trampled underfoot."[222]

However, by the close of the 19th and the advent of the 20th century, early archeologists and Egyptologists were making more concerted efforts to excavate and record important sites before they were pillaged out of existence. Early travelers themselves had by this time come to appreciate the historical value of the "relics" they had previously collected as souvenirs and sought to prevent the destruction of Egypt's remaining heritage. British traveler Amelia Edwards was instrumental in the establishment of the EEF as an organization to sponsor the protection and scientific investigation of ancient sites, after having herself witnessed the wanton destruction of Egypt's heritage during her travels in the country in 1873–1874:

> [T]he wall-paintings which we had the happiness of admiring in all their beauty and freshness, are already much injured. Such is the fate of every Egyptian monument, great or small. The tourist carves it all over with names and dates, and in some instances with caricatures [. . .] The "collector" buys and carries off everything of value that he can get; and the Arab steals for him. The work of destruction, meanwhile, goes on apace. There is no one to prevent it; there is no one to discourage it. Every day, more inscriptions are mutilated—more tombs are rifled—more paintings and sculptures are defaced [. . .] When science leads the way, is it wonderful that ignorance should follow?[223]

Toward the close of the 19th century, indignation was being expressed at the wholesale removal of mummy remains for the industrial manufacture of these mummy-products: "We may think that an Egyptian cemetery has no bottom to it, and that a true fissure vein of these people, is practically inexhaustible, but some day the foreman,

working on the lower level, will come to the surface and state in hoarse accents that the pay streak has pinched out."[224] Such public protestations may have swayed the authorities to take steps to prevent the removal of mummies as raw material for industrial manufactures in the late 19th century. With the increased scientific interest in and protection of Egypt's antique remains, together with the significant loss of material from her tombs, eventually there was a cessation of the removal of her ancient dead both as souvenirs and material for mummy products.[225]

Travelers of the early 20th century ventured into Egypt at the dawn of a new age, when its history and its mummies were appreciated more for their scholarly application than as "objects" of curiosity. Mummies remained the subject of intrigue, but the obsession with collecting and displaying these exotic "keepsakes" had by this time fallen out of fashion.

Conclusions

The relationship between early travelers and Egypt's mummified remains appears to have been dominated by the desire to connect with a lost age and the obsession with acquiring mummies as souvenirs was perhaps an attempt to possess a tangible vestige of that ancient time. The collection and display of these mummy souvenirs stimulated a wider interest in Egypt's ancient past, while also indulging the Victorian fascination with death. Mummies may have intrigued travelers, but Western encounters with them were often exploitative, and an untold number of mummies were removed from the tombs and mummy pits as souvenirs. An even larger number were lost forever, used as material in the manufacture of paper, fertilizer, and other mummy-based products in the mid-late 19th century.

The accounts left by early travelers contain remarkable tales of exploits in the land of the Nile which may seem extraordinary to modern audiences, and yet, even the acquisitive antics of these Victorian tourists can reveal important information about archeological sites and features now lost to us.[226] Further study of these sources may yet reveal significant information that may help us to develop a greater understanding of Egypt's past and, at the very least, provide us with a deeper insight into how and why the modern world developed a fascination with her ancient dead.

Notes

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1 Father Ferdinand de Géramb (1772–1848) to Pasha Mohamed Ali (1769–1849) in 1833: cited in Leslie Greener, *The Discovery of Egypt* (London: Cassell and Co. Ltd., 1966), 1. Géramb was referring to two of the most popular "hobbies" among travelers on the Nile: the hunting of crocodiles and the collecting of mummies as souvenirs.

2 James S. Curl, *The Egyptian Revival: Ancient Egypt as the Inspiration for Design Motifs in the West* (New York: Routledge Taylor and Francis Group, 2005), 374, 396; Karin J. Bohleke, "Mummies are Called upon to Contribute to Fashion: Pre-Tutankhamun Egyptian Revivalism in Dress," *Dress: The Journal of the Costume Society of America* 40.2 (2014): 93–115.

3 Richard C. Carrott, *The Egyptian Revival: Its Sources, Monuments and Meaning 1808–1858* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1978); Patrick Conner (ed.), *The Inspiration of Egypt: Its Influence on British Artists, Travellers and Designers 1700–1900* (Brighton: Brighton Borough Council, 1983), 83–96; James S. Curl, *Egyptomania: The Egyptian Revival as a Recurring Theme in the History of Taste* (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 1994), 156–171, 187–223; Jean-Marcel Humbert and Clifford Price (eds.), *Imhotep Today: Egyptianizing Architecture* (London: UCL Press, 2003); Chris Elliott, *Egypt in England* (Swindon: English Heritage, 2012), 8–31.

4 See: Nicholas Daly, "That Obscure Object of Desire: Victorian Commodity Culture and the Fictions of the Mummy," *Novel: A Forum on Fiction* 28.1 (1994): 24–51; Susan D. Cowie and Tom Johnson, *The Mummy in Fact, Fiction and Film* (Jefferson, North Carolina and London: McFarland and Co, 2002), 141–190; Carter Lupton, "'Mummymania' for the Masses—Is Egyptology Cursed by the Mummy's Curse?" in Sally Macdonald and Michael Rice (eds.), *Consuming Ancient Egypt* (London: UCL Press, 2003), 23–46: 24–31; Jasmine Day, *The Mummy's Curse:*

Mummymania in the English-Speaking World (London and New York: Routledge, 2006), 38–63; Bradley Deane, "Mummy Fiction and the Occupation of Egypt: Imperial Striptease," *English Literature in Transition, 1880–1920* 51.4 (2008), 381–410.

5 Curl 1994, 172–186; Elliott 2012, 32–41; Cathie Bryan, *Walk Like an Egyptian in Kensal Green Cemetery: A Walking Tour and Guide to the Egyptianizing Monuments of London's First and Finest Historic Garden Cemetery* (London: Friends of the Kensal Green Cemetery, 2012).

6 On various other aspects of Egyptomania see, for example: Peter France, *The Rape of Egypt: How the Europeans Stripped Egypt of Its Heritage* (London: Barrie and Jenkins, 1991); Brian M. Fagan, *The Rape of the Nile: Tomb Robbers, Tourists, and Archaeologists in Egypt* (Boulder: Westview Press, 2004); Scott Trafton, *Egypt Land: Race and Nineteenth-Century American Egyptomania* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2004); Elliot Colla, *Conflicted Antiquities: Egyptology, Egyptomania, Egyptian Modernity* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2007); Bob Brier, *Egyptomania: Our Three Thousand Year Obsession with the Land of the Pharaohs* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013).

7 There is a growing body of literature on the nature of early travel in Egypt, with many important works published by the Association for the Study of Travel in Egypt and the Near East (ASTENE): **http://www.astene.org.uk/**. See, for example: Paul and Janet Starkey (eds.) *Travellers in Egypt* (London: I.B. Tauris, 1998); Paul Starkey and Nadia El Kholy (eds.), *Egypt through the Eyes of Travellers* (Durham: ASTENE, 2002); Deborah Manley and Sahar Abdel–Hakim (eds.), *Traveling through Egypt. From 450 B.C. to the Twentieth Century* (Cairo and New York: AUC Press, 2004); Deborah Manley and Sahar Abdel–Hakim (eds.) *Egypt: Through Writers' Eyes* (London: Eland, 2007); Deborah Manely (ed.), *Women Travelers in Egypt: From the Eighteenth to the Twenty–First Century* (Cairo and New York: AUC Press, 2013). There are also important works on individual travelers; see for example: Patricia Usick, *Adventures in Egypt and Nubia: The Travels of William John Bankes (1786–1855)* (London: British Museum Press, 2002); Jason Thompson, Edward William Lane, 1801–1876: *The Life of the Pioneering Egyptologist and Orientalist* (Cairo and New York: AUC Press, 2010); Heike C. Schmidt, *Westcar on the Nile: A Journey Through Egypt in the 1820s* (Wiesbaden: Reichert Verlag, 2011); as well as works on early travelers of particular nations, such as the United States, for example: Cassandra Vivian, *Americans in Egypt, 1770–1915: Explorers, Consuls, Travelers, Soldiers, Missionaries, Writers and Scientists* (Jefferson, N.C.: McFarland and Co., 2012); Andrew Oliver, *American Travelers on the Nile: Early U.S. Visitors to Egypt*, 1774–1839 (Cairo: AUC Press, 2014).

8 See, for instance: "Extraordinary Adventure in the Mummy Pits in Egypt," *The Literary Panorama and National Register* 5.29 (1817): 811–816; "Experiences of a Telegraphist in Egypt," *The Edinburgh Courant* (25 November 1884): 2.

9 Edward Hogg, "Dr. Hogg's Travels in the East," *Leigh Hunt's London Journal* 83 (31 October 1835): 373–375: 375.

10 As exemplified in titles such as: Andrew Williamson, *The Golden Age of Travel: The Romantic Years of Tourism in Images from the Thomas Cook Archives* (Peterborough: Thomas Cook Publishing, 1998); Alain Blottière, *Vintage Egypt: Cruising the Nile in the Golden Age of Travel*, revised edition (Paris: Flammarion, 2009); Andrew Humphreys, *On the Nile in the Golden Age of Travel* (Cairo: AUC Press, 2015).

11 Thomas G. Appleton, *A Nile Journal* (Boston: Roberts Brothers, 1876), 249–250.

12 The collection of artifacts and mummies as souvenirs by Victorian collectors and travelers is discussed by various authors, but see in particular S. J. Wolfe's work on mummymania in the American context, which provides a detailed insight into the history, appeal, and treatment of mummies during the 19th century: S. J. Wolfe and Robert Singerman, *Mummies in Nineteenth Century America: Ancient Egyptians as Artifacts* (Jefferson, N.C.: McFarland and Co., 2009).

13 Roger de Keersmaecker, *Travellers' Graffiti from Egypt and the Sudan I–VII* (Antwerp: R.O. de Keersmaecker).

14 George H. Allsopp, *Notes of a Tour in Egypt in 1877* (London: printed for private circulation, 1879), 37.

15 One traveler even took it upon himself to knock off a piece of granite from the king's chamber in the Great Pyramid: George Burt, *Notes of a Three Months' Trip to Egypt, Greece, Constantinople, and the Eastern Shores of the Mediterranean Sea* (London: M. Singer and Co., 1878), 17.

16 The general sport of pyramid-climbing was known as "pyramideering."

17 This practice appears to have survived well into the 20th century, with the 1964 issue of *Life Magazine* publishing photographs of members of the Adventurer's Club of Denmark enjoying ham sandwiches and a celebratory drink of Danish cherry wine atop the Great Pyramid at Giza as a reward for the hour-long climb to reach the summit: "Danes have a Pyramid Party: A Big Hop on Cheops' Top," *Life Magazine* (17 January 1964): 35–36.

18 Every effort has been made to determine the dates of travelers referenced in this article; however, where it has not been possible to determine this information with any certainty, this information

has been omitted.

19 Theodore Walker, *Wanderings Eastward: A Diary of Travels in Egypt, Palestine, Syria, Turkey, and Greece, in 1885* (London: S. W. Partridge and Co, 1886), 19–20.

20 Walker 1886, 19.

21 Travelers told tales of hearing tourists accidentally falling to their deaths from the monument; see: Frederick Burr, *Notes of an Overland Journey to India, through France and Egypt, in December, January and February 1839–40* (Madras: For Private Circulation, 1841), 64.

22 Competitive pyramid running appears to have prevailed into the mid-20th century, with Hefnawi Adel Nabi Fayed becoming famous in the 1950–1960s as the world's fastest pyramid climber. He was able to ascend and descend the Great Pyramid in just six minutes, a feat for which he was known as the "Champion": "Storyteller a Link to Pharaohs and Pyramids," *Los Angeles Times* (31 July 1994), **http://articles.latimes.com/1994-07-31/news/mn-21861_1_pyramid-village**, accessed 23 January 2016).

23 William C. Middleton, *A Collection of Letters Written Home during a Tour to and from Egypt, up the Nile to the First Cataract* (London: printed for private circulation by W. Clowes and Sons, Ltd., 1883), 42.

24 "A Trip to Thebes by Mrs. Postans," *The Metropolitan Magazine* (40/157; May 1844): 7.

25 John L. Stephens, *Incidents of Travel in Egypt, Arabia Petraea, and the Holy Land I* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1853), 49–50.

26 Mary T. Carpenter, *In Cairo and Jerusalem: An Eastern Note-book* (New York: Anson D. F. Randolph and Co., 1894), 94.

27 Julius Chambers, *The Destiny of Doris; A Travel-Story of Three Continents* (New York: Continental, 1901), 111.

28 Joseph M. Rowland, *A Pilgrimage to Palestine* (Richmond: Acme Printing Company, 1915), 132.

29 *The Owl* (Birmingham, England) 25 (11 August 1882): 5.

30 Amelia B. Edwards, *A Thousand Miles Up the Nile* (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1877), 76.

31 This cabinet card (private collection) was purchased as part of a set of about 40 portrait cabinet cards and cartes de visite, many of which appear to portray Austro-Hungarian diplomats (some of whom are named). The identity of the individual posing here as a mummy is unfortunately unknown, but it is thus surmised that he was an Austro-Hungarian diplomat (František Gregor, personal communication). In the late 19th century, there also appears to have been a craze for Egyptophiles to have their photograph taken while posing as a mummy inside an upright Egyptian coffin: "Mummy Pictures," *Central City Weekly Register-Call* (Colorado) 25 (25 November 1898) (cited in Carley Henderson, "The Face of the Mummy," Undergraduate Research Awards 1 (Atlanta: Georgia State University, 2008), 2.

32 Anthony Wilkin, *On the Nile with a Camera* (New York and London: T. F. Unwin, 1897), 34.

33 "The Egyptian Mummy" (New York: William Grattan, 1823), a handbill cited in Day 2006, 19.

34 For example, the works of Theophile Gautier, *Le Roman de La Momie* (Paris: Chez Hachette, 1857); Arthur Conan Doyle, "The Ring of Thoth," *The Cornhill Magazine* (January 1890); Doyle, "Lot No. 249," *Harper's Magazine* (September 1892); Bram Stoker, *Jewel of Seven Stars* (London: William Heinemann, 1903); Henry R. Haggard, "Smith and the Pharaohs and Other Tales," *The Strand* (serialized 1912–1913). This "gothic" mummy literature or "mummy-fiction," its inspiration, and appeal, is discussed by: Daly 1994, 36–47; Cowie and Johnson 2002, 141–190; Day 2006, 38–63; and Deane 2008, 381–410.

35 This theme is explored in Théophile Gautier's "Le Pied de Momie" ("The Mummy's Foot") (1840), which tells the tale of the purchase of the mummified foot of "Princess Hermonthis" from a Parisian curiosity shop. Intending to use the foot as paperweight, the purchaser experiences a vision in which he is implored by the princess to allow her to return to her own land in exchange for a small statuette, an offer to which he agrees. Later, awoken by the arrival of a friend, he notices that the foot is missing from his desk and a statuette has taken its place. This tale and its connotations of the commodification of mummies are discussed by Daly 1994, 36–38.

36 The notion of the "mummy's curse" is discussed by: Day 2006, 44–62; Roger Luckhurst, "The Mummy's Curse: A Study in Rumour," *Critical Quarterly* 52.3 (2010): 6–22; Roger Luckhurst, *The Mummy's Curse: The True History of a Dark Fantasy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 3–86, 153–175.

37 Despite the belief that it was aboard the S.S. *Titanic* when it sank, the "Unlucky Mummy" (EA22542) has not left the British Museum since it was donated by Arthur F. Wheeler in 1889 (Luckhurst 2012, 26–40).

38 Joyce A. Tyldesley, *Tutankhamen's Curse: The Developing History of an Egyptian King* (London: Profile Books, 2012), 213–247.

39 James S. Curl, *The Victorian Celebration of Death* (Newton Abbot**:** David and Charles, 1972), 1–13.

40 Ken Worpole, *Last Landscapes: The Architecture of the Cemetery in the West* (London: Reaktion Books, 2003), 158.

41 Deborah Lutz, *Relics of Death in Victorian Literature and Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University

Press, 2015), 128–154.

42 See, for example, Jacqueline A. B. Barger, *Beyond the Dark Veil: Post Mortem and Mourning Photography from the Thanatos Archive* (San Francisco: Last Gasp, 2015).

43 Patricia Jalland, *Death in the Victorian Family* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), 5.

44 Curl 1972, 42–43.

45 Description of Cimetière du Père-Lachaise: John Strang, *Necropolis Glasguensis; With Osbervations* [sic] *on Ancient and Modern Tombs and Sepulture* (Glasgow: Atkinson and Co., 1831), 29.

46 François-René de Chateaubriand, *The Beauties of Christianity II* (London: H. Colburn, 1813), 381; originally published in French (*Génie du Christianisme* [Paris: Chez Mignaret,1802]).

47 Jasmine Day (2006, 28) has argued that Victorian travelers did not experience an aversion to mummified remains, as their antiquity protected those who came into contact with them from any potential "pollution" by the corpses; thus, travelers in this period were more comfortable with the collection of mummy souvenirs than perhaps later tourists of the early to mid-20th century.

48 Catherine Janeway, *Ten Weeks in Egypt and Palestine* (London: Kegan Paul and Co., 1894), 65–66. This late account demonstrates that, although sanctions had been put in place to prevent the trade in antiquities, mummies, and mummy parts in the early 19th century, they could still be obtained with relative ease in the late 1800s.

49 Wilkin 1897, 34.

50 These "catacombs" are the so-called mummy pits that were a popular tourist attraction in this period: "The next most remarkable things in Egypt are the Mummy-pits or Catacombs" (Barbara Hofland, *Africa Described in Its Ancient and Present State: Intended for the Use of Young Persons and Schools* [London: Longman, Rees, Orme, Brown, and Green, 1828], 72). "Catacomb" is one of many terms used to describe these burial places, others being "cave," "cavern," and "grotto": Tessa T. Baber, *The Mummy Pits of Ancient Egypt: The Long-Kept Secret of Early Travellers*, MA thesis (Cardiff University, 2011), 20–21.

51 Joseph P. Thompson, *Photographic Views of Egypt, Past and Present* (Boston: John P. Jewett and Co, 1856), 198.

52 Stephen Olin, *Travels in Egypt, Arabia Petraea and the Holy Land I* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1843), 267.

53 "These Arabs are resurrection-men, who labour diligently in breaking the coffins and the bones of the dead." (Frederick Henniker, *Notes during a Visit to Egypt, Nubia, the Oasis Boeris, Mount Sinai and Jerusalem* [London: John Murray, 1823], 82.)

54 For general discussion of the "resurrection men" of the early to mid-19th century, see, for example: Christine Quigley, *The Corpse: A History* (Jefferson, N.C.: McFarland and Co., 1996), 292–298; Brian J. Bailey, *The Resurrection Men: A History of the Trade in Corpses* (London: Macdonald and Co., 1991). For discussion in the context of Egyptian mummies, see: Christina Riggs, *Unwrapping Ancient Egypt* (Oxford: Bloomsbury Press, 2014), 48.

55 T. G. Wakeling. *Forged Egyptian Antiquities* (London: Adam and Charles Black, 1912), 113–114.

56 "A Glut of Fresh Mummies," *The Wichita Daily Eagle* (27 June 1888): 3.

57 Thomas Pettigrew recalls his own experiences of unrolling mummies which he discovered to be fakes in his chapter: "On Deceptive Specimens of Mummies," in Thomas J. Pettigrew, *A History of Egyptian Mummies and an Account of the Worship and Embalming of the Sacred Animals by the Egyptians* (London: Longman, Rees, Orme, Brown, Green and Longman, 1834), 227–230.

58 Amos D. Wenger, *Six Months in Bible Lands and Around the World in Fourteen Months* (Doylestown: J. B. Steiner, 1902), 415–416.

59 Patrick R. Carstens, *The Encyclopædia of Egypt during the Reign of the Mehemet Ali Dynasty 1798–1952: The People, Places and Events that Shaped Nineteenth Century Egypt and Its Sphere of Influence* (Canada: Friesen Press, 2014), 103.

60 Sarah Lushington, *Narrative of a Journey from Calcutta to Europe, by Way of Egypt, in the Years 1827–28* (London: John Murray, 1829), 79–84. Having since disappeared, Piccinini's house is purported to have been located close to the tomb of Nakht (TT161) in Dra Abu el–Naga.

61 "Cheap Mummies," *The Daily News* (Perth) (3 April 1907): 2.

62 The mummy pits were already known to travelers in the 16th through to the 18th centuries and may have been known to Arab scholars as early as the 13th century CE (Baber 2012, 18).

63 Charles L. Irby and James Mangles, *Travels in Egypt and Nubia, Syria and Asia Minor, during the Years 1817 & 1818* (London: T White and Co, 1823), 142.

64 To date, no in-depth information has been published on these burials. In modern sources, they are usually only briefly mentioned and are for the most part, presented simply in the context of travelers' tales; see for example: Cowie and Johnson 2002, 40; Vivian 2012, 64; Luckhurst 2012, 33, 49–50, 98, 194; Classen 2014, 273–275. (Authors often reference Giovanni Belzoni's account of a pit at Thebes, which is perhaps the most famous account of a "mummy pit": Giovanni B. Belzoni, *Narrative of the Operations and Recent Discoveries in Egypt and Nubia* [London: John Murray, 1820], 156-158) . There is a general view that these tales are

"sensationalistic" in nature and that these burials simply represent "caches" of mummies (perhaps gathered by grave-robbers), or else scholars otherwise subscribe to the same view held by many early travelers, that these "pits" simply represent "impromptu" burials made to accommodate those who had died as a result of a "mass death event" such as plague or warfare.

65 Description of the mummy pits at el-Qurna, Thebes (Lushington 1829, 85).

66 One of the earliest references to the bringing away of a mummy hand as a curio was recorded by the English merchant John Sanderson (1560–1611), who removed remains from a mummy pit at Saqqara in 1586 and gave a mummy hand to his brother upon his return home: William Foster (ed.), *The Travels of John Sanderson in the Levant, 1584–1602: With his Autobiography and Selections from His Correspondence* (London: printed for the Hakluyt Society, 1931): 44–45.

67 The mummy pits appear to have provided souvenirs for tourists right up to the 1940s, after which they seem to have been largely forgotten. A series of photographs from an unnamed British soldier who toured Egyptian sites in 1941 (offered for sale by an online auction site), included one that shows an opened mummy pit at Saqqara, where several decayed mummies and skulls had been brought forth to the desert surface for the benefit of tourists ("A Visit to the Saqqara Mummy Pits," *Antiquities Online*, **http://www.antiquitiesonline.co.uk/A-visit-to-the-Saqqara-mummy-pits_AWLZ2.aspx**, accessed 23 January 2016). Additional information provided by Guy Rothwell (personal communication).

68 John W. Clayton, "On the Nile" *The St. James's Magazine* 7 (April 1871): 522.

69 Benjamin Bausman, *Sinai and Zion; Or, A Pilgrimage through the Wilderness to the Land of Promise* (Philadelphia: Lindsay and Blakiston, 1861), 57.

70 Something which had been observed by the 4th Earl of Sandwich during his travels in Egypt in the mid-18th century, when many of the "mummy pits" had yet to have been completely rifled of their contents: John Montagu, *A Voyage Performed by the Late Earl of Sandwich Round the Mediterranean in the Years 1738 and 1739* (London: T. Cadell Jr. and W. Davies, 1799), 467.

71 The author's ongoing research into the archaeological nature of this unusual burial phenomenon has revealed that the "mummy pits" may indeed represent a definable burial custom used by the lower classes in the latest period of ancient Egyptian history (Baber 2011, 98–100). Continued study of the only sources that record these burials in any detail (early travelogues), as well as future study of these burials in the field, may yet lead to a better understanding of this long-forgotten "communal" burial method.

72 Thomas Legh, *Narrative of a Journey in Egypt and the Country Beyond the Cataracts* (London: John Murray, 1816), 114–115.

73 There has been some resistance to the notion that mummies or mummy-parts were burnt as firewood, particularly because the tale is erroneously credited to the creative imaginings of Mark Twain (Samuel Clemens; 1835–1910) and his infamous tale of mummies being burnt as locomotive fuel: Mark Twain, *The Innocents Abroad: or, New Pilgrims' Progress* (Hartford: American Publishing Co., 1869), 632. S. J. Wolfe (2009, 176–177) has already established that reports on the use of mummies as locomotive fuel date to much earlier in the 19th century than Twain's tale, and thus it cannot be his invention. Although the use of mummies as locomotive fuel cannot at present be confirmed (as the very nature of this particular use of mummies destroyed the evidence), it is far more likely that mummies were used as firewood throughout the 19th century, as many travelers report witnessing the use of mummies to make campfires; see for example: Howard Hopley, *Under Egyptian Palms: Or, Three Bachelors' Journeyings on the Nile* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1869), 186. Wolfe (2009, 178) has also discussed the potential flammability of Egyptian mummies, which would burn easily on account of their desiccated state and having often been covered with flammable resins and other unguents, something which Earnest Wallis Budge himself verified by his own experiments on mummy limbs in the late 19th century: "The arms, legs, hands and feet of such mummies [preserved with bitumen] break with a sound like the cracking of chemical glass tubing; they burn very freely, and give out great heat" (Earnest Wallis Budge, *The Mummy: A Handbook of Egyptian Funerary Archaeology*, second edition [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1925]), 208. Although Wolfe has made a good case for Egyptian mummies being used as fuel in the early age of travel, more research needs to be conducted in this area. Due to the large number of eyewitness accounts provided by travelers of the period, this novel use of mummies should not be dismissed out of hand as a fabricated fable and should be considered as additional evidence of 19th century attitudes to mummies as mere commodities that could be utilized as a raw material for all manner of uses (i.e. paper, paint and fertilizer).

74 "Horrors of a Mummy Pit," *Detroit Free Press* (25 May 1867): 4.

75 Henry W. Villiers Stuart, *Nile Gleanings Concerning the Ethnology, History and Art of Ancient Egypt, as*

Revealed by Egyptian Paintings and Bas-reliefs: With Descriptions of Nubia and Its Great Rock Temples to the Second Cataract (London: J. Murray, 1879), 87–88. This particular "mummy pit" at "Gebel Abou-Faida" contained both human and crocodile mummies; the fire was caused by a party of travelers who appear to have accidentally set light to the mummy wrappings that littered the floor of the caverns during their explorations.

[76] Richard Garnett and Mary Garnett, *Sketches and Letters of Egypt and Palestine* (Warrington: Mackie and Co. Ltd., 1904), 72.

[77] Postans 1844, 7.

[78] Lushington 1829, 86.

[79] Olin 1843, 267.

[80] It should be noted that it was highly unlikely that travelers who paid for a "pharaoh" or "princess" were sold the genuine article, as it was common for mummy traders to embellish their mummies with additional items of jewelry and even to create "mummy-sets" by combining high-status mummies with elaborate coffins or sarcophagi that belonged to another (often later) burial assemblage: Gulian Lansing, *Egypt's Princes: A Narrative of Missionary Labor in the Valley of the Nile* (New York: Robert Carter and Brothers, 1865), 265. This practice of transposition has become evident in the modern study of mummies in museum collections; research conducted on several mummies in the British Museum collections, for instance, revealed that one particular mummy found inside the coffin of the female (Shepenmehyt, EA22814), turned out to be male. The mummy and coffin were gifted to the museum by the Prince of Wales (later King Edward VII), who had brought it back from Egypt with several other mummies in 1869. Although the mummies had been "discovered" by the Prince during his trip, they were in actuality planted for him to find; the mummies are, however, still thought to have come from a family burial in the region (Thebes). As the unidentified male mummy and Shepenmehyt appear to be of a similar date, it is possible that they were originally found in the same burial and that Shepenmehyt's mummy was substituted in order to ensure the prince would acquire mummy specimens of the most "impressive" quality (John H. Taylor and Daniel Antoine, with Marie Vandenbeusch, *Ancient Lives, New Discoveries: Eight Mummies, Eight Stories* [London: British Museum Press, 2014], 50–51).

[81] "Cheap Mummies," *The Daily News* (Perth) (3 April 1907): 2.

[82] Although newspaper reports of the period could be considered to sensationalize this trade in mummies, many articles were based on reports made by early travelers who recorded the costs of purchasing a mummy or mummy parts during their trip. George Ade (1866–1944) for example, made a note of the various prices of mummy parts offered for sale during his travels in 1906: Ade 1906, 280.

[83] Middleton 1883, 72–73.

[84] Terence M. Russell, *The Discovery of Egypt: Vivant Denon's Travels with Napoleon's Army* (Stroud: Sutton Publishing, 2005), 237.

[85] Russell 2005, 242.

[86] Mummies had been removed from Egypt as souvenirs by travelers as early as the 17th century and had been exported out of Egypt from perhaps as early as the 13th century CE as material to manufacture mummy medicine, or *mumia*, as reported by the Arab scholar Abd Al-Latif (Al-Baghdadi) (1162–1231 CE) (J Pinkerton [ed.], "Extract from The Relation Respecting Egypt of Abd Allatif, an Arabian Physician of Bagdad," *A General Collection of the Best and Most Interesting Voyages and Travels in all Parts of the World XV* [London: Longman, Hurst, Rees and Orme, 1814], 816–817).

[87] Isabella F. Romer, *A Pilgrimage to the Temples and Tombs of Egypt, Nubia and Palestine in 1845–6 I* (London: Richard Bentley, 1846), 293.

[88] Henry P. Measor, *A Tour in Egypt, Arabia Petræa, and the Holy Land in the Years 1841–2* (London: Francis and John Rivington, 1844), 92.

[89] Olin 1843, 267.

[90] Postans 1844, 7.

[91] Thompson 1856, 217.

[92] Olin 1843, 268.

[93] Wenger 1902, 416.

[94] Randal W. MacGavock, *A Tennessean Abroad; Or, Letters from Europe, Africa and Asia* (New York: Redfield, 1854), 234.

[95] This practice dates to much earlier than the early to mid-1800s, with travelers in the 18th century being noted to "commonly bring away a limb [. . .] for curiosity" (Hermann Moll, *Atlas Geographus: or a Compleat System of Geography, Ancient and Modern* [London: J. Nutt, 1711], 93). For further discussion of the collecting of mummies before the 19th century, see: Karl H. Dannenfeldt, "Egypt and Egyptian Antiquities in the Renaissance," *Studies in the Renaissance* 6 (1959): 7–27.

[96] Gustave Flaubert, *Flaubert in Egypt: A Sensibility on Tour*, edited and translated by Francis Steegmuller (London: Penguin Books, 1996), 207.

[97] Sally Woodcock, "Body Colour: The Misuse of Mummy," *The Conservator* 20.1 (1996): 88.

[98] Such as the mummy head (EA54740) that was anonymously donated to the British Museum in 1920 (for photograph, see: Beverly Rogers, "Unwrapping the Past: Egyptian Mummies on Show," in Joe Kember, John Plunkett, and Jill A. Sullivan (eds.), *Popular Exhibitions, Science and Showmanship, 1840–1910* [London: Pickering and

Chatto, 2012], 199-218: 204). This mummy head is partly damaged, with flesh missing from the lower jaw; this has caused it to drop, giving the impression that the mummy is caught in an eternal groan. The "gruesome" nature of the head may have made it more appealing to the collector and exemplifies how these fragmentary human remains were objectified for their macabre appeal, often only considered mere "curios" rather than the fragmentary mortal remains of Egypt's ancient dead.

[99] Henry V. Morton, *Through Lands of the Bible* (London: Methuen and Co. Ltd., 1938), 259.

[100] The mummy head in Figure 9, EA54742, was perhaps gifted by the same donor of two other heads, EA54740 and EA54741. The mummy itself (which appears to be female) appears to be of high-status based upon the method of mummification used to preserve the body (Daniel Antoine, Assistant Keeper of Physical Anthropology, Bioarchaeology and Human Remains, Department of Ancient Egypt and Sudan, the British Museum, personal communication). The fabric wrapped around the base of the neck appears to be cotton that has colored with age. The lighter parts of the material demonstrate that it may once have been white or beige in color and was perhaps wrapped around the base of the head in order to resemble the wrappings that would have enveloped the body of the mummy (Amandine Mérat, Assistant Keeper of Roman and Late Antique Egypt, Department of Ancient Egypt and Sudan, the British Museum, personal communication). The display of these mummy remains (EA54740, EA54741, and EA54742) as "wrapped" in bandages may have been in attempt to "contextualize" the head as belonging to an ancient mummified individual (of which only the head survives) while also concealing from view the point where it had been separated from the body, thus creating the illusion that the mummy is still intact.

[101] Donald M. Reid, *Whose Pharaohs? Archaeology, Museums, and Egyptian National Identity from Napoleon to World War I* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), 54–58.

[102] For example, Colonel Howard Vyse, working together with John Shae Perring and Giovanni Caviglia in the 1830s, had conducted the first survey of the pyramids of Giza in 1837: Howard Vyse, *Operations Carried out at the Pyramids of Gizeh in 1837, with an Account of a Voyage into Upper Egypt I–II* (London: James Fraser, 1840); Howard Vyse, *Appendix to Operations Carried on at the Pyramids of Gizeh in 1837 III* (London: John Weale, 1842). Further information is provided in Caviglia's manuscript, published by the British Museum in 2007: Patricia Usick and Deborah Manley (eds.), *The Sphinx Revealed: A Forgotten Record of Pioneering Excavations* (London: British Museum Press, 2007).

[103] Fagan 2004, 179.

[104] George R. Gliddon, *An Appeal to the Antiquaries of Europe on the Destruction of the Monuments of Egypt* (London: J. Madden, 1841). Other protestations were also made by other prominent figures during this period, such as Jean-François Mimaut (1774–1837) in 1839 and Lord Algernon Percy (1810–1899) in 1837 (Fagan 2004, 179–180).

[105] Gliddon 1841, 4.

[106] This landmark government ordinance was issued in order to prevent the complete loss of Egypt's heritage to foreign museums and collectors by forbidding the exportation of Egyptian antiquities, making it illegal to destroy monuments, and to take steps to improve conservation. It was also decreed that an Egyptian museum would be built in Cairo to house the country's antiquities (Fagan 2004, 170).

[107] Edward L. Wilson, *In Scripture Lands: New Views of Sacred Places* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1890), 4.

[108] Friend and travel companion of Amelia Edwards (1831–1892).

[109] Marianne Brocklehurst, *Miss Brocklehurst on the Nile: Diary of a Victorian Traveller in Egypt* (Disley: Millrace, 2004), 107–119. Although the young dancing girl found inside the coffin was given a "good Christian burial," the case was smuggled out of Egypt and brought back to Macclesfield, where it is now housed with associated objects found with the burial, in the West Park Museum.

[110] Charles Stuart Welles, "The Tour of the Nile," *Scribner's Monthly* 11.2 (December 1875): 152.

[111] Steamships catering to tourists had traveled on the Nile as early as 1840, with the P&O Company operating three (the *Cairo*, *Little Nile*, and *Lotus*) at this time, but these only traveled between Cairo and Atfih (near Alexandria) on the Rosetta branch of the Nile (Humphreys 2015, 83).

[112] Humphreys 2015, 84.

[113] William F. Rae, *The Business of Travel: A Fifty Years' Record of Progress* (London: Thomas Cook and Son, 1891), 112.

[114] Cook's company offered a seven-day passage from London to Alexandria at under £20, first class, which they claimed to be the cheapest price for a passage to Egypt (Lynne Withey, *Grand Tours and Cook's Tours: A History of Leisure Travel 1750–1915* [London: Aurum Press, 1998], 257).

[115] In the spring of 1870, Thomas Cook and Son offered a hundred-day tour that encompassed a visit to Cairo, the Nile, and the Holy Land, and a seventy-day tour that excluded the Nile journey. For grand tours of the Middle East, steamship travel offered a significantly shorter trip (Withey

1998, 258).

116 Cited in: Anthony Sattin, *Lifting the Veil: Two Centuries of Travellers, Traders and Tourists in Egypt* (London: Tauris Parke Paperbacks, 2011), 138.

117 Reid 2002, 84–86.

118 Edwards 1877, 53.

119 Both morally and socially, in that they were willing to purchase antiquities when knowing little about them and that they were happy to purchase mummy fragments at a time when the practice was widely considered to be both unlearned and unethical.

120 Charles D. Warner, *My Winter on the Nile* (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin, 1876), 198.

121 Wife of Charles John Brook (dates unknown). Unfortunately, it has not been possible to determine her name or heritage, but she is possibly Mary Jones (b. 1835), wife of Charles John Brook (1829–1857).

122 Mrs. Brook, *Six Weeks in Egypt: Fugitive Sketches of Eastern Travel, Etc.* (London: Simpkin and Marshall, 1893), 68.

123 Rogers 2012, 199.

124 Wenger 1902, 415–416.

125 Henry B. Ottley, *Modern Egypt; Its Witness to Christ. Lectures after a Visit to Egypt in 1883* (London: Christian Knowledge Society, 1884), 136.

126 Wenger 1902, 415.

127 Edward J. Morris, *Notes of a Tour through Turkey, Greece, Egypt, Arabia Petraea to the Holy Land: Including a Visit to Athens, Sparta, Delphi, Cairo, Thebes, Mt. Sinai, Petra, &c.* (London: N. Bruce. 1843), 76.

128 Account of the partial unrolling of a mummy belonging to John L. Hodge in 1825 (later donated to the Academy of Natural Sciences in 1854) in *The Berks and Schuylkill Journal* (11 June 1825) (cited in Wolfe 2009, 135–137).

129 Daly argues that witnessing the unwrapping of a mummy revealed "the mysteries of the Orient" and that Egypt could be "summoned up," objectified, and ultimately demystified at such events (Nicholas Daly, *Modernism, Romance, and the Fin de Siècle: Popular Fiction and British Culture 1880–1914* [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999], 87–88).

130 The ultimate lure of these unrollings was undoubtedly the mystery surrounding the contents of the wrapped bodies that could be revealed to be anything: a man, woman, child, or animal, with the chance that nothing at all would be found if the mummy was discovered to be counterfeit (Constance Classen, "Touching the Deep Past: The Lure of Ancient Bodies in Nineteenth-Century Museums and Culture," *The Senses and Society* 9.3 [2014]: 276).

131 "Description of an Egyptian Mummy, Presented to the Massachusetts General Hospital; with an Account of the Operation of Embalming in Ancient and Modern Times," *The Boston Journal of Philosophy and the Arts* (1 May 1824): 164-179: 164. The mummy in question (Padihershef) was acquired and donated by Jacob Van Lennep (1802–1868), who had asked Peter Lee (d.1825), British Consul in Alexandria, to procure it for him: *Boston Daily Advertiser* (3 May 1823), cited in Wolfe 2009, 13–14. For further information on this mummy, its acquisition, and its history in the collections of the Massachusetts General Hospital, see Wolfe 2009, 7–34 ("An Appropriate Ornament of the Operating Room: Padihershef and the Beginnings of Mummymania in Nineteenth-Century America").

132 The mummy was unwrapped by Samuel Birch (1813–1885) at Londesborough's residence in Piccadilly (Warren Dawson papers, BL 56271, 9, 229; cited in Gabriel Moshenska, "Unrolling Egyptian Mummies in Nineteenth-Century Britain," *British Journal for the History of Science* 47.3 [2014]: 22) and reported in several newspapers at the time: "Mrs Glover," *The Times* (12 June 1850), 8; "The University College Mummy," *The Times* (27 December 1889), 4.

133 William F. Rae, *Egypt To-Day: The First to the Third Khedive* (London: Richard Bentley and Son, 1892), 317.

134 Heinrich K. Brugsch (1883), cited in Day 2006, 30.

135 Such as Johann Blumenbach (1752–1840), Augustus Bozzi Granville (1783–1872), George Robbins Gliddon (1809–1857), Samuel Birch (1813–1885), and, perhaps the most famous, Thomas Pettigrew (1791–1865).

136 Brought back from Egypt (Thebes) by the traveler and collector John Henderson (1780–1867): Warren R. Dawson, "Pettigrew's Demonstrations upon Mummies: A Chapter in the History of Egyptology," *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 20:3/4 (1934): 171–172.

137 Excerpt from the diary of Pettigrew's assistant, William Clift (1775–1849), quoted in Dawson 1934, 174.

138 Dawson 1934, 173.

139 Mummy wrapping 21.24/91 was taken from a mummy brought back from Thebes by Sir John Malcom (1769–1833), which he donated to the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland; it was unwrapped by Augustus Bozzi Granville ("Dissection of an Egyptian Mummy," *The Times* [16 December 1830]: 7). Mummy wrapping 21.24/92 was taken from a mummy purchased by Dr. Samuel Butler (1774–1839), Bishop of Lichfield, from the collections of Giovanni Battista Belzoni and later donated to the Shropshire and North Wales Natural History Society; it was unwrapped by Samuel Birch ("Unrolling of a Mummy," *The Gentleman's Magazine* 172 [October 1842]: 413). Additional information provided by Elizabeth

Walker, Principal Curator, Collections and Access, Department of History and Archaeology, Amgueddfa Cymru—National Museum Wales, personal communication.

140 Rosalie David, "The Background: Introduction," in Rosalie David and Eddie Tapp (eds.), *Evidence Embalmed: Modern Medicine and the Mummies of Ancient Egypt* (Manchester: Manchester Museum Press, 1984), 33.

141 This mummy hand (Ha 5978) is recorded as having come from a mummy "opened by Thomas Pettigrew" (Sue Giles, Senior Curator of World Cultures, Bristol Museums, Galleries and Archives, personal communication) and now resides in the collections of the Bristol Museum and Art Gallery. Unfortunately, there is no record of which unrolling the hand came from or of its donor.

142 Moshenska 2014, 3.

143 Traveler and author H. Rider Haggard (1856–1925) appears to have experienced the unwrapping of the mummy of Bak-Ran at University College London on the 18 December 1889, where he "handled, smelt, and turned the pieces of mummy-cloth which were passed round" ("The Unrolling of the Mummy," *New York Times*, [12 January 1890]: 13).

144 Sahar Sobhi Abdel-Hakim argues that mummies in themselves negotiate between the realms of life and death, past and present, east and west, and, perhaps most importantly, this world and the hereafter: Sahar Sobhi Abdel-Hakim, "Silent Travellers, Articulate Mummies, 'Mummy Pettigrew' and the Discourse of the Dead," in Paul Starkey and Nadia El Kholy (eds.), *Egypt through the Eyes of Travellers* (Durham: ASTENE, 2002), 123.

145 "Egyptian Mummies," *Chambers's Edinburgh Journal* 118.3 (May 1834): 110–111.

146 Claire Lyu, "Unswathing the Mummy: Body, Knowledge, and Writing in Gautier's *Le Roman de la Momie*," *Nineteenth–Century French Studies* 33.3/4 (2005): 314.

147 Classen 2014, 277.

148 Abdel-Hakim argues that the unveiling of the ancient embalmed mortal remains (which defied notions of Western scientific supremacy) ultimately threatened to obliterate temporal boundaries between decadent anachronism and advanced modernity, thus bringing the realms of the ancient and modern closer together. The unwrapping of a mummy allowed spectators to ponder eternity and confront their own mortality, as mummies served as "a pretext for the negotiations over the fraught boundaries of life and death" (Abdel-Hakim 2002, 123).

149 Which perhaps explains why even small pieces of plain mummy wrappings were so prized as mementos of these events: see Figure 11.

150 This series of lectures by James Cowles Prichard (1786–1848), illustrated by Figure 13, took place at the Bristol Institution between 31 March and the 4 April 1834. The mummies depicted were laid out for the attendees in order to add to the spectacle of the mummy unrolling by creating a romanticized vision of the exotic and mysterious ancient land that these mummies had once inhabited. The identity of the various mummies in the watercolor are not known for certain, but the unwrapped mummy in the foreground may be the one donated to the Bristol Museum by Thomas Garrard (1787–1859) and unrolled at the lecture in 1834 (see: "Bristol Institution—Dr Prichard's Lectures on Egyptian Mummies and Antiquities," *The Bristol Mercury* [5 April 1834]: 3), but is more probably the mummy of Tay, opened in 1824 (and also donated by Garrard) at a previous demonstration lecture (the remains of which are still in the BCMAG collections: Ha 6371). The mummy in a coffin case with a cartonnage mask and pectoral is probably the Ptolemaic mummy given to the museum by John Webb in 1823 (Ha 7385). The mummy on the left with crossed bands is probably the mummy of Ta-iry, unwrapped in 1834 (later destroyed in 1906): Sue Giles (personal communication); see also: Aidan Dodson, "The Coffins of Iyhat and Tairy: A Tale of Two Cities," *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 94 (2008): 111.

151 Due to the lack of space available for those who wished to attend the 1834 unrolling of the mummy of Horsiesi by Thomas Pettigrew, an advertisement was issued to inform the public that the mummy would be put on display to allow those who had missed the event to examine the mummy at their leisure: "Gentlemen who may be disappointed in witnessing the unrolling of the Mummy this day, will have an opportunity of viewing it in the Museum every Monday, Wednesday, and Friday, from 12 til 4 o'clock. Jan. 16. 1834" (Dawson 1934, 173).

152 "An Account of the Opening of Two Mummies belonging to M. Cailliard," *The Boston Journal of Philosophy and the Arts* (1 May 1824): 551.

153 Many accounts of Pettigrew's unrollings mention the presence of prominent scholars such as John Gardiner Wilkinson, Joseph Bonomi, and Robert Hay, who were most often seated prominently in the front rows (Moshenska 2014, 9).

154 In order to penetrate the outer wrappings of the mummy, which were often heavily impregnated with embalming resins, unrollers would use all manner of tools to free the body from the wrappings, including hammers, chisels, and saws: "The unrolling possessed little interest, and it was by no means pleasant to see chisel and mallet driving at the black and charred substance which once had been animated by a living soul"

("Unrolling a Mummy," *The Liverpool Mail* [24 September 1842]: 3).

155 Thomas Pettigrew even tested the accuracy of the techniques of mummification he had gathered through his various mummy unrollings by embalming the Duke of Hamilton (1767–1852), who had wished to be mummified in the Egyptian way after death, in 1852 (Moshenka 2014, 20).

156 Rogers 2012, 199.

157 Lushington 1829, 79.

158 Emmet Jackson, "An Irish Woman in Egypt: The Travels of Lady Harriet Kavanagh," in Diane Fortenberry (ed.), *Souvenirs and New Ideas: Travel and Collecting in Egypt and the Near East* (Oxford: Oxbow Books in association with ASTENE, 2013), 55–67: 63–64.

159 Jackson 2013, 64.

160 Jackson 2013, 64.

161 Such as the mummy of Tay, which joined the collections of the Bristol Museum shortly after it was unrolled in 1824 (Sue Giles, personal communication).

162 Lushington 1829, 82.

163 Walter Thornbury, *Criss-cross Journeys II* (London: Hurst and Clackett, 1873), 215.

164 Moshenska 2014, 5. The concept of "inherent spectacularity" is, however, credited to Paula Findlen, *Possessing Nature: Museums, Collecting, and Scientific Culture in Early Modern Italy* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994), 221.

165 This is an unfortunate reversal of transformation of these ancient bodies witnessed at public mummy unrollings, from "exotic commodity" to "scientific object" (Moshenska 2014, 3) and reflects the increase in "mania" for mummies following the mid–19th century, when greater numbers of tourists ventured to Egypt in search of one.

166 Through consideration of mummies and mummy fragments in the context of early travelers' souvenirs, it can be easy to forget that, although they were often objectified by early tourists and collectors who tended to view these remains as "relics" of antiquity or "macabre curiosities," it is important to be mindful that these are human remains and thus, they should not be considered or referred to as "objects"; we should strive to treat these remains with the care, respect and dignity that early travelers and collectors, often neglected to observe: Daniel Antoine, "Curating Human Remains in Museum Collections: Broader Considerations and a British Museum Perspective," in Alexandria Fletcher, Daniel Antoine, and J. D. Hill (eds.) *Regarding the Dead: Human Remains in the British Museum* (London: British Museum Press, 2014), 3.

167 Postans 1844, 7.

168 William E. Curtis, *Egypt, Burma and Malaysia* (Chicago: Fleming H. Revell and Co., 1905), 86.

169 Oswald H. Hardy, *Red Letter Days in Greece and Egypt* (London: Sherratt and Hughes, 1906), 87–88.

170 Morton 1938, 258–259.

171 Morton 1938, 259.

172 For example: Postans 1844, 7.

173 The second edition (the Panckoucke edition) ran to thirty-seven volumes and was published between 1821 and 1830.

174 *Le Description de l'Égypte, ou recueil des observations et des recherches qui ont été faites en Égypte pendant l'expédition de l'armée française* was published as four folio volumes of text and five grand folio volumes of plates that contained illustrations and paintings produced by famed artists and travelers, such as Dominque-Vivant Denon, which captivated public imagination: Reid 2002, 31–34.

175 Rogers 2012, 206.

176 Susan M. Pearce, "Giovanni Battista Belzoni's Exhibition of the Reconstructed Tomb of Pharaoh Seti I in 1821," *Journal of the History of Collections* 12.1 (2000): 109–125.

177 This mummy was unwrapped by Belzoni at the Egyptian Hall, Piccadilly (London) on Friday, 27 April 1821, a few days before the opening of the exhibition at the same venue on 1 May 1821 (Pearce 2000, 120).

178 Horace Smith, "Address to the Mummy at Belzoni's Exhibition," *The New Monthly Magazine and Literary Journal* 2 (1821): 128. For information on other works of prose inspired by ancient Egypt, see: Donald P. Ryan (ed.), *A Shattered Visage Lies: Nineteenth Century Poetry Inspired by Ancient Egypt* (Bolton: Rutherford Press, 2007).

179 Although various mummy exhibits had been displayed in the British Museum since it opened in 1759 (Rogers 2012, 205), the new Egyptian room that opened in 1837 was the first permanent Egyptian exhibition in the museum to contain mummies, and these were positioned in such a way as to command immediate attention (Stephanie Moser, *Wondrous Curiosities: Ancient Egypt at the British Museum* [Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2006], 158).

180 The last unrolling at the hands of Thomas Pettigrew appears to have taken place in 1851 (Dawson 1934, 180), by which time public mummy unwrappings appear to have lost their appeal and most certainly any trace of scholarly reputation, as is evident in the article entitled "Scientific Mummery" (*Figaro in London* 6 [1837]: 58; quoted in Moshenka 2014, 24), which protests the conduct of mummy unrollers such as "Mummy Pettigrew": "Some nasty beasts met together on Saturday last to indulge in the disgusting amusement of *unrolling a mummy*. Our old friend Pettigrew, commonly called Mummy Pettigrew, was the principal unroller on this filthy occasion. Pettigrew seems positively to do nothing else but unroll

mummies [. . .] Pettigrew positively glories in the unclean process, and pulls about the encrusted carcase with a fervour of purpose which may be scientific, but which is nonetheless nasty in the extreme."

181 Auguste Mariette, *Le Sérapéum de Memphis* (Paris: Gide, 1857).

182 Lepsius's important and influential *Denkmäler aus Aegypten und Aethiopien*, the collated results of the Prussian expedition (1842–1846), was published in twelve volumes in 1849 and remained a chief source of information for Western scholars well into the early 20th century.

183 As detailed in the aforementioned volumes: Vyse 1840; Vyse 1842.

184 Gaston Maspero, "Les momies royales de Déir el-Baharî," *Mémoires publiés par les membres de la Mission Archéologique Française au Caire* 1.4: 511-–787.

185 Georges Daressy, "Les sépultures des prêtres d'Amon à Deir el-Bahari," *Annales du service des antiquités de l'Égypte* 1 (1900): 141–148.

186 Discovered by Victor Loret (1859–1946) (Riggs 2014, 67).

187 "Mummies," *The Leicester Chronicle and Leicestershire Mercury* (11 January 1890): 8.

188 "Distribution of Mummies," *The Edinburgh Evening News* (4 March 1893): 3.

189 Now known as the Egypt Exploration Society (EES). For information on the history of the EES, see: Patricia Spencer (ed.), *The Egypt Exploration Society: The Early Years* (London: Egypt Exploration Society, 2007). For a more general history on the history of Egyptology, see: Jason Thompson, *Wonderful Things: A History of Egyptology 1: From Antiquity to 1881* (Cairo: AUC Press, 2015); Jason Thompson, *Wonderful Things: A History of Egyptology 2: The Golden Age: 1881–1914* (Cairo: AUC Press, 2016). Jason Thompson, *Wonderful Things: A History of Egyptology 3: From 1914 to the Twenty-first Century* (Cairo: AUC Press, forthcoming).

190 For example: "Egyptian Mummy," *Saunders's News–Letter and Daily Advertiser* (Dublin) (3 May 1804): 1, which announces the arrival of the mummy of a "prince of Memphis" in France.

191 William R. Fletcher, *Egyptian Sketches* (Adelaide: E. A. Petherick and Co., 1892), 50.

192 Colla 2007, 177–178; also inspiring a wave of "Tutmania" that captivated the masses (Day 2006, 3).

193 Grace T. Seton, *A Woman Tenderfoot in Egypt* (New York: Dodd, Mead and Company, 1923), 166.

194 Bayard Taylor, *Prose Writings of Bayard Taylor: Central Africa, the White Nile &c.* (New York: G. P. Putnam, 1862), 126.

195 William H. Leighton, *A Cook's Tour to the Holy Land in 1874: The Letters of William Henry Leighton to His Brother*, edited by Robert Leighton (London: F. James Pub. Co., 1947), 79.

196 Wenger 1902, 416.

197 Curtis 1905, 115.

198 Often anonymously, especially with regard to mummy parts; such was the case with the aforementioned mummy heads donated to the British Museum in 1920: EA54740, EA54741 and EA54742.

199 "Extraordinary 'Find,'" *The Dundee Courier* (Scotland) 12968 (23 January 1895): 3.

200 "A Mummy's Feet: Inquest on Undertaker's Curio," *The Times* (London) 42943 (31 January 1922): 9.

201 "A Glut of Fresh Mummies," *The Wichita Daily Eagle* (27 June 1888): 3.

202 Measor 1844, 111.

203 The use of mummies as paper has been discussed by several scholars and has been considered a possibility from as early as 1947: Dard Hunter, *Papermaking: The History and Technique of an Ancient Craft* (New York: Dover, 1947), 382–385. Some authors have contested this particular use of mummies as being too "fantastical" in nature to be considered viable; see, for example, Joseph A. Dane, *The Myth of Print Culture: Essays on Evidence, Textuality, and Bibliographical Method* (Toronto, Buffalo and London: University of Toronto Press, 2003), 170–185. However, the work of Nicholson Baker and in particular S. J. Wolfe, has provided some compelling evidence for use of mummy wrappings to make paper in the mid- to late 19th century: Nicholson Baker, *Double Fold: Libraries and the Assault on Paper* (London: Vintage Books, 2002), 54–64; S. J. Wolfe, "Long Under Wraps—Cataloguing Puzzle Solved," *The Book* (2003): 4–5; Wolfe 2009, 173–200.

204 "Mummies Make Good Onion Manure," *Highland Recorder* (28 June 1895) n.p. The article was originally published in the *New York Tribune* (1895) (as stated in the article). The use of mummies as fertilizer has been touched upon by authors such as Wolfe (2009, 193–194) and most recently by Ashley Cooke (2015) in the context of animal mummies (specifically cat mummies): Ashley Cooke, "Auctions and Air Raids: Liverpool's Animal Mummy Collection," in Lidija McKnight and Stephanie Atherton-Woolham (eds.), *Gifts for the Gods: Animal Mummies and the British* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2015), 51. The use of the mummy pits as a major source of material in the export of bones for fertilizer companies is the subject of ongoing research by the author. However, recent work conducted by Paul T. Nicholson and his team at Cardiff University may have revealed archaeological evidence for this particular exploitation of animal mummies in the Dog Catacomb at Saqqara: Paul T. Nicholson,

Salima Ikram and Steve Mills, "The Catacombs of Anubis at North Saqqara," *Antiquity* 89/345 (June 2015): 657–659.

205 "Making Paint of Mummies," *The Arizona Sentinel* (13 September 1884): 4. The use of mummies as paint pigment has been discussed by Woodcock 1996, 87–94; Georgiana M. Languri and Jaap J. Boon, "Between Myth and Reality: Mummy Pigment from the Hafkenscheid Collection," *Studies in Conservation* 50.3 (2005): 161–178; Philip McCouat, "The Life and Death of Mummy Brown," *Journal of Art in Society*, **http://www.artinsociety.com/the-life-and-death-of-mummy-brown.html** (accessed 23 January 2016).

206 "Putting Mummies to Practical Use," *Logansport Journal* (11 November 1887): n.p. The article was originally published in the *London Truth* (1887) (as stated in the article).

207 Romer 1846, 293–294.

208 Olin 1843, 265.

209 Thornbury 1873, 208.

210 Although mummies had been chopped up and ransacked for souvenirs for centuries, the novel use of mummies to make fertilizer, paper, and fuel does not appear to have become common until the late 19th century; however travelers did report on occasion seeing mummies being put to unusual uses even in the early 1800s.

211 "Modern Treatment of Mummies," *The Sydney Morning Herald* (13 October 1849): 3.

212 Warren R. Dawson, "Mummy as a Drug," *Proceedings of the Royal Society of Medicine* 34 (1927): 34–39. For modern discussion of the use of mummies as medicine, see: Karl H. Dannenfeldt, "Egyptian Mumia: The Sixteenth Century Experience and Debate," *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 16.2 (1985), 163–180; Hindrik Strandberg, "Mumia Aegyptiaca used in the Art of Healing during the 17th and 18th Centuries: A Small Contribution to the History of Egyptology," *Annales du Service des antiquités de l'Égypte* 73 (1998): 156–161; Okasha El Daly, "Mummies as Medicine," *Discussions in Egyptology* 48 (2000): 49–66; Richard Sugg, "Corpse Medicine: Mummies, Cannibals, and Vampires," *The Lancet* 371/9630 (June 2008): 2078–2079; Richard Sugg, *Mummies, Cannibals and Vampires: The History of Corpse Medicine from the Renaissance to the Victorians* (London: Routledge, 2011), 67–77.

213 According to the Arab physician Al–Baghdadi: Pinkerton 1814, 816–817.

214 Sir William Ouseley (1812): quoted in Greener 1966, 39.

215 Pinkerton 1814, 816.

216 Dawson 1927, 34.

217 As suggested by Isaiah Deck, "On a Supply of Paper Material from the Mummy Pits of Egypt," *Transactions of the American Institute of the City of New York: For the Year 1854* (Albany: C. Van Benthuysen, 1855), 83–93; Wolfe (2009, 191, 198) has also provided material evidence for "mummy paper."

218 As reported by Villiers Stuart 1879, 90.

219 It is likely that the removal of rifled of mummy remains was in collaboration with (and was equally beneficial to) the various colonial powers who held a presence in Egypt, as there are various reports from this period referring to fertilizer and paper manufacturers from various countries in Europe exporting mummies out of the country for industrial manufactures. British traveler Henry Villiers Stuart (1827–1895), for instance, was informed that a German contractor had removed both human and crocodile mummies from the mummy pits at Maabdeh for use as fertilizer (Villiers Stuart 1879, 90), and there are reports of mummy wrappings being sent to paper manufacturers in France, England, and elsewhere; see, for example, *The Emporia Daily Gazette* (22 November 1947): 3.

220 "Mummy Mining," *The New York Times* (2 September 1881): 4.

221 A request sent by the firm O'Hara and Hoar (via letter) to the *Daily Mail* (London): *The Daily Mail* (30 July 1904): 4, cited in Woodcock 1996, 87.

222 James A. St John, *Egypt and Mohammed Ali or Travels in the Valley of the Nile II* (London: Longman, Rees, Orme, Greene and Longman, 1834), 113.

223 Edwards 1877, 519–520.

224 *The Wichita Daily Eagle* (27 June 1888): 3.

225 Reports both by travelers and newspapers (where they captivated the public's interest) appear to decrease in the early years of the 20th century, and the trade in mummy products appears to have ceased by this time, most likely a result of the changes made to paper and fertilizer manufacture, which had moved toward the use of wood pulp and chemical phosphates by the late 19th century.

226 Due to the loss of a significant amount of data, the result of pillaging for souvenirs and the removal of mummies for the industrial manufacture of mummy products, early travelogues are the only sources to preserve important information about the "mummy pit" burial phenomenon; careful study of these accounts is helping the author to determine the nature and significance of this long-forgotten burial custom.