

ARCHAEOLOGY ON EGYPT'S EDGE: ARCHAEOLOGICAL RESEARCH IN THE DAKHLEH OASIS, 1819–1977

ANNA LUCILLE BOOZER

Abstract

This article provides the first substantial survey of early archaeological research in Egypt's Dakhleh Oasis. In addition to providing a much-needed survey of research, this study embeds Dakhleh's regional research history within a broader archaeological research framework. Moreover, it explores the impact of contemporaneous historical events in Egypt and Europe upon the development of archaeology in Dakhleh. This contextualised approach allows us to trace influences upon past research trends and their impacts upon current research and approaches, as well as suggest directions for future research.

Introduction

This article explores the early archaeological research in Egypt's Dakhleh Oasis within the framework of broad archaeological trends and contemporaneous historical events. Egypt's Western Desert offered a more extreme research environment than the Nile valley and, as a result, experienced a research trajectory different from and significantly later than most of Egyptian archaeology. In more recent years, the archaeology along Egypt's fringes has provided a significant contribution to our understanding of post-Pharaonic Egypt and it is important to understand how this research developed.¹ The present work recounts the history of research in Egypt's Western Desert in order to embed the regional research history of the Dakhleh Oasis within broader trends in Egyptology, archaeology and world historical events in Egypt and Europe (Figs. 1–2).²

¹ In particular, the western oases have dramatically reshaped our sense of the post-Pharaonic occupation of Egypt as well as the ways in which the Roman empire interfaced with local populations. See www.Amheida.org for representative publications of research at Amheida as well as across the oasis.

² Some important geographers are not included in this overview because they do not review the archaeology substantially. These individuals include: George Alexander Hoskins, who travelled in Egypt and Nubia in 1832–33 (Hoskins 1837). Three large volumes of drawings made on Hoskins's journeys are now in the Griffith Institute at Oxford. Hugh Beadnell visited the oasis in 1899 and reviewed the topography, water supply and wells in Dakleh, as well as temperatures of water, the geology and mineral deposits (Beadnell 1901). Beadnell also briefly makes mention of Dakhleh in another work that focuses mostly on Khargeh (Beadnell 1909). Harding-King was contracted by the



Fig. 1: Map of Egypt (drawn by M. Matthews, University of Reading).

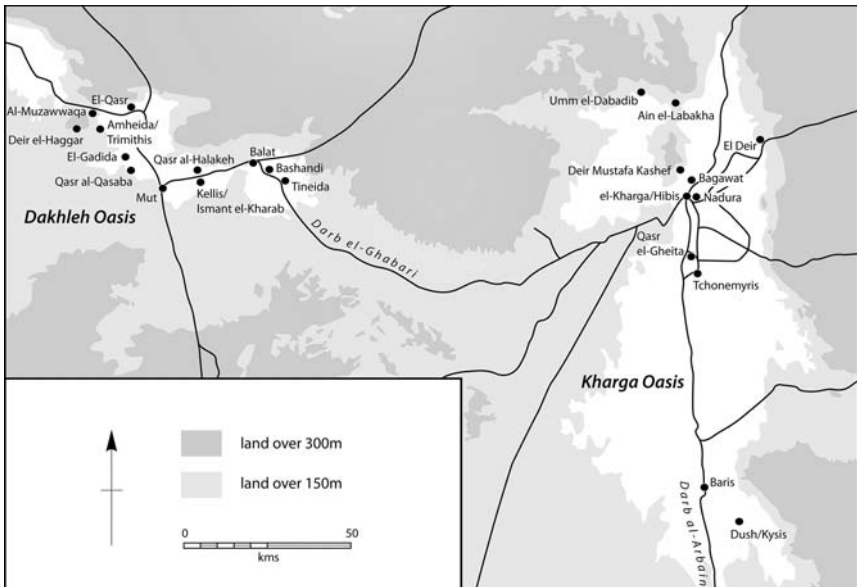


Fig. 2: Map of Dakhleh and Kharga (drawn by M. Matthews, University of Reading).

This historiography of Dakhleh's early research history provides four useful outcomes. First, it enables us to understand this region as both a geographic and an academic periphery. Dakhleh's physical and conceptual removal significantly impacted the development of regional archaeology as well as the contours of research expeditions to Dakhleh. Second, this research survey enables us to understand changes in monument preservation. When Dakhleh was first explored, in the early 19th and 20th centuries, many structures were still visible and in good condition that were subsequently destroyed or damaged. An historiographical approach to these monuments, as prior scholars saw them, helps us comprehend the fragmentary records that remain as well as to potential destructive causes. Third, an overview of past research clarifies patterns within current research projects and highlights the engagement between foreign researchers and local Egyptians in regional archaeology. Fourth, this overview promotes a holistic understanding of how expeditions understood Dakhleh's historical development from earliest human prehistory onward, as well as how this understanding changed over time.

The temporal parameters of this paper, 1819–1977, cover the range between the first European discovery of Dakhleh through to the establishment of two major international projects in the region: the Dakhleh Oasis Project (DOP) and the Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale (IFAO). The DOP and IFAO still conduct research in the oasis today and their establishment in 1977 represented a step change in both the quality and quantity of research conducted in the Dakhleh Oasis. In reviewing this research history, I will work through the evidence chronologically, embedding each major research expedition within its archaeological and historical framework in order to understand how these research campaigns meshed with broader climates. There is insufficient space to enumerate fully and explain the observations and discoveries of each expedition, although I have highlighted particularly significant descriptions of monuments and techniques. I provide a table of Dakhleh's explorers, including the dates of travel, the sites they visited and their major publications, below.

Royal Geographical Society to map the Egyptian desert areas to the west of the Nile. His book was published in 1925 and Darf Publishers have made this modern facsimile of his travels in 1908 and 1909 available to a modern audience.

Explorers of Dakhleh Oasis

Dates	Name	Sites Visited/ Described	Purpose and/or Excavations	Publications and Notes
January– February 1819	Edmonstone	‘Ain Amūr Al-Muzzawakka Amheida Balat Deir el-Haggar	Exploration; Discover Dakhleh Oasis	Edmonstone 1822
February 1819 ³	Drovetti	Al-Muzzawakka Amheida Ayn el-Berbyeh Bashendi Deir el- Haggar Mut Tenida Qasr el Amyr	Exploration; Discover Dakhleh Oasis	Cailliaud 1822
1819	Hyde	‘Ain Amūr Deir el-Haggar	Exploration	Unpublished notes, located in the British Library, London
1819 1820	Cailliaud	Al-Muzzawakka Amheida, El Qasr Deir el Haggar	Geographical position established	Cailliaud 1822; 1826
February 23– March 4 1825	Wilkinson	No significant descriptions published	Exploration	Unpublished notes, located in the Griffiths Institute, Oxford
Winter 1873/74	Rohlfs	Al-Muzzawakka Amheida Bir Talata el-Arab Deir el-Haggar El Qasr Mut	Map oasis; Name topography; Excavation	Rohlfs 1875; Rohlfs <i>et al.</i> 1875

³ Drovetti claims that he visited Dakhleh in 1818, but this is unlikely.

Dates	Name	Sites Visited/ Described	Purpose and/or Excavations	Publications and Notes
1893–94	Lyons	Mut	Military patrol; Supplement Rohlf's geographical description; Collecting	No notes or publications, although his collected objects are published: Spiegelberg 1899; Gardiner 1933; Janssen 1968
1900	Moritz	Ismant el-Kharab	Exploration; Excavation	Unpublished photographs and notes, lost in Berlin; Moritz 1900
1908	Winlock	Al-Muzzawakka Amheida Bashendi Deir el-Haggar Ismant el-Kharab Tenida Mut	Exploration	Winlock 1936
1917	Elias	Al-Muzzawakka Amheida Balat Deir el-Haggar Ismant el-Kharab Mut Tenida	Antiquities inspection	Elias 1917
Winters of 1936/37 and 1938/39	Winkler	Eastern portion of Dakhleh	Petroglyph recording	Winkler 1938; 1939
1937–1973	Fakhry	Al-Muzzawakka Ain Aseel Balat Bashendi Deir el-Haggar Qila el-Dabba	Antiquities inspection; Excavation	Fakhry 1973; 2003; Osing <i>et al.</i> 1982
1960s–1994	Sadek and CEDAE	N/A	Temple documentation	None

Dates	Name	Sites Visited/ Described	Purpose and/or Excavations	Publications and Notes
1954 onwards	Sauneron and IFAO ⁴	Ain Asil Qila el-Dabba	Excavation	Giddy 1979; 1987; Giddy and Grimal 1979a–b; Giddy and Jeffreys 1981; Giddy <i>et al.</i> 1981; Grimal 1995
1977	DOP ⁵	Amheida Deir el Haggar Mut Kellis	Survey; Excavation	Hope 1981; Mills 1977; 1978a–b; 1985; 1993

18th-Century Background of Exploration

Unlike Greece and Rome, Egypt did not attract many European visitors until the last decade of the 18th century.⁶ Throughout much of the 18th century, local chiefs continuously fought with one another over the disordered Ottoman dominion in Egypt. Rebellion was inimical to life, with endless violent peasant and tribal uprisings.⁷ The constant violence and unrest in Egypt made it an unattractive locale for European exploration. There was only a small foreign community living and working in Egypt, most of whom engaged in war industries, cotton-spinning and medicine.⁸

Napoleon's 1798 invasion of Egypt raised European interest in adding Egypt to a list of places that any cultured European should visit.⁹ A wave of European adventurers and explorers descended upon Egypt after Napoleon's conquest. This new influx of foreigners occurred both because Egypt had become safer and because Napoleon took a scientific approach to Egypt. This scientific approach led to two major outputs. First, the multi-volume *Description de l'Égypte* contained a compendium of observations by French scholars (1809–26).¹⁰ Napoleon had sought to

⁴ The publications are too numerous to list here and only the most important early publications are included.

⁵ The current publications and excavations are too numerous to list here and only the most important early publications are included.

⁶ Fahim 2001, 8.

⁷ Vatikiotis 1992, 31. Some of the more organised rebellions had a lasting impact. The Huwara tribesmen successfully detached Upper Egypt from the rest of the country and Shaykh Huwara set up his own government there for over 30 years (1736–69) (Vatikiotis 1992, 31).

⁸ Vatikiotis 1992, 36–37.

⁹ Starkey and Starkey 2001a, 1.

¹⁰ Anderson and Fawzi 1987; Gillispie and Dewachter 1987; Wheatcroft 2003. Bednarski examined the historical context of the *Description*, concluding that Britain had developed its own Egyptology

establish an enduring legacy by attempting to modernise the Egyptian government and promote the study of native culture. Moreover, *savants* from Napoleon's expedition established the Institute d'Égypte in Cairo to help disseminate Western culture and ideas to the East, as well as collect and export indigenous antiquities.¹¹ Second, Napoleon's conquest led to the accidental discovery of the Rosetta Stone in Rashid, an Egyptian port city. The Rosetta Stone contained a bilingual inscription that played a major role in Jean-Francois Champoleon's (1790–1832) decipherment of the ancient Egyptian scripts and which produced results from 1822.¹² Travel to Egypt increased massively after Champollion's decipherment of the hieroglyphic script in 1821–22.¹³ In sum, Napoleon's conquest delved into Egypt's history and exposed it to European travellers for the first time.¹⁴

Britain, France's imperial rival, moved in to Alexandria with Nelson's fleet in 1801 and seized Egypt, as well as the Rosetta Stone, ushering in a long-standing Anglo-French rivalry in Egypt.¹⁵ The British occupation boosted the influx of European travellers into Egypt even more.¹⁶ Throughout the 18th century, both the French and the British developed strong cultural traditions in Classicism and Orientalism. The British elite devised a heritage that relied upon proficiency in Greek and Latin and taking the Grand Tour to Greece or Italy. Classicism also became a resource for justifying modern social and political structures: ancient civilisation provided the principles upon which modern civilisation was founded and ruled by modern government.¹⁷ This fixation on Egypt manifested itself in competitive expeditions to unexplored areas of Egypt, as well as collecting Egypt's antiquities.

Muhammed Ali enhanced this European surge when he became governor and viceroy of Egypt (1811–49).¹⁸ He called upon the services of Europeans to help modernise Egypt. Europeans flooded into the country: merchants, soldiers,

tradition and was not necessarily influenced by the *Description* as much as popularly assumed (Bednarski 2005). The impact of safer travelling conditions upon Egyptology has been not been explored as thoroughly as it may merit.

¹¹ Jeffrey 2003a, 1–2. See also Ucko and Champion 2003. Many Egyptians viewed Napoleon's foray into Egypt as an unwanted Western incursion into the Arab and Muslim worlds (Dykstra 1998, 115).

¹² Parkinson 1999, 19–43. For more on the Rosetta Stone itself and how related scripts were deciphered, see Parkinson 1999.

¹³ Starkey and Starkey 2001a, 2. A number of key publications also encouraged escalating interest in travelling to Egypt. Foremost amongst these was the *Description de l'Égypte* from 1809 to 1826, but also Vivian Denon's 1802 volume and the publication of travel accounts (Fahim 2001, 8).

¹⁴ Dolan 2000, 114.

¹⁵ Reid 1985, 234.

¹⁶ Fahim 2001, 8.

¹⁷ Dolan 2000, 114–15.

¹⁸ Fahmy 1998.

engineers, doctors, agronomists and teachers all came in the hope of participating in Egypt's modernisation.¹⁹ Conditions for exploration also improved enormously under Muhammed Ali's rule because the personal safety of travellers increased, which caused young gentlemen to integrate Egypt into their Grand Tours.²⁰ Unfortunately, Egypt's industrial revolution had a direct impact on its heritage as many archaeological sites were quarried for their limestone and topsoil and Egypt's antiquities became a type of currency used between international players.²¹

These 19th-century travellers tended to combine their fascination with Egyptology with other interests.²² Accounts from the 19th century often included details of contemporary Egyptian life alongside the monuments of ancient Egypt.²³ This developmental trajectory matches other wider trends in archaeology. Until the 20th century, few archaeologists were educated in the discipline. Instead, individuals brought to archaeology a variety of skills and viewpoints acquired in many different fields and vocations. The major commonality was that all early explorers had studied a classical and biblical curriculum, while some had been further educated in the physical and biological sciences.²⁴

Egyptology developed out of a Classical Studies model. In the late 18th century almost nothing was known about ancient Egypt, except for Biblical records and Greek and Roman accounts. Egyptian scripts could not be read and most of their writings and works of art were unstudied and largely still underground.²⁵ Egyptology depended upon written records to supply chronology, historical data and information about the beliefs and values of the past. Egyptologists also focused the development of art and monumental architecture, which was revealed through archaeology. Since a vast majority of Egyptian texts had to be removed from the ground before they could be studied, Egyptology depended more on archaeology than Greek or Roman Studies.²⁶ Even so, archaeology was a means to an end and the academic demand for new inscriptions led to little or no reflection on archaeological context.²⁷ These developments in Egyptology closely paralleled those in

¹⁹ Fahim 2001, 10. Many of the diplomatic personnel, particularly from France and Britain, flocked to Egypt for strategic purposes, both to observe and to influence Muhammed Ali's domestic and foreign policies (see Dykstra 1979).

²⁰ Thompson 1992, 23.

²¹ Jeffreys 2003a, 3; Hassan 2003, especially 61–65; Bierbrier 2003, especially 74. On Egyptian views of antiquities, see Colla 2007, especially chapter 2.

²² Starkey and Starkey 2001a, 2.

²³ Starkey and Starkey 2001a, 3–4.

²⁴ Trigger 1989, 16–17.

²⁵ Trigger 1989, 39.

²⁶ Trigger 1989, 40.

²⁷ Jeffreys 2003a, 5; France 1991.

Assyriology, which also depended upon archaeological data and translation breakthroughs.

Adventurers poured into Egypt in the early 19th century, including some of the most familiar characters to be encountered in any general history of Egyptology's beginnings. Pre-eminent among them were Johann Burckhart, Giovanni Belzoni, Henry Salt and Bernardino Drovetti. Burckhart was an explorer and Belzoni a collector.²⁸ Salt (1780–1827) contributed significantly to the development of Egyptian archaeology in the early 19th century. An English diplomat and collector, Salt was appointed as British Consul-General in Egypt in 1815 and arrived there in 1816. During his time as Consul-General, Salt carried out large numbers of excavations and amassed enormous collections of antiquities for the British Museum and his own private collection. He also worked closely with and encouraged other key figures of the period, such as Belzoni and Burckhardt, even financing excavations and expeditions.²⁹ Drovetti (see below) competed with Salt over antiquities as part of the Anglo-French rivalry in Egyptology.³⁰ Most of this conflict was due to their competition over Egyptian art work collections, which were amassed for the major museums in Britain, France and Italy.³¹

These recent developments led pioneering Egyptologists to visit Egypt and record temples, tombs and monumental inscriptions and use these records to reconstruct ancient Egyptian history, chronology, architecture and art. The period between 1809 and 1828 encompassed a watershed in Egyptology when doubtful conjecture about Egypt's past was replaced by accurate observation and rapid progress in decipherment.³² Meanwhile, Britain developed its own strong tradition of Egyptology, in which the work of Belzoni and Wilkinson seemed to have great popular appeal.³³

Dakhleh's First Antiquarians and Explorers (1819–1825)

It was in this climate of massive growth in exploration, collection and recording that Europeans first visited the Dakhleh Oasis. The years between 1819 and 1825 saw a number of Europeans venturing to this oasis for the first time. These explorers probably tried to escape from the cramped situation along the Nile valley,

²⁸ Peck 2005. On Belzoni, see Mayes 2003.

²⁹ Dawson and Uphill 1995, 370–71.

³⁰ Reid 1985, 234. Colonial powers appropriated archaeological monuments in order to canonise their world hegemony and assume a supreme position in the order of the world (Hassan 2003, especially 19).

³¹ Fagan 1975; Peck 2005.

³² Usick 2007, 310.

³³ Usick 2007, 310.

catalysing a cluster of expeditions to Dakhleh. Bruce Trigger has observed that rapid phases of growth in archaeology encourage younger archaeologists to strike off in new directions. These mavericks pioneer cutting-edge analytical techniques and interpretive models in order to establish their reputation.³⁴ The exploration of the Dakhleh Oasis seems to follow this trajectory. As the Nile valley became saturated with explorers and collectors, expeditions moved to Egypt's peripheries, including the Eastern and Western Deserts as well as the Sudan.³⁵ In 1819 a number of explorers descended upon the oasis in quick succession. The oases at this time were incredibly unruly and Mohammed Ali sent troops to this region to subdue the oasites in 1820.³⁶ Moreover, the journey to the oases was taxing, requiring nine to ten days by a waterless route.³⁷ These extreme conditions made it an ideal locale for adventure and exploration.

Sir Archibald Edmonstone (1795–1871)

Sir Archibald, the third Baronet, was a British explorer and author of an early 19th century publication on his explorations in Egypt as well as a number of publications on devotional subjects.³⁸ Edmonstone and Drovetti (see below) both claim to be the first European travellers to the Dakhleh Oasis, although Edmonstone is largely regarded as the first (see Table above).³⁹

Edmonstone explained that there were three known oases: Siwa, *Oasis Parva* and *Oasis Magna*. He equated the *Oasis Magna* with Khargeh and understood Dakhleh to be a separate, unknown oasis.⁴⁰ Edmonstone resolved to be the first European to visit this new environment. Along with his companions Houghton and the Revd Robert Master, he set out for the oasis on January 14th 1819 and headed down the Nile. Master did some of the drawings that appeared in Edmonstone's eventual volume.⁴¹ Edmonstone encountered Belzoni *en route*, and Belzoni encouraged his undertaking. Belzoni also informed Edmonstone that two other explorers intended to explore Dakhleh: Calliaud and Drovetti. Calliaud had already been to the Khargeh oasis and seen the antiquities there and both men were aware that another

³⁴ Trigger 1989, 17.

³⁵ For example, Bankes began his major expedition in November 1819 (Usick 2001). Siwa became a focus for the Egyptian viceroy in 1820 (Kurz 2001, 63).

³⁶ Fakhry 1974, II, 52–53.

³⁷ Thompson 1992, 63.

³⁸ Dawson and Uphill 1995, 137.

³⁹ Vivian 2002, 35–36; Edmonstone 1822, 145–52.

⁴⁰ Edmonstone 1822, x–xii. Dakhleh and Khargeh together were the *Oasis Magna*, or great oasis, in antiquity. Pairing the two as an administrative unit appears to have led to the confusion that there was only one oasis: Khargeh.

⁴¹ Edmonstone 1822, xiii.

oasis existed west of Khargeh. Drovetti intended to make an attempt at discovering it.⁴²

Realising that Drovetti was already *en route* to Dakhleh, Edmonstone quickened both his route and his pace from Assyut. He spent February 8th laying-in supplies and then took off on February 9th.⁴³ He wore Mameluke dress, which he had purchased in Cairo, complemented by an arsenal of sabres, daggers and pistols.⁴⁴ Edmonstone, Houghton and Master travelled to the southern oasis of Dakhleh from Assyut over the Darb al-Tawil in 1819. Edmonstone left Cairo on January 14th, arrived in Balat on February 16th and was at 'Ain Amūr on February 22nd.⁴⁵ A group of Bedouin who knew the way to Dakhleh guided Edmonstone's party.

Edmonstone explored a number of sites during the few days he spent within Dakhleh itself. He first found what appears to be Al-Muzzawwaqa (Fig. 3). Edmonstone described Al-Muzzawwaqa as:

an insulated rock perforated with caverns, which had served as catacombs to human mummies, the fragments of which lie scattered about. The inhabitants of the adjacent hamlet had stripped them in hopes of finding something valuable; and the jackalls, which abound here, had completed the work of devastation.⁴⁶

Edmonstone and his crew attempted to take one of the mummies away with them, but their Bedouin guides refused to accompany them further if they did so, out of religious considerations.⁴⁷ Edmonstone spotted some isolated ruins in the vicinity of Al-Muzzawwaqa, which may have been columbarium farmhouses, but then carried on to the temple of Deir el-Haggar (Fig. 5).⁴⁸ He was impressed by these remains and resolved to return to view it the next day when the winds calmed down.⁴⁹

On February 19th, on their way back to Deir el-Haggar, Edmonstone found the Roman city of Trimithis (modern-day Amheida) (Fig. 4), which he describes as:

...the vestiges of a town of greater extent than any we had seen before in this district. It was now a complete mass of ruins, and we could distinguish nothing but a small remnant of a temple, and the fragment of a white marble statue. This last was apparently of Greek workmanship, and not without elegance, although so imperfect.⁵⁰

⁴² Edmonstone 1822, 2.

⁴³ Edmonstone 1822, 4–6.

⁴⁴ Edmonstone 1822, 6–7.

⁴⁵ Winlock 1936, 3–4.

⁴⁶ Edmonstone 1822, 47–48.

⁴⁷ Edmonstone 1822, 47–48.

⁴⁸ On these farmhouses, see Mills 1993.

⁴⁹ Edmonstone 1822, 47–48.

⁵⁰ Edmonstone 1822, 49.



Fig. 3: Muzawaka, view (Amheida Project Staff, 'Necropolis at Muzawaka (IX)' Ancient World Image Bank, New York: Institute for the Study of the Ancient World 2004, <http://www.flickr.com/photos/isawnyu/4545655127>).



Fig. 4: Amheida, view north of site towards the limestone escarpment (photograph: A.L. Boozer).



Fig. 5: Deir el Hagggar temple, view (Amheida Project Staff, 'Deir el-Hagggar (II)', Ancient World Image Bank, New York: Institute for the Study of the Ancient World 2006, <http://www.flickr.com/photos/isawnyu/4565507441>).

It is curious that neither he nor the other explorers seemed to notice the large mud-brick pyramid that is so prominent on Amheida's surface today. Even so, it is significant that Edmonstone was able to recognise a temple at Amheida as this temple was visible only in the stone fragments that littered the temple mound when the Amheida Project began excavations there in 2005.⁵¹ Finding nothing else of interest to him at Amheida, Edmonstone returned to Deir el-Haggar.

Edmonstone was particularly drawn to temples and described the stone temple Deir el-Haggar in particular detail. It is worth quoting Edmonstone at length because he provides the first description of this important Dakhlan temple:

As the door-way was choked up by the sand, we scaled the wall without difficulty, and immediately set about clearing the interior of the temple; but after about three or four hours, finding that our labours would be fruitless, we desisted and proceeded to measure every part with a graduated line. The edifice on the outside is 51 feet 4 inches long, by 24 feet 8 inches wide. In the front is a portico of eight columns; three only are standing, and they in mutilated state: their circumference is 9 feet 6 inches, and the space between 7 feet 7 inches: the two centre have portals reaching half way up, not connected by a lintel. The first chamber is 23 feet 9 inches, by 20 feet 3 inches, supported by four pillars, 5 feet in diameter at the shaft. As much as is visible of the walls is traced with fingers and hieroglyphics. This apartment opens into another of the same width, but only 10 feet 4 inches long, perfectly plain and unornamented, excepting by the winged globe encompassed by the serpent, the emblem of eternity, which is carved over the door. Beyond this chamber, and communicating with it, are three smaller parallel to each other, of which the middle one was the Adytum. Here the walls are covered with figures and hieroglyphics, and much blackened by the lamps used in the service of the temple. The other two compartments are of the same length as the centre, and 5 feet wide. The roof still continues entire over these three chambers, which are lower than the rest of the building. The temple stands due east and west. Round it, at the interval of twenty yards, are the remains of a thick wall of unburnt brick, and a gateway of stone facing the entrance. Besides the natural injury this structure has sustained from time and violent winds, its ruins have been greatly accelerated by the Arabs in the forcible entries they have made in search of treasure. We finished our observations and got back to Aboudaklough before dark.⁵²

Although Edmonstone's drawings and notes are of an antiquarian nature, they provide an excellent guide as to Deir el-Haggar's state of preservation when he first visited it. This guide is significant since Deir el-Haggar suffered from looting at later stages of its history. Edmonstone's account of Dakhleh reveals that he was aware of a strong Roman presence in Dakhleh, but he did not note the less well-preserved

⁵¹ See www.Amheida.org for preliminary reports.

⁵² Edmonstone 1822, 49–55.

prehistoric material evident in this oasis. Edmonstone was particularly drawn to Deir el-Haggar but also observed several other significant sites within the oasis, including Al-Muzzawwaqa and Amheida. These three sites subsequently formed the standard itinerary of almost all subsequent antiquarian visits.

Bernadino Michele Maria Drovetti (1776–1852)

Drovetti was a Piedmontese lawyer, soldier, traveller and a diplomat for the French, although he is remembered primarily as an antiquities collector.⁵³ Drovetti served as the French Consul-General in Egypt during the Empire until 1814 and again under the Restoration, 1820–29.⁵⁴ As an explorer and excavator he was an outspoken rival, particularly against the English as part of the Anglo-French rivalry. This antagonism can be seen in his argument with Edmonstone over who first reached Dakhleh as well as the support that Cailliaud (a Frenchman) provided to Drovetti. Drovetti, as a French agent, also competed with Salt, who was a British agent. Salt also employed Belzoni, Drovetti's most serious rival, adding more bitterness to this rivalry.⁵⁵

This avid explorer resolved to be the first European to visit the Dakhleh Oasis, although it seems that Edmonstone narrowly beat Drovetti in this task. Drovetti claimed to have visited Dakhleh in 1818, although it seems more likely that it was in 1819 and that he trailed Edmonstone by a few days.⁵⁶ Drovetti's observations from his travels are published within the works of Frédéric Cailliaud.⁵⁷

Upon his arrival in Dakhleh, Drovetti found Teneida largely uninhabited, but he remarked on the foundations of temple walls that appear to be of Greek construction. He also discovered the temple of Ayn el-Berbyeh near an adjoining spring and numerous ancient buildings in the environs made out of baked bricks. Drovetti then travelled to the village of Shaikh Bashandi, which was inhabited by about 30 families and well watered with two streams, but no archaeology was visible here at this time. Another bout of walking lead him to Qasr El Amyr, an ancient building

⁵³ Dawson and Uphill 1995, 129–30.

⁵⁴ Dawson and Uphill 1995, 129–30. Shortly following his exit from the political arena and engagement in explorations, Drovetti, along with his travelling companions Rifaud and Cailliaud, set out to explore the Second Cataract and Abu Simbel in 1816. Drovetti and Salt also travelled together on more than one occasion.

⁵⁵ Ridley 1991, 240. These rivalries were common amid the Anglo-French competition and have perhaps been overstated as can be seen in letters written to Drovetti, as published in Curto and Donatelli 1985. This argument is also expressed in Ridley 1991.

⁵⁶ Winlock 1936, 3–4; Ridley 1998, 289.

⁵⁷ These are included under the title: *Itinerary of an Excursion to the Valley of Dakel, by M. the Chevalier Drovetti, French Consul-General in Egypt, about the latter end of 1818, with a previous Itinerary from Syout to Dongolah, and Darfour* (Cailliaud 1822, 66–77).

which he believed may have been a temple, judging from its enclosure but it was buried in sand and difficult to interpret.⁵⁸

Drovetti mentions ancient Mut and its temple along with an important spring and basin, which was well-respected by the locals at this time.⁵⁹ He visited the tombs at Al-Muzzawwaqa, which were excavated in the *gebel* 'which rises in the form of a sugar loaf'.⁶⁰ In searching among these tombs, Drovetti found mummies of men and an animal, which the locals called 'Ouhech El Gebel'. Drovetti took the head of one of these horned animals, most likely a ram, which had been reduced to a skeleton.⁶¹ His guides do not seem to have been offended by this action, unlike the warning the Bedouin guides gave to Edmonstone when he suggested removing a human body. Drovetti witnessed the unbaked brick of Amheida, but did not dwell on this site and moved on to Deir el-Haggar where he found more to entertain him.⁶² Again, a lengthier quote is worthwhile in order to track the preservation condition of Deir el-Haggar:

Visiting the remains of several buildings of unbaked bricks, we came, at length, to a temple called Deyr El Hagar; it has an inclosure of brick-work, which had a portico joined to it, supported by columns constructed of triangular bricks; the wall was covered over with plaster; at the lower part of the wall appeared a wainscoting, painted with skill and judgment. The porticoes of this building led to apartments built also of brick-work. Certain apartments, perhaps appropriated by the priests, were round about the sanctuary. This temple, the construction of which is of calcareous stone, in the Egyptian style, apparently is of a date posterior to the first Ptolemies: its interior decorations were never finished: we found figures and hieroglyphics, but they were confined to the mantle-pieces and the parts over the gates. The principal divinity is Osiris, with the head of a ram, accompanied by Isis and Anubis. The temple has suffered, like that at El Khargeh, from sinking in the earth; as both are in the same direction, this effect seems to have been produced by an earthquake, a conjecture which is further strengthened by the proximity of the hot water springs.⁶³

Drovetti did not seem to understand that the temple was filled with sand due to the strong winds in this desert environment, but he correctly identifies the dating of the temple as well as some of the similarities between this temple and those in the Kharga oasis nearby.

⁵⁸ Cailliaud 1822, 68.

⁵⁹ Cailliaud 1822, 69.

⁶⁰ Cailliaud 1822, 70.

⁶¹ Cailliaud 1822, 70.

⁶² Cailliaud 1822, 70.

⁶³ Cailliaud 1822, 70–71.

John Hyde (d. 1825)

Hyde was an English explorer and businessman from Manchester, who never published his own travels and observations. Because of this lapse, he is one of the more enigmatic early explorers of Egypt and of Dakhleh. Hyde's journals and notebooks, which recount his travels, are now in the British Library.⁶⁴ Hyde accompanied other explorers on numerous important trips in Egypt, the Sudan, the Sinai and Iran. Many of the most important 19th-century explorers and Egyptologists mention Hyde in passing, which clearly indicates that Hyde had close contact with these key persons, even though he himself does not figure strongly in the development of archaeology in Egypt and the Near East.⁶⁵ Hyde travelled with Belzoni, Salt, Bankes and Drovetti (among others) as well as alone.⁶⁶

Drawing from Hyde's notes, as well as the observations of others, Hyde seems to have visited Dakhleh in 1819. Cailliaud mentions that when he was at Bahriyah in February 1820, he met Hyde, who had just returned from Dakhleh.⁶⁷ Hyde's name, along with the date 1819, can be found at 'Ain Amūr and at Deir el-Haggar. He signed his name as I. Hyde on monuments:⁶⁸ the 'I.' stands for 'Iohannes'. He visited Egypt's other oases and wrote his name on many monuments in Kharga and Dakhleh.⁶⁹ It is unfortunate that his notes have never been published.

Frédéric Cailliaud (1787–1869)

Cailliaud was a French traveller and mineralogist. As a result of his companionship with Drovetti, he met Muhammed Ali (1769–1849), who eventually made him the official mineralogist for the Egyptian government and assigned him the task of finding the ancient emerald mines that the Ptolemies supposedly operated and which were described by the Arab historians.⁷⁰ Cailliaud was successful in the mission and assigned to more treasure-seeking explorations. In addition to his mineralogy work

⁶⁴ Dawson and Uphill 1995, 213. Hyde British Library Add. MS 42106; Hyde British Library Add Mss 42102, f56 and f88.

⁶⁵ Mentions of Hyde can be found in the following works: Finati 1830, ii, 320–40; Henniker 1824, 298; d'Athanasī 1836, 41–46; Hoskins 1837, 94. Edmonstone mentions that he is familiar with Hyde's subsequent recording of an inscription at Kasr el Zian in Khargeh (Edmonstone 1822, 68), showing the closeness of contact between these two early Dakhleh explorers. Hyde has been the recent subject of a conference paper (Ree 2005) and is mentioned in other studies (Usick 2006; Magee 1991).

⁶⁶ Manley and Réé 2001, 167–68, 172, 288, n.24.

⁶⁷ Cailliaud 1826, I, 181.

⁶⁸ Winlock 1936, 4.

⁶⁹ Fakhry 2003, 74. Squeezes in the Grantham Museum include some of modern graffiti from Dakhleh. One shows the names of Ibrahim (i.e. J.L. Burckhart, who travelled under this name), Beechey, Belzoni, Irby and Mangles 1817, Hyde 1819 and R. Burton. The early dates probably need to be corrected. The Dakhleh squeezes are squeezes nos. 40–41, 47–48, Un7, Un9 (Magee 1991).

⁷⁰ Dawson and Uphill 1995, 79.

and explorations in Egypt, Cailliaud also undertook explorations in the Sudan and at particularly at Meroe.⁷¹

Cailliaud and his companion Letorzec visited Dakhleh in 1819 and 1820, seemingly unaware of Edmonstone's visit.⁷² A certain Frédéric Müller also seems to have participated in one of these expeditions.⁷³ While in Dakhleh, they determined the geographical position of the oasis by triangulating three regional measurements.⁷⁴ Cailliaud's comments on Dakhleh's archaeology are extremely limited. Of Amheida, Cailliaud remarks only that he found Roman houses and diverse crude brick monuments.⁷⁵ Cailliaud mentions that he found many fragments of human and animal mummies exposed on the surface of Al-Muzzawwaqa. He then moved on to examine Deir el-Haggar, which he described as being in the Egyptian style and with hieroglyphics on the doors. He attributed its construction to the Ptolemies, seemingly following Drovetti's lead in this identification.⁷⁶ Cailliaud's own account of Dakhleh is minimal compared with Drovetti's contribution, probably reflecting the difference between their interests and objectives.

Sir John Gardner Wilkinson (1797–1875)

Wilkinson, a traveller and Egyptologist, was largely regarded as the founder of Egyptology in Great Britain. He was the first individual to make an acceptable working archaeological and historical survey of all of the primary sites in Egypt and Nubia, a task that he accomplished single-handedly.⁷⁷ Wilkinson extended himself beyond the Nile valley and also devoted much of his time and energy to geographical explorations, even venturing to Egypt's Western Desert in 1825.⁷⁸ While travelling in dangerous desert regions, Wilkinson disguised himself as a Turk, which concealed the issue of his imperfect spoken Arabic.

From February 23rd to March 4th 1825 Wilkinson spent ten days in Dakhleh in order to study the geography and ancient remains of the oasis.⁷⁹ He took 11 pages of notes on the oasis, which remain unpublished, and which contain observations about the inhabitants and their physical appearance as well as Dakhleh's ancient

⁷¹ Dawson and Uphill 1995, 79.

⁷² Cailliaud 1822, xi.

⁷³ Winlock 1936, 4–5.

⁷⁴ Cailliaud 1822, 6–7.

⁷⁵ Cailliaud 1826, I, 221.

⁷⁶ Cailliaud 1826, I, 221.

⁷⁷ Dawson and Uphill 1995, 443.

⁷⁸ Thompson 1992, 62. Frédéric Müller, a French explorer, seems to have visited Dakhleh in the summer of 1824 and he left his name and this date on Deir el-Haggar and Ain Amur, where they were copied by Jones Winlock 1936, 5. Little else is known about this individual.

⁷⁹ Thompson 1992, 64.

ruins.⁸⁰ Wilkinson was profoundly unimpressed with Dakhleh, despite his appreciation for the Eastern Desert, which he visited frequently over the years.⁸¹ In a letter many years later to his friend Robert Hay, who had himself just visited the oases, he had this to say about the inhabitants:

At all events I wish you joy on your return for of all places on earth I do think the oases the most miserable. People used to talk of fortunate & blessed islands & other similar nonsense – it was a pity that they were not forced to live there. The people of the wadis are the most stupid beings on earth full of religious prejudice – a sure sign of ignorance. You lost nothing by not going to this little oasis.⁸²

Wilkinson used his notebooks as a basis for his first published descriptions of Egypt's antiquities and the publisher John Murray (III) also used them for one of the first travel handbooks for Egypt, which drew mass numbers of European tourists to Egypt.⁸³ The absence of significant notes by Wilkinson on Dakhleh probably helped to hinder tourism to this isolated region.

Exploration and the First Excavation in Dakhleh (1873/74–1900)

There is a large gap between Wilkinson and the next explorer, Rohlfs. The regional situation shifted during this time, due to political and developmental changes. Moreover, the allure of an unexplored oasis may have been tarnished by the quick sequence of expeditions to Dakhleh. Egyptology, as a discipline, also experienced major changes with respect to accumulated knowledge and subsequent specialisation.

Politically, Muhammed Ali was no longer viceroy in Egypt. Ismail Pasha (1830–95) was Khedive over Egypt and the Sudan (1863–79) until the British removed him.⁸⁴ Like his grandfather, Muhammed Ali, Ismail encouraged modernisation and education among Egypt's elite. Ismail was an important figure in expanding the railway in Egypt and the Sudan as well as the Suez Canal, which opened in 1869. These infrastructure improvements made Egypt even more accessible than ever

⁸⁰ Thompson 1992, 64. Ahmed Fakhry has criticised Wilkinson for not saying more about the antiquities of the oases Fakhry 1974, II, 74; Thompson 1992, 244, n. 12. Cesaretti published small-scale photographs of four of the Dakhleh manuscript pages. These carry the title 'Cairo to Siouah + Fayum + Oases to Thebes, 1824–5' in Cesaretti 1989. See also Kaper 1997, 3. Wilkinson's manuscripts and papers, which contain notes on the oases, are now in the Griffith Institute in Oxford. One should always bear in mind that Wilkinson's published material only ever incorporates a fraction of his research (Thompson 1992, 62).

⁸¹ Thompson 1992, 63–64.

⁸² Thompson 1992, 64.

⁸³ Wilkinson 1847. The principal titles of Wilkinson's bibliography can be found in Dawson and Uphill 1995, 444.

⁸⁴ Hunter 1998; Ibrahim 1998; Toledano 1998.

before. The British began their occupation of Egypt in 1882, turning Egypt into a commercial and trade nexus, and making a significant impact on the demography of foreign residence in Egypt.⁸⁵ Moreover, the British army that went to Egypt in 1882 had a surprising number of officers who had prior knowledge of Egypt's antiquities as well as a deep interest in ancient Egypt. Many officers went on to contribute to Egyptology in later phases of their careers.⁸⁶

The early 19th century was typified by the plundering of ancient Egyptian tombs and temples, which was halted only after the French Egyptologist, Auguste Mariette (1821–81), was appointed Conservator of Egyptian Monuments in 1858.⁸⁷ Mariette took steps to stop all unauthorised work and antiquity removals, which almost certainly reduced some of Egypt's early appeal to explorers and antiquarians.⁸⁸ Despite this advance in protecting Egypt's antiquities, even Mariette's excavations were designed to acquire material for a national museum collection rather than record the contexts from which these materials were excavated.⁸⁹ Antiquities still flooded out of Egypt in droves.

The nature of archaeology as a discipline also changed. The 1842–45 Prussian Expedition to Egypt and the Sudan, under the direction of Karl Richard Lepsius, had an enormous impact on the development of Egyptology as an academic discipline.⁹⁰ Moreover, the Prussian Expedition signalled the expanding list of countries that express their nationalism through the medium of Egyptology. The famous Egyptologist, Flinders Petrie (1853–1942), conducted some of his most significant archaeological research during the late 19th century and pioneered modern excavation techniques, quantitative methods and seriation in the region.⁹¹ Archaeology within Egypt, as well as more broadly, also became more specialised, since both French and British archaeologists became more formally involved in Egypt's antiquities at this time.⁹² This increased specialisation across the archaeology profession

⁸⁵ Jeffreys 2003a, 8.

⁸⁶ Dixon 2003.

⁸⁷ He established the *Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte*, which was the early name of the Supreme Council of Antiquities (Jeffreys 2003a, 10). See also Haikal 2003, 124.

⁸⁸ Trigger 1989, 39; Reid 2002.

⁸⁹ Trigger 1989, 39.

⁹⁰ Lepsius 1852; 1849. On Lepsius, see also Peck 2000; Freier and Reinicke 1988.

⁹¹ Jeffreys 2003a, 6. Petrie conducted a survey of the pyramids of Giza (1880–82), a Nile Delta survey and excavation (1883–86), Fayum Depression excavations (1887–92, and other years) among other projects. He also became the first Edwards Professor of Egyptology at University College London (Drower 1995, 200–01). Contained within Petrie we find the professionalisation of archaeology in Egypt. Petrie summarises his own research in Petrie 1892, especially 156–66; 1931.

⁹² The *Institute Français d'Archéologie* was opened in 1881 and the *Egypt Exploration Fund* (later the *Egypt Exploration Society*) was founded shortly thereafter (Jeffreys 2003a, 8). On the latter, see also T. James 1982.

can be seen in the subtle shift of visitors to Dakhleh. They became more specialised, focused and driven to record their observations more accurately and thoroughly. Even so, the major excavations that took place across Egypt and the Near East at this time were absent from Dakhleh.

Friedrich Gerhard Rohlfs (1831–1896)

In the winter of 1873/74, a German geographer and adventurer named Rohlfs ventured to the Great Oasis. Khedive Ismael funded the expedition. Rohlfs's team included a broadly interdisciplinary range of experts: a botanist (P. Ascherson), a paleontologist and geologist (K. Zittel), a surveyor (W. Jordan), a photographer (P. Remelé) and five others.⁹³ Remelé's photographs are the first known photographs of the Dakhleh Oasis. As a result of this interdisciplinary team, Rohlfs's volume contains photos and drawings of flora, ethnographic material, people, ruins, artefacts and other observations.

Rohlfs was the first European to cross Africa north to south and his expeditions consistently sustained interests in art and antiquities. Rohlfs travelled to Dakhleh from Farafra as he moved south across Africa. When visiting the Great Oasis, the names of Rohlfs's team can still be seen in the graffiti they left behind in both oases. In Dakhleh, these can be found in the south-east side of the southern hall inside the *pronaos* at the temple of Deir el-Haggar (Fig. 6).⁹⁴ A similar graffito was inscribed on the Hibis temple in the Khargeh Oasis, which is dated to March 24th 1874, although this second graffito has some differences in terms of team members and composition.⁹⁵

While in Dakhleh, Rohlfs stayed at El-Qasr and visited ruins in the area, much like the other earlier explorers.⁹⁶ During their stay, Prof. Wilhelm Jordan (1819–1904) worked on creating a more precise map of the entire oasis than was available from Calliaud's earlier efforts to fix the position of Dakhleh.⁹⁷ Jordan began this work from El-Qasr with a trigonometric theodolite and worked eastwards in order to create a topographical map of the oasis.⁹⁸ Meanwhile, Rohlfs, along with Ascherson, spent their time naming mountains and passes within the topography. The *gebel* (mesa) to the west of Deir el-Haggar is still known on maps as *Gebel Edmonstone*, as a result of Rohlfs's efforts.⁹⁹ The Bab el-Gasmund also recalls the

⁹³ Rohlfs *et al.* 1875, 1–8; Genschorek 1982, 140–52; Kaper 2001, 235–36.

⁹⁴ Kaper 2001, 233.

⁹⁵ Kaper 2001, 234.

⁹⁶ Rohlfs *et al.* 1875, 109–10, 120.

⁹⁷ Rohlfs *et al.* 1875, 201–14.

⁹⁸ Kaper 2001, 239.

⁹⁹ Rohlfs *et al.* 1875, 116–17.

name that Rohlfs gave to a pass north of El-Qasr.¹⁰⁰ Other names were not carried over, perhaps because they did not represent distinct passes and mountains geographically.¹⁰¹

Rohlfs's expedition focused on oasis antiquities and they visited the temple of Deir el-Hager almost immediately upon their arrival. They described the temple as being of exceptional Egyptian style and built of massive sandstone blocks. They were quite impressed with its size and preservation.¹⁰² Expedition members must have left their graffiti behind on one of the columns of the *pronaos* during one of these visits.¹⁰³ They commented that the ancient houses near the temple were painted in a manner no longer present in Egypt, but they did not describe these paintings in detail. Although these houses still exist, the paintings are no longer visible.¹⁰⁴ Rohlfs asked Remelé to excavate the sanctuary and offering hall of the Deir el-Haggag temple. This excavation was the first undertaken in the oasis and it lasted for four days. Remelé, along with the Sheikh el-Balad of el-Qasr began work at the temple on February 19th with 50 workers and it lasted until February 22nd.¹⁰⁵ These excavations were photographed and Lepsius subsequently transcribed and described the hieroglyphic writings and sculptures that were unearthed.¹⁰⁶

Rohlfs also visited other sites in the oasis. He commented on the 'huge mounds, almost mountains' of potsherds on Amheida's site surface – so many that he speculated that perhaps the houses themselves, like modern-day pigeon lofts, had been mostly constructed of pots.¹⁰⁷ Amheida is the most likely location at which Rohlfs saw well-made stone vessels and found some small bronzes and coins.¹⁰⁸ Already since Lepsius, Amheida was considered to be the site of Trimithis, which has since been proven.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁰ Gasmund is named after Dr von Jasmund, German Consul-General in Egypt, who helped put Rohlfs into contact with a funding provider (Kaper 2001, 239).

¹⁰¹ Kaper 2001, 239.

¹⁰² Kaper 2001, 240.

¹⁰³ These could also have been carved during Remelé's excavations at Deir el-Haggag later that same year.

¹⁰⁴ Kaper 2001, 240.

¹⁰⁵ Kaper 1997, 3; 2001, 243–46.

¹⁰⁶ Rohlfs 1875, 128; Lepsius 1874. Remelé's description of his work at Deir el-Haggag can be found within Rohlfs's book (Rohlfs *et al.* 1875, 124–27).

¹⁰⁷ Thurston 2003, 220.

¹⁰⁸ Rohlfs *et al.* 1875, 129.

¹⁰⁹ Kaper 2001, 240; Lepsius 1874, 80–83. The papyrologist Guy Wagner identified the ancient name of Trimithis with the ruins at Ismant el-Kharab and the ancient name of Kellis with the ruins at Amheida. His papyrological work on Trimithis, although equated with Ismant el-Kharab, should be understood to represent Amheida since it is now possible to connect the ancient name of Trimithis with the current name of Amheida (Bagnall and Ruffini 2004, 143–44).

Rohlfs mentioned a large number of cliff graves located southwest of Deir el-Haggar, which probably refer to the necropolis, Bir Talata el-Arab.¹¹⁰ Rohlfs also noticed a necropolis northwest of Deir el-Haggar, which must be Al-Muzzaw-waqa, although Jordan's map did not include this site.¹¹¹ In one of these two sites he found two rock graves with closed stone doors. He opened these. In the first he found seven corpses wrapped in sitting positions, two of which were children. In the middle he found a rod with a worked sycamore head positioned on it. The group was covered in a matt and a perforated date palm leaf shroud.¹¹² The skulls of the corpses were brought back to Germany for the Berliner Gesellschaft für Anthropologie.¹¹³ The second grave was also opened, but the workers broke the ceramic coffin inside and, otherwise, no finds were mentioned from this grave.¹¹⁴

The expedition also visited the ancient and modern town of Mut.¹¹⁵ Ascherson reported on the ruins of Mut, which he visited between January 30th and February 2nd. He described large mud-brick fortifications, similar to the Roman forts that had been seen in Kharga.¹¹⁶ Mut is indicated on the map and Rohlfs described large ramparts and water systems within a large tower-like building. Aside from mentioning some sandstone ruins, they did not record anything else about ancient Mut.¹¹⁷ This account of Mut indicates that it was fairly well preserved in the late 19th century, although it suffered considerably from the later urban expansion of modern-day Mut.

Rohlfs observed ethnographic details as well as archaeology, including comments on water usage, housing, furnishings and the very narrow streets, which he described as dirty and unhealthy.¹¹⁸ Rohlfs also mentioned abandoned alum mines near Mut, which were functioning during the time of Drovetti's visit to Mut in 1819.¹¹⁹ These ethnographic observations give us some clues about the changing ways of life within the Dakhleh Oasis during the 19th century as well as their impact on archaeological preservation in Mut's vicinity.

¹¹⁰ DOP number 33/390-E9-2.

¹¹¹ Kaper 2001, 241. Because this necropolis is located between El Quasr and Deir el-Haggar, it is almost certain that the expedition must have visited here, especially since Edmonstone, Drovetti and Cailliaud also visited and described this site.

¹¹² Rohlfs *et al.* 1875, 132, fig. 13.

¹¹³ Hope 1981; Kaper 2001, 241.

¹¹⁴ Rohlfs *et al.* 1875, 131–33; Kaper 2001, 241.

¹¹⁵ They certainly did not visit the area of Balat and Tenida on the way back (Kaper 2001, 242).

¹¹⁶ Rohlfs *et al.* 1875, 242, 257–59.

¹¹⁷ Kaper 2001, 243.

¹¹⁸ Kaper 2001, 239–40.

¹¹⁹ Kaper 2001, 239.

Captain H.G. Lyons

Captain Lyons of the Royal Engineers was on military patrol in the oases during the Sudan war in 1893–94. During his time there he attempted to supplement Rohlfs's geographical and geological description of the oasis.¹²⁰ In 1894, Lyons acquired two stelae when he visited Mut and which were supposedly from the ancient site of Mut.¹²¹ He presented these stelae to the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford and Spiegelberg was the first to publish them.¹²² Since this initial publication, Gardiner has republished the larger one and Janssen has republished the smaller hieratic stela.¹²³ These two stelae indicated for the first time that Dakhleh's priesthood, and occupational history, extended back to at least the 22nd Dynasty. This purchase of antiquities within Dakhleh is one of few recorded instances of antiquities trade in the oasis. Although looted objects must have found an antiquities market, we simply do not know where these objects ended up.

Bernhard Moritz (1859–1939)

Dr Moritz conducted the second archaeological excavation in Dakhleh in 1900, more than 25 years after the first excavation. Moritz was an Arabic professor from Berlin, who had moved to Cairo for work four years earlier. While in Cairo, he served as the Director of the Khedival Library of Darb el-Gamamiz, which later became the Egyptian Library. Moritz occasionally assisted Egyptologists in their endeavours, but he was primarily an expert in Arabic palaeography.¹²⁴ Moritz was also a keen amateur geographer, often travelling to exotic locales for months at a time.¹²⁵ In 1900, he went on a three-week-long camel trip to Khargeh and Dakhleh during January and February. Moritz travelled from Assyut to the western end of Dakhleh and then back, taking notes along the way, particularly on the geography and topography. Moritz promptly published these notes in Cairo upon his return. As an Arabist, he was the first to compare 14th-century place-names to the modern names in the oasis.¹²⁶

When Moritz visited Ismant el-Kharab (modern Kellis) he discovered paintings buried in the sand that he resolved to excavate.¹²⁷ He returned on February 4th 1900 with a dozen workmen from the village and began clearing sand from the central chamber of the southernmost of the large mausoleums still standing to the north of

¹²⁰ Lyons 1894.

¹²¹ Spiegelberg 1899.

¹²² Spiegelberg 1899. On the donation of the stelae, see Fakhry 1973, 218.

¹²³ Gardiner 1933; Janssen 1968.

¹²⁴ Kaper 1997, 4.

¹²⁵ Moritz 1910; 1908; Schmidt and Moritz 1926.

¹²⁶ Kaper 1997, 4.

¹²⁷ Moritz 1900, 453.



Fig. 6: Deir el Hagar temple, Rohlfs expedition graffito (photograph: A.L. Boozer).



Fig. 7: Ain Aseel, main road through settlement (Amheida Project, 'Ruins at Ain Asil (II)', Ancient World Image Bank, New York: Institute for the Study of the Ancient World 2006, <http://www.flickr.com/photos/isawnyu/4546516398>).

the settlement at Ismant el-Karab.¹²⁸ He uncovered the paintings of the stone-lined walls, which still stood to *ca.* 2.70 m in height and he found some dislocated human remains on the floor. He took photographs of these paintings and showed them to F. von Bissing, who was excavating at Abu Ghurab, north of Abusir, at this time.¹²⁹ Moritz's description of these paintings is based on von Bissing's interpretation of

¹²⁸ Moritz 1900, 466–71.

¹²⁹ Moritz 1900, 467 note. Von Bissing excavated at Abu Ghurab from 1898 to 1901.

them.¹³⁰ Winlock returned to the stone-lined mausoleum chamber in 1908 and photographed it.¹³¹ The Egyptian antiquities inspector Girgis Elias also reported on these paintings in 1917, suggesting they may have suffered damage during the interim nine years.¹³² The stones of the mausoleum were robbed from the tomb in 1920.¹³³ This brief history of destruction at Ismant el-Kharab suggests that the early 20th century saw more looting and vandalism than earlier periods of exploration.

Herbert E. Winlock (1884–1950)

In 1908, Winlock, an American Egyptologist from the Metropolitan Museum of Art (New York), ventured by camel from the Khargeh Oasis to the Dakhleh Oasis with Arthur M. Jones. Winlock later published his notes, plans and photographs from the expedition since they contained information that had never been published before.¹³⁴ Winlock was the first professional Egyptologist to travel to the region and describe its monuments in a systematic manner. These detailed notes were published in 1936 and this book has provided a considerable resource for all subsequent archaeological research in the region.

Winlock was the first explorer to mention the presence of a settlement located near Bashandi and ruins near Teneida, commenting that they were similar to the Roman ruins in Kharga.¹³⁵ He was also the first to dwell on the prehistoric material evident in Dakhleh.¹³⁶ He stopped at Ismant el-Kharab and described the ruins in some detail, noting the barrel vaults and pendentive domes present on the site, as well as the necropolis.¹³⁷ Fortunately, he published photographs of the remains of paintings on the stone chapel at Ismant el-Kharab, which were destroyed in about 1920.¹³⁸

Winlock visited Amheida, remarking that it was similar to Ismant el-Kharab but less well preserved. He goes on to say:

About the middle of the E. side [of the site] there is a prominent, pyramidal, brick structure, built upon a square base measuring 5.75 m on a side and with vertical walls

¹³⁰ Only one of Moritz's photographs of the paintings was published when Maspero included it in his 1919 volume on the history of art in Egypt (Maspero 1919). Maspero misidentifies it as a painting from a hypogeum in the Bahariya Oasis (Kaper 1997, 5, n. 33). Kaper, Loeben and Hope looked for Moritz's unpublished photographs and notes in 1994 in Berlin but were unable to find them (Kaper 1997, 5).

¹³¹ Winlock 1936, pl. xii.

¹³² Elias 1917.

¹³³ Kaper 1997, 4–5.

¹³⁴ Winlock 1936, 3.

¹³⁵ Winlock 1936, 17–18.

¹³⁶ Winlock 1936, 10, 26, 37, 42, pls. II, IV, V.

¹³⁷ Winlock 1936, 20–21.

¹³⁸ Winlock 1936, 21, pl. XII; Fakhry 1973, 218.

3 m high. The pyramid's total height is about 7 or 8 m. Around it there are the remains of mud-brick wall, and there are a great many human bones scattered on the slope on which it stands.¹³⁹

This account is the first lengthy description of Amheida's pyramid and it appears to be looted already by this period, although it was structurally in good condition. The Amheida Project recently conserved this pyramid, as it grew unstable over the course of the 20th century.¹⁴⁰

Winlock visited Deir el-Haggar and made a rapid sketch of the site using a compass and Beadnell's map of the site. Winlock provides a lengthy description of the temple and some of its inscriptions, giving a sense of its high state of preservation at this time.¹⁴¹ He also visited Al-Muzzawwaqa, describing the painted decoration within the tombs as well as the state of the human and ram mummies littered about the tombs, which suggests they were in a stable state from when they were first viewed by Edmonstone in the early 19th century.¹⁴² Winlock described ancient Mut as a seriously plundered and destroyed town site, although the walls and the ancient well were still visible at this time.¹⁴³

Throughout his monograph, Winlock makes ethnographic observations as well as observations of the Christian and Mediaeval ruins, which are also visible within the oasis. Winlock's account provides a holistic glimpse of the oasis as it was in the early 20th century and the first professional interpretation of the oasis monuments.

Girgis Elias

Elias, of the Antiquities Service of Egypt, visited Dakhleh in 1917 in his official capacity. He arrived in Tenida and noted the lack of antiquities in the area before moving on to Balat where he also found no antiquities.¹⁴⁴ Elias then went to the Western portion of Dakhleh where he visited Ismant el-Kharab, Mut, Amheida, Deir el-Haggar and Al-Muzzawwaqa. He provided general details and dimensions of these sites, as well as a sense of changing preservation in the region.¹⁴⁵

Partial and Full Independence (1922–1977)

Travel to Egypt fell off during the first half of the 20th century, largely due to the two world wars and the world-wide economic recession of the 1930s.¹⁴⁶ In the

¹³⁹ Winlock 1936, 25.

¹⁴⁰ See preliminary reports at www.Amheida.org.

¹⁴¹ Winlock 1936, 29–33.

¹⁴² Winlock 1936, 35–37.

¹⁴³ Winlock 1936, 40.

¹⁴⁴ Elias 1917, 141.

¹⁴⁵ Elias 1917, 142–43.

¹⁴⁶ Fahim 2001, 8.

1920s, Britain's partial withdrawal from internal Egyptian affairs opened the way for the gradual inclusion of locals within Egypt's Antiquities Service and the founding of a national school of archaeology.¹⁴⁷ The public interest aroused by Tutankhamun's tomb ensured that the Egyptian government and Egypt's elite were now committed to Egyptology. Moreover, disputes between Ludwig Borchardt and the Antiquities Service over the removal of Nefertiti's head to Berlin made Egyptians more suspicious of foreign missions, which resulted in changes to Egypt's legal framework for antiquities.¹⁴⁸ Simultaneously, many foreign missions were unable to secure financial supporters back home because they could no longer produce sufficient quantities of finds for their donors. Both of these political changes positively impacted the development of indigenous Egyptology. Beginning in 1928, Egypt began producing its own Egyptologists for the first time.¹⁴⁹ Ahmed Fakhry (see below) was among this first graduating class of Egypt-educated Egyptologists.¹⁵⁰ This development had an enormously positive impact on the archaeology of Egypt's peripheries, with Egyptians leading the development of archaeology along the fringes. Complete local control of archaeology came with Egypt's full political independence in the 1950s.¹⁵¹

Hans A. Winkler (1900–1945)

Winkler was a German ethnographer and philologist. Winkler studied religious history and semitic philosophy at Gottingen in 1919–21, but took some time off and became a miner and a radical. Winkler returned to university learning at Tübingen, where he also lectured and eventually was dismissed for his radical views.¹⁵² Winkler is best known for his ethnographic research on spirit possession in a village near Luxor in Upper Egypt.¹⁵³ His strong background in religious practices and folklore shaped Winkler's interpretations of rock art, which represents his contribution to the archaeology of Dakhleh.

¹⁴⁷ On the increased participation of Egyptian nationals in Egyptology at this time, see Haikal 2003, 126.

¹⁴⁸ Jeffreys 2003a, 11.

¹⁴⁹ Reid 1985, 234–39. Egyptian nationals (with very few exceptions) had been barred from any participation in the administration and teaching of Egyptian archaeology until this time (Wood 1998).

¹⁵⁰ Haikal 2003, 126.

¹⁵¹ In 1950, Mahmoud Hamza became the first Egyptian Director of the Cairo Museum, and in 1952 Mostapha Amer became the first Egyptian Director of the Service des Antiquités Egyptiennes (Haikal 2003, 124).

¹⁵² Dawson and Uphill 1995, 448.

¹⁵³ See now Winkler 2009, an English translation of *Die reitenden Geister der toten: eine Studie über Besessenheit des 'Abd er-Râdi und über Gespenster und Dämonen, Heilige und verzückte, Totenkult und Priestertum in einem oberägyptischen Dorfe* (Stuttgart 1936).

Winkler recorded Dakhleh's petroglyphs as part of the Sir Robert Mond Desert Expedition in the Eastern and Western Deserts, which he led during the winters of 1936/37 and 1938/39.¹⁵⁴ The 1939 volume is significant in that it was the first time a specialist systematically examined Dakhleh's prehistory. Winkler's work has had a strong impact on Egyptian rock art studies and particularly those within Dakhleh.¹⁵⁵ Subsequent archaeologists have appropriated his analyses when forming their own descriptions of regional rock art, although nearly 50 years elapsed between Winkler's publications and the next attempt to survey Dakhlan rock art in 1985.¹⁵⁶

Winkler did not include the western portion of Dakhleh in his survey and he seemed unaware of the substantial Roman ruins in the area, thinking that only the earliest time periods were well represented in Dakhleh.¹⁵⁷ Winkler also seems to have missed the connections between Dakhleh and other locales since he commented that Dakhleh was substantially more barren and unconnected with other regions than the Eastern Desert.¹⁵⁸

Winkler was the last major explorer who was not trained in archaeology and who worked in Dakhleh. Until after World War 2 there were very few professionally trained archaeologists in the world. The post-war era led to massive growth in universities as well as archaeology departments and the number of professional archaeologists. Graduate programmes formed within these departments that were geared to producing regional specialists.¹⁵⁹

Following the Egyptian revolution of 1952, Egypt had strained relations with the West and travel to Egypt came to be confined to specific purposes (tourism, study, business).¹⁶⁰ Moreover, the age of travellers' accounts had fallen off, so people no longer tried to experience Egypt holistically, as they had done before. This shift can be seen particularly in the change from exploratory expeditions to archaeological missions. Therefore, this period became one of increasing activity among

¹⁵⁴ Winkler 1938; 1939, 7–9; James forthcoming. Daniel James recently re-examined Winkler's research and found hidden potentials there, although there are some considerable errors in the original text (James 2012; forthcoming). The Winkler archives include unpublished photographs, negatives, field diary, notes and correspondence and are housed in the Egypt Exploration Society in London.

¹⁵⁵ James 2012; forthcoming.

¹⁵⁶ Krzyżaniak and Kroeper 1985. Some rock art interpretations influenced by Winkler include Berger 2006, 196; 2008; Ikram 2009, 75; Judd 2009, 52–53; Krzyżaniak and Kroeper 1991, 62; Krzyżaniak 1987, 185; 1990, 96; 1991, 62; 2004, 18; Kuciewicz, Jaroni and Kobusciewicz 2007, 7; McDonald 1993, 44–45; Riemer 2006, 499–500; 2009. James questions some of Winkler's interpretations and, in turn, these subsequent analyses (James 2012; forthcoming).

¹⁵⁷ Winkler 1939, 3.

¹⁵⁸ Winkler 1939, 3.

¹⁵⁹ Michaels 1996.

¹⁶⁰ Fahim 2001, 8.

Egyptian archaeologists in Egypt, rather than Western exploration. Publications also became more focused and professional in approach.

Ahmed Fakhry (1905–1973)

Fakhry, part of the first wave of professional Egyptian archaeologists, catalysed the first major archaeological work in Egypt's desert regions. He was the Chief Inspector for Middle Egypt and the oases in 1936. After 1937 Fakhry devoted his attention to desert oasis sites and acted as Director of Desert Researches, a special section created in the Antiquities Service, from 1944 until 1950.¹⁶¹ He was astonished to find so many antiquities in Dakhleh since early explorers had found so little there, compared with Khargeh.¹⁶² Descriptions of Fakhry's research have been published both by Fakhry himself and others who summarised his work, following his untimely death in 1973.¹⁶³

In 1947 Fakhry visited Dakhleh again with A. Zayed to see the Pharaonic site of Ain Aseel, which inhabitants of Balat had discovered for the first time after a recent, particularly intense sandstorm (Fig. 7).¹⁶⁴ Fakhry also entered the Roman tomb of Kitinos at Bashandi at this time, which had also been exposed.¹⁶⁵ Following a later visit, Fakhry noted that the condition of Deir el-Haggar had deteriorated considerably since it was first observed by Edmonstone. To make matters worse, sometime between the December 30th 1965 and October 15th 1968, antiquities looters attacked this temple on nine occasions and succeeded in cutting away 32 fragments of the best preserved scenes on the temple walls.¹⁶⁶

Following these visits to the oasis, Fakhry carried out a number of important excavations in Dakhleh between 1968 and 1973. He made soundings at Ain Aseel in October 1968. In April 1970 he discovered the cemetery at Qila el-Dabba. From April 1971 to September 1972, Fakhry undertook three short campaigns at Balat during which four *mastaba* tombs were excavated that belonged to the 6th-Dynasty oasis governors.¹⁶⁷ In May 1971, Fakhry rediscovered the painted tombs at Al-Muzzawwaqa, which no-one had reported on substantially since Winlock's visit in

¹⁶¹ Dawson and Uphill 1995, 147–48.

¹⁶² Fakhry 1973, 217, 222.

¹⁶³ Fakhry 1973, 220–21; Vercoutter 1977, 275–76; Osing *et al.* 1982, 14–17.

¹⁶⁴ Fakhry 1973, 219.

¹⁶⁵ Fakhry 1973, 219; Osing *et al.* 1982, 57–58. For a full description of Fakhry's findings, see Osing *et al.* 1982, 57–69.

¹⁶⁶ Fakhry 1973, 218.

¹⁶⁷ Fakhry 1973, 220–21. *Mastaba* tombs are tombs in the shape of a rectangular, solid bench. The term derives from the Arabic word for bench (*mastaba*). For a description of Fakhry's findings, see Osing *et al.* 1982, 42–56.

1908.¹⁶⁸ Subsequently, Fakhry excavated at Al-Muzzawwaqa, realising the significance of the elaborately painted tombs of Petosiris and Petubastis (Fig. 8).¹⁶⁹ Fakhry also began work in front of the Deir el-Haggar temple at this time. Fakhry's most famous archaeological research remains in Dakhleh, and particularly the *mastaba* tombs of Balat that he discovered in the 1950s.¹⁷⁰ It was Fakhry's pioneering research that drew Egyptologists to Dakhleh for the first systematic study of the oasis.¹⁷¹

Centre d'Étude et de Documentation sur l'Ancienne Egypte (CEDAE)

In the 1960s, CEDAE drew up plans to publish the temples located in Egypt's oases and created the Western Desert Project for this purpose. This centre was created in consultation with UNESCO. An Egyptian, Abdel Aziz Sadek, was appointed head of this project and was in charge of documentation.¹⁷² Sadek participated in Fakhry's October 1968 excavations at Ain Aseel. Despite the ambitions of this project, it was not productive during its life history and Sadek handed over the Khargeh temple publication responsibility to IFAO in 1994 with no publications produced.¹⁷³ Despite this lack of published material, CEDAE provided a model for subsequent missions to the oases, which also spanned broad research questions.

Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale (IFAO)

In 1954, Serge Sauneron (1927–1976) visited the monuments of the Southern Oasis along with a party of scholars, including P. Derchain.¹⁷⁴ Sauneron was a pensionnaire at IFAO in Cairo at the time and, more than 20 years after this visit, became the director of IFAO (1969–1976).¹⁷⁵ As director of IFAO, Sauneron initiated a number of significant excavations in the Southern Oasis.

¹⁶⁸ Fakhry 1973, 218–19, n. 5.

¹⁶⁹ For a description of Fakhry's findings and additional observations, see Osing *et al.* 1982, 70–95. These two tombs, and particularly that of Petosiris, have been reanalysed recently (Whitehouse 1998). See also Minas-Nerpel 2007 for a demotic inscribed icosahedron recovered from Al-Muzzawakka in the 1980s.

¹⁷⁰ Mills 1985; Osing *et al.* 1982.

¹⁷¹ Dieter Arnold and Jürgen Osing visited Dakhleh in March 1978 in order to publish a volume on Fakhry's research results in Dakhleh as well as continue studies that Fakhry considered to be important (Osing *et al.* 1982). During this time, Osing also took notes at several temples in the Southern Oasis and published a series of articles on them (Osing 1985c; 1978; 1985a–b; 1986a–c; 1990).

¹⁷² Moukhtar 1995, 28.

¹⁷³ Grimal 1995, 579.

¹⁷⁴ Derchain 1955; Rivet 1954; 1955; 1956.

¹⁷⁵ Dawson and Uphill 1995, 373–74.



Fig. 8: Muzawaka, Petosiris tomb, representation of Petosiris (?), Ba bird, hawk, Ibis, Jackal Horus, Thoth and Anubis (Amheida Project Staff, 'Paintings from the Tomb of Petosiris at Muzawaka (X)', Ancient World Image Bank, New York: Institute for the Study of the Ancient World 2004, <http://www.flickr.com/photos/isawnyu/4546285372>).

On February 18th 1977, work commenced at Qila el-Dabba. Fakhry had drawn attention to this site first when he isolated four large mud-brick *mastabas* for study. IFAO identified another *mastaba* and also fully cleared and recorded these structures.¹⁷⁶ Then, in 1978, an expedition began work at the Old Kingdom capital, Ain Asil.¹⁷⁷ Soon after he began work at Qila el-Dabba, Fakhry had discovered the site of Ain Asil, located 1.5 km east of the site. Fakhry identified it as the urban complex associated with the mortuary site of Qila el-Dabba. IFAO began formal excavations here with small sondages in 1978 and subsequently expanded excavations after

¹⁷⁶ Giddy 1987, 174–84.

¹⁷⁷ Giddy and Grimal 1979b; Giddy, Jeffreys and Soukiassian 1981; Smith and Giddy 1985. On the start of IFAO's work in Dakleh, see Valloggia 1986.

discovering the high degree of preservation on the site.¹⁷⁸ IFAO continues to excavate in this area of Dakhleh today.

Dakhleh Oasis Project (DOP)

Geoffrey Freeman of the Canadian Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities (SSEA) and Anthony Mills of the Royal Ontario Museum visited the Dakhleh Oasis in 1977.¹⁷⁹ They were strongly influenced by Fakhry's assertion about the potential for work in the Dakhleh Oasis.¹⁸⁰ Shortly thereafter, Freeman and Mills formed the DOP in 1977. The DOP started its first season on October 10th 1978, with funding from the Canada Council, the Royal Ontario Museum and the SSEA.¹⁸¹ Scholars have become increasingly aware of the benefits of interdisciplinary research and this approach was always central within the DOP. The DOP objective is to examine the evolution of cultural remains and the oasis environment in tandem so that scholars can recognise the relationship between humans and the environment.

The DOP surveyed the entire Dakhleh Oasis during the 1970s and 1980s, largely completing the survey in the 1982/83 field season.¹⁸² This survey revealed that there was a modest resident population in Dakhleh throughout the Pharaonic period but more than three times as many sites during the Roman and Byzantine centuries of occupation.¹⁸³ These results resonated with Edmonstone's earliest observations of the oasis. The DOP began excavations after completing their survey and the DOP continue to excavate at several sites initially observed by antiquarians: Deir el Haggar, the Roman town Kellis (Ismant el-Kharab) and the Roman capital city Mothis (Mut). New York University and partner institutions, as part of the DOP, now excavate the Roman city Trimithis (Amheida).¹⁸⁴ Other smaller-scale excavations have also taken place.

A full description of the DOP and IFAO work is beyond the parameters of the present work as it represents a completely different phase of research professionalisation in Dakhleh.

¹⁷⁸ Giddy 1987, 184–205. The preliminary research on these sites goes beyond the temporal parameters of this paper, see Giddy 1979; Giddy and Grimal 1979a–b; Giddy and Jeffreys 1981; Giddy, Jeffreys and Soukiasian 1981.

¹⁷⁹ Mills 1977; 1978a; 1978b.

¹⁸⁰ Thurston 2003, 17–21. On Fakhry's discussion of Dakhleh's valuable archaeology, see Fakhry 1973.

¹⁸¹ Mills 1978a. The DOP formation can be found described in Thurston 1987.

¹⁸² Mills 1985.

¹⁸³ Churcher and Mills 1999. This perspective should be revised somewhat now that the ceramics are better-understood for the Ptolemaic era.

¹⁸⁴ Likewise, the papyrologist Guy Wagner conducted important work on the oasis during the Roman period (Wagner 1987, 191).

Discussion

This brief historiography makes antiquarian observations more accessible to Dakhleh oasis researchers and contributes additional useful outcomes. In particular, it is possible to understand the research implications of working in a peripheral zone; changes in monument preservation in Dakhleh; the contours of current research projects within the oasis; and research priorities in this oasis.

First, Dakhleh's location on Egypt's edge impacted the development of archaeological research in the oasis. Antiquarian explorers were the first to visit and publicise the archaeology found within this oasis. Before archaeology became a formal discipline, antiquarian discoveries and publications commonly brought antiquities to light for the first time. Dakhleh, as a peripheral area of Egypt, experienced antiquarian exploration to a less intense degree than other regions of Egypt and the ancient world. Moreover, increased specialisation in archaeology at the turn into the 20th century took a long time to manifest itself in Dakhleh. The isolated location of Dakleh also staved off large excavation projects, which really did not take place until Fakhry's pioneering research in the mid-20th century, followed by the large expeditions established in the late 1970s. Tourism in Dakhleh is still minimal compared with the rest of Egypt, which has helped to continue to preserve its heritage. This trajectory is substantially later than other regions, which experienced major excavations in the late 19th century. As a result, Dakhleh has more sites undergoing excavation for the first time than most regions within Egypt.

Second, this historiography enables us to understand changes in monument preservation. Dakhleh's extreme location helped to preserve many of the monuments from European excavation and collecting until the end of the 19th century, when we see some antiquities moving onto the market. Most preservation issues seem to have occurred in the early and middle 20th century when Dakhleh had become more accessible to Europeans and while Egypt underwent major political changes. Moreover, the urban expansion of Mut had disastrous effects upon the ancient city at Mut, particularly in the late 19th and 20th century. Egyptians who monitored the sites (Elias, Fakhry) noted most of these preservation issues, although we can glean preservation changes the explorers' chronicles as well.

Third, the contours of current research become clearer when reviewing Dakhleh's research history. The DOP focuses on sites well-known to antiquarians, while the IFAO expeditions focus on the sites more recently exposed during Fakhry's period of work in Dakhleh. Moreover, the DOP is a strongly interdisciplinary enterprise, which reflects several other missions in the past. In particular, the DOP resembles the Rohlfs expedition, which brought a broad range of experts to Dakhleh and Dakhleh's first excavations.

It is clear from looking back at prior research that increases in Egyptian research participation have had a positive impact on the contours of research in Dakhleh. Egyptian input can be seen at all levels of research in Dakhleh. Muhammed Ali and Khedive Ismael funded and supported early expeditions to the region. Bedouin and local Dakhkans guided early explorers, in addition to assisting with excavations. Fakhry, one of the first professional Egyptian archaeologists, conducted the first systematic work in this region and locals informed Fakhry of archaeological discoveries as they came to light for the first time. This local participation in archaeology is rarely glimpsed in antiquarian accounts of Dakhleh and there is clearly a hidden history of local interest in archaeology. Local stories and contributions rarely receive the attention they merit in publications, although some recognition has been given more recently in other regions.¹⁸⁵ Importantly, it was an Egyptian, Fakhry, who drew a number of interdisciplinary foreign missions into Dakhleh and revitalised research in the region. These results suggest the positive outcomes of increasing Egyptian involvement in archaeological missions in Dakhleh.

Fourth, re-examining past research allows us to see more clearly what archaeological evidence explorers examined closely, and what evidence they missed. It is clear that the Roman remains in Dakhleh always drew the most attention. This observation should not be surprising since subsequent DOP data suggest that the Roman presence in Dakhleh brought the population density to its greatest extent until the late 20th century. Even so, it is clear that this phase of Dakhleh's history has overshadowed earlier periods. The time lag between Classical and Prehistoric research is not uncommon in archaeology and can be compared with other areas of the Near East, where clearly visible remains are explored before more hidden, deep pasts.¹⁸⁶ Prehistoric material was not examined significantly until Winkler's rock art research in the late 1930s and then not again until the late 20th century. It is clear that Dakhleh has much to offer in all phases of human occupation and both IFAO and the DOP now conduct research outside of the Roman phase of occupation.

In summation, Dakhleh's rich past has been explored with increasing intensity and expertise over the past 200 years, with particularly significant developments occurring since Fakhry realised the research potential of this region. The development of archaeology in Dakhleh cannot be considered in isolation from historical events or the discipline of archaeology more broadly. Although past Dakhkan archaeology was not at the forefront of archaeological developments, it clearly responded to developments that occurred around it. This situation has changed dramatically since the late 1970s when IFAO and DOP began their research in

¹⁸⁵ Dural 2007; Matthews 2011.

¹⁸⁶ Matthews 2011, 36, 46–48.

Dakhleh, leading the way in interdisciplinary and collaborative projects and contributing innovative approaches to the discipline and the local community.

Bibliography

Abbreviations

BIFAO *Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale*.

JSSEA *Journal of the Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities*.

- Anderson, R. and Fawzi, I. 1987: *Egypt in 1800: Scenes from Napoleon's Description de l'Égypte* (Cairo).
- Bagnall, R.S. and Ruffini, G.R. 2004: 'Civic Life in Fourth-Century Trimithis: Two Ostraka from the 2004 Excavations'. *ZPE* 149, 143–52.
- Beadnell, H.J. 1901: *Dakhla Oasis: Its Topography and Geology* (Geological Survey Report 1899. Part IV) (Cairo).
- . 1909: *An Egyptian Oasis: An Account of the Oasis of Kharga in the Libyan Desert, with Special Reference to its History, Physical Geography, and Water-Supply* (London).
- Bednarski, A. 2005: *Holding Egypt: Tracing the Reception of the Description de l'Égypte in Nineteenth-Century Great Britain* (London).
- Berger, F. 2006: 'Relative Chronology of Rock Art at Djedefre's Water Mountain, SW-Egypt'. In Kroeper, K., Chłodnicki, M. and Kobusiewicz, M. (eds.), *Archaeology of Early Northeastern Africa: In Memory of Lech Krzyżaniak* (Poznań), 137–46.
- . 2008: 'Rock Art West of Dakhla: The "Women" from Dachla'. *Rock Art Research* 25.2, 137–45.
- Bierbrier, M.L. 2003: 'Art and Antiquities for Government's Sake'. In Jeffreys 2003b, 67–75.
- Cailliaud, F. 1822: *Travels in the Oasis of Thebes, and in the Deserts situated East and West of the Thebaid, in the years 1815, 16, 17, and 18 by M. Frederic Cailliaud*, edited by M. Jomard (London).
- . 1826: *Voyage à Meroé, au Fleuve Blanc, au-delà de Fâzoql*, vol. 1. (Paris; reprinted Westmead 1972).
- Cesaretti, M.P. 1989: 'Sir John Gardner Wilkinson à Deir el-Hagar'. *Discussions in Egyptology* 14, 17–29.
- Churcher, C.S. and Mills, A.J. (eds.) 1999: *Reports from the Survey of the Dakhleh Oasis, 1977–1987* (Oxford).
- Colla, E. 2007: *Conflicted Antiquities: Egyptology, Egyptomania, Egyptian Modernity* (Durham, NC).
- Curto, S. and Donatelli, L. (eds.) 1985: *Bernardino Drovetti: Epistolario* (Milan).
- d'Athanasi, G. 1836: *A Brief Account of the Researches and Discoveries in Upper Egypt Made under the Direction of Henry Salt Esq.* (London).
- Daly, M.W. (ed.) 1998: *Cambridge History of Egypt, 2: Modern Egypt from 1517 to the End of the Twentieth Century* (Cambridge).
- Dawson, W.R. and Uphill, E.P. 1995: *Who Was Who in Egyptology*, 3rd ed. by M.L. Bierbrier (London).
- Derchain, P. 1955: 'Présence romaine dans l'oasis de Thèbes'. *Bulletin de l'Association des Classiques de l'Université de Liège* 5, 25–38.
- Dixon, D.M. 2003: 'Some Egyptological Sidelights on the Egyptian War of 1882'. In Jeffreys 2003b, 87–94.
- Dolan, B. 2000: *Exploring European Frontiers: British Travellers in the Age of Enlightenment* (Basingstoke).
- Drower, M.S. 1995: *Flinders Petrie: A Life in Archaeology* (Madison).
- Dural, S. 2007: *Protecting Çatalhöyük. Memoir of an Archaeological Site Guard* (Walnut Creek, CA).
- Dykstra, D.I. 1979: *Egypt in the Nineteenth Century: the Impact of Europe upon a Non-Western Society* (Ann Arbor).

- . 1998: 'The French Occupation of Egypt, 1798–1801'. In Daly 1998, 113–38.
- Edmonstone, S.A. 1822: *A Journey to Two Oases of Upper Egypt* (London).
- Elias, G. 1917: 'Inspection de l'oasis de Dakhleh'. *Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte* 17, 141–43.
- Fagan, B. 1975: *The Rape Of The Nile: Tomb Robbers, Tourists, and Archaeologists in Egypt* (New York).
- Fahim, H.M. 2001: 'European Travellers in Egypt: The Representation of the Host Culture'. In Starkey and Starkey 2001b, 7–14.
- Fahmy, K. 1998: 'The Era of Muhammad 'Ali Pasha, 1805–1848'. In Daly 1998, 139–79.
- Fakhry, A. 1973: 'The Search for Texts in the Western Desert'. In *Textes et langages de l'Égypte pharaonique. Cent cinquante années de recherches 1822–1972. Hommage à Jean-François Champollion* (Cairo), 207–22.
- . 1974: *The Oases of Egypt*, 2 vols. (Cairo).
- . 2003: *Babriyah and Farafra*, 2nd ed. (Cairo).
- Finati, G. 1830: *Life and Adventures of Giovanni Finati, who under the assumed name of Mahomet made the campaigns against the Wahabees for the recovery of Mecca and Medina*, edited by W.J. Bankes, 2 vols. (London).
- France, P. 1991: *The Rape of Egypt: How the Europeans Stripped Egypt of its Heritage* (London).
- Freier, E. and Reinicke, W.F. (eds.) 1988: *Karl Richard Lepsius (1810–1884): Akten der Tagung anlässlich seines 100. Todestages, 10.–12.7.1984 in Halle* (Berlin).
- Gardiner, A.H. 1933: 'The Dakhleh Stela'. *JEGP* 19, 19–30.
- Genschorek, W. 1982: *Im Alleingang durch die Wüste: das Forscherleben des Gerhard Rohlfs* (Leipzig).
- Giddy, L.L. 1979: 'Balat: Rapport préliminaire des fouilles à Ain Aseel, 1978–1979'. *BIFAO* 79, 31–39.
- . 1987: *Egyptian Oases: Bahariya, Dakhla Farafra and Kharga during Pharaonic Times* (Warminster).
- Giddy, L.L. and Grimal, N. 1979a: 'Rapport préliminaire sur la seconde campagne de fouilles à Balat (Oasis de Dakhla): le secteur nord du Mastaba V'. *BIFAO* 79, 41–49.
- . 1979b: 'Balat: Sondage sur le site de Ain Aseel, rapport préliminaire'. *BIFAO* 79, 21–30.
- Giddy, L.L. and Jeffreys, D.G. 1981: 'Balat: Rapport préliminaire des fouilles à Ain Aseel, 1979–1980'. *BIFAO* 81, 198–205.
- Giddy, L.L., Jeffreys, D.G. and Soukiassian, G. 1981: 'Rapport préliminaire sur la quatrième campagne de fouilles à Ayn Asil (Oasis de Dakhla)'. *Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte* 69, 103–12.
- Gillispie, C.C. and Dewachter, M. (eds.) 1987: *Monuments of Egypt. The Napoleonic Expedition. The Complete Archaeological Plates from La Description de l'Égypte* (Princeton).
- Grimal, N. 1995: 'Travaux de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale en 1994–1995'. *BIFAO* 95, 539–645.
- Haikal, F. 2003: 'Egypt's Past Regenerated by its own People'. In MacDonald, S. and Rice, M. (eds.), *Consuming Ancient Egypt* (London), 123–38.
- Harding-King, W.J. 1925: *Mysteries of the Libyan Desert: A Record of Three Years of Exploration in the Heart of that Vast and Waterless Region* (London; reprinted 2003).
- Hassan, F.A. 2003: 'Imperialist Appropriations of Egyptian Obelisks'. In Jeffreys 2003b, 19–66.
- Henniker, S.F. 1824: *Notes during a visit to Egypt, Nubia...and Jerusalem*, 2nd ed. (London).
- Hope, C. 1981: 'Report on the Study of the Pottery and Kilns: Third Season – 1980'. *JSSA* 11.4, 233–41.
- Hoskins, G.A. 1837: *Visit to the Great Oasis of the Libyan Desert* (London).
- Hunter, F.R. 1998: 'Egypt Under the Successors of Muhammad Ali'. In Daly 1998, 180–97.
- Ibrahim, H.A. 1998: 'The Egyptian Empire, 1805–1885'. In Daly 1998, 198–215.
- Ikram, S. 2009: 'Drawing the World: Petroglyphs from Kharga Oasis'. *Archaeo-Nil* 19, 67–82.
- James, D. 2012: 'Ambiguous Images: the problems and possibilities of analysing rock-art images in the Egyptian Western Desert'. In Knoblauch, C.M. and Gill, J.C. (eds.), *Egyptological Research in Australia and New Zealand 2009* (Oxford), 71–84.

- . forthcoming: 'Hans Winkler and Dakhleh Oasis: a methodology for analysing Winkler figures'. In Bagnall, R.S., Davoli, P. and Hope, C.A. (eds.), *The Oasis Papers 6: Proceedings of the Sixth International Dakhleh Oasis Project* (Oxford).
- James, T.G.H. 1982: *Excavating in Egypt: The Egypt Exploration Society 1882–1982*. (London).
- Janssen, J.J. 1968: 'The Smaller Dakhleh Stela'. *JEGÄ* 54, 165–72.
- Jeffreys, D. 2003a: 'Introduction – Two Hundred Years of Ancient Egypt: Modern History and Ancient Archaeology'. In Jeffreys 2003b, 1–18.
- . (ed.) 2003b: *Views of Ancient Egypt Since Napoleon Bonaparte: Imperialism, Colonialism, and Modern Appropriations* (London).
- Judd, T. 2009: *Rock Art of the Eastern Desert of Egypt: Content, Comparisons, Dating and Significance* (Oxford).
- Kaper, O.E. 1997: *Temples and Gods in Roman Dakhleh: Studies in the Indigenous Cults of an Egyptian Oasis* (Dissertation, Rijksuniversiteit Groningen).
- . 2001: 'Archäologische Forschungen der Rohlf'schen Expedition in der Oase Dachla (1874)'. In Preise, K.-H., Reineke, W.F. and Wenig, S. (eds.), *Begegnungen Antike Kulturen Im Niltal. Festgabe Fur Erika Endesfelder* (Leipzig), 233–51.
- Krzyżaniak, L. 1987: 'Dakhleh Oasis Project: Interim Report on the First Season of the Recording of Petroglyphs January/February 1988'. *JSSEA* 17, 182–91.
- . 1990: 'Petroglyphs and the research on the development of the cultural attitude towards animals in the Dakhleh Oasis (Egypt)'. *Sahara* 3, 95–97.
- . 1991: 'Dakhleh Oasis Project: Research on the Petroglyphs 1990'. *Polish Archaeology in the Mediterranean* 4, 80–82.
- . 2004: 'Dakhleh Oasis. Research on Petroglyphs'. *Polish Archaeology in the Mediterranean* 15, 181–89.
- Krzyżaniak, L. and Kroeper, K. 1985: 'Dakhleh Oasis Project: Report on the Reconnaissance Season of the Recording of Petroglyphs, December 1985'. *JSSEA* 15.4, 138–39.
- . 1991: 'A Face-mask in the Prehistoric Rock Art of the Dakhleh Oasis?'. *Archaeo-Nil* 1, 59–61.
- Kuciewicz, E., Jaroni, E. and Kobusciewicz, M. 2007: 'The Petroglyphs' Code'. *Academia* 1.13, 4–8.
- Kurz, M. 2001: 'Linant de Bellefonds: Travels in Egypt, Sudan and Arabia Petraea, 1818–1828'. In Starkey and Starkey 2001b, 61–70.
- Lepsius, K.R. 1849: *Denkmaeler aus Aegypten und Aethiopien nach den Zeichnungen der von Seiner Majestaet dem Koenige von Preussen Friedrich Wilhelm IV nach diesen Laendern gesendeten und in den Jahren 1842–1845 ausgefuehrten Wissenschaftlichen expedition, auf Befehl Seiner Majestaet hrsg. und erlaeutert von C.R. Lepsius* (Berlin).
- . 1852: *Briefe aus Aegypten, Aethiopien und der halbinsel des Sinai, geschrieben in den jahren 1842–1845, während der auf befehl sr. majestaet des königs Friedrich Wilhelm IV von Preussen ausgeführten wissenschaftlichen expedition, von Richard Lepsius* (Berlin).
- . 1874: 'Hieroglyphische Inschriften in den Oasen von Xārigeh und Dāxileh'. *Zeitschrift für Aegyptische Sprache und Alterthumskunde* 12, 73–80.
- Lyons, H.G. 1894: 'On the Stratigraphy and Physiography of the Libyan Desert of Egypt'. *Quarterly Journal of the Geological Society of London* 50, 531–47.
- McDonald, M.M.A. 1993: 'Dakhleh Oasis Project: Holocene Prehistory: Interim Report on the 1988 and 1989 Seasons'. *JSSEA* 20, 43–76.
- Magee, D.N.E. 1991: 'Squeezes in Grantham Museum Made by Alice Lieder in 1851–2'. *JEGÄ* 77, 195–97.
- Manley, D. and Réé, P. 2001: *Henry Salt: Artist, Traveller, Diplomat, Egyptologist* (London).
- Maspero, G. 1919: *Historie générale de l'art: Égypte* (Paris).
- Matthews, R. 2011: 'A History of the Preclassical Archaeology of Anatolia'. In Steadman, S.R. and McMahon, G. (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Ancient Anatolia, 10,000–323 BC* (Oxford), 34–55.
- Mayes, S. 2003: *The Great Belzoni: The Circus Strongman Who Discovered Egypt's Ancient Treasures* (London).

- Michaels, G. 1996: 'Education in Archaeology: Professional Training'. In Fagan, B. (ed.), *The Oxford Companion to Archaeology* (Oxford), 192–93.
- Mills, A.J. 1977: 'Notes and News'. *JSSEA* 8.1, 3–4.
- 1978a: 'Notes and News'. *JSSEA* 8.4, 104–05.
- 1978b: 'Report of the Exploration Committee'. *JSSEA* 9.1, 9–11.
- 1985: 'The Dakhleh Oasis Project'. In Posener-Kriéger, P. (ed.), *Mélanges Gamal Eddin Mokhtar*, vol. 2 (Cairo), 125–34.
- 1993: 'The Dakhleh Oasis Columbarium Farmhouse'. *Bulletin de la Société Archéologique d'Alexandrie* 45, 192–98.
- Minas-Nerpel, M. 2007: 'A Demotic Inscribed Icosahedron from Dakhleh Oasis'. *JEgA* 93, 137–48.
- Moritz, B. 1900: 'Excursion aux oasis du désert libyque'. *Bulletin de la Société Khédiviale de Géographie*, 5e série, 8, 429–75.
- 1908: 'Ausflüge in der Arabia Petraea'. *Mélanges de la Faculté Orientale de l'Université St. Joseph de Beyrouth* 3, 387–436.
- 1910: 'Sur les antiquités arabes du Sinaï'. *Bulletin de l'Institut Égyptien*, 5e série, 5, 87–101.
- Moukhtar, G.E. 1995: 'La Carrière égyptologique d'Abdel Aziz Fahmy Sadek'. *Memnonia* 6, 28–32.
- Osing, J. 1978: 'Zum Namen des Temples von Deir el-Hagar'. *Göttinger Miszellen* 30, 57–59.
- 1985a: 'Die ägyptischen Namen für Charga und Dachla'. In Posener-Kriéger, P. (ed.), *Mélanges Gamal Eddin Mokhtar*, vol. 2 (Cairo), 179–93.
- 1985b: 'Die ägyptischen Namen für der Oase Charga in arabischer Überlieferung'. *Göttinger Miszellen* 87, 55–62.
- 1985c: 'Seth in Dachla und Charga'. *KairoMitt* 41, 229–33.
- 1986a: 'Einige Notizen zu den Oasen'. *Göttinger Miszellen* 89, 67–75.
- 1986b: 'Notizen zu den Oasen Charga und Dachla'. *Göttinger Miszellen* 92, 79–85.
- 1986c: 'Zu den Osiris-Räumen im Tempel von Hibis'. In *Hommages à François Daumas*, vol. 2 (Montpellier), 511–16.
- 1990: 'Zur Anlage und Dekoration des Tempels von Hibis'. In Groll-Israelit, S. (ed.), *Studies in Egyptology Presented to Miriam Lichtheim II* (Jerusalem).
- Osing, J., Moursi, M., Arnold, D., Neugebauer, O., Parker, R.A., Pingree, D. and Nur-el-Din, M.A. 1982: *Denkmaler der Oase Dachla aus dem Nachlass von Ahmed Fakhry* (Mainz).
- Parkinson, R.B. 1999: *Cracking Codes: The Rosetta Stone and Decipherment* (Berkeley/Los Angeles).
- Peck, W.H. 2000: 'Lepsius, Karl Richard'. In Redford, D.B. (ed.), *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt*, vol. 2 (Oxford/New York/Cairo).
- 2005: Review of P Usick, *Adventures in Egypt and Nubia: The Travels of William John Bankes (1786–1855)*. *JNES* 64.3, 202–04.
- Petrie, W.M.F. 1892: *Ten Years' Digging in Egypt 1881–1891* (London).
- 1931: *Seventy Years in Archaeology* (London).
- Ree, P. 2005: 'John Hyde of Manchester'. Unpublished paper, Association for the Study of Travel in Egypt (ASTENE) Conference, Manchester, July 2005.
- Reid, D.M. 1985: 'Indigenous Egyptology: The decolonization of a profession?'. *JAOS* 105, 233–46.
- 2002: *Whose Pharaohs? Archaeology, Museums, and Egyptian National Identity from Napoleon to World War II* (Berkeley/Los Angeles/London).
- Ridley, R.T. 1991: Review of B. Drovetti, *Epistolario*, edited by S. Curto and L. Donatelli. *JEgA* 77, 237–41.
- 1998: *Napoleon's Proconsul In Egypt: The Life and Times of Bernardino Drovetti* (London).
- Riemer, H. 2006: 'Out of Dakhla: Cultural diversity and mobility between the Egyptian Oases and the Great Sand Seas during the Holocene humid phase'. In Kroeper, K., Chłodnicki, M. and Kobusiewicz, M. (eds.), *Archaeology of Early Northeastern Africa. In Memory of Lech Krzyżaniak* (Poznań), 493–526.

- . 2009: 'Prehistoric Rock Art Research in the Western Desert of Egypt'. *Archaeo-Nil* 19, 31–46.
- Rivet, L. 1954: 'Voyage aux Oasis de Khargeh et de Dakhleh 10–14 mars 1954'. *Note d'Information de la Société d'Études Historiques et Géographiques de l'Isthme de Suez, Ismaïlia* 41, 73–89.
- . 1955: 'Quelques sanctuaires égyptiens des oasis de Dakhleh et de Khargeh, Notes de voyage'. *Cahiers d'Histoire Égyptienne* 7, 279–99.
- . 1956: 'Les temples gréco-romains de l'Oasis de Khargéh'. *BIFAO* 55, 23–31.
- Rohlf, G. 1875: 'Dr. Rohlf's Exploration of the Libyan Desert: Synopsis of the Remarks of Dr. Gerhard Rohlf, Before the Society'. *Journal of the American Geographical Society of New York* 7, 171–73.
- Rohlf, G. with Ascherson, P., Jordan, W. and Zittel, K. 1875: *Drei Monate in der Libyschen Wüste* (Cassel).
- Schmidt, C. and Moritz, B. 1926: 'Die Sinai-Expedition im Frühjahr 1914'. *Sitzungsberichte der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften* 7, 26–34.
- Smith, H.S. and Giddy, L.L. 1985: 'Nubia and the Dakhla Oasis in the Late Third Millennium B.C.: The present balance of textual and archaeological evidence'. In Geus, F. and Thill, F. (eds.), *Mélanges offerts à Jean Vercoutter* (Paris), 317–30.
- Spiegelberg, W. 1899: 'Eine Stela an der Oase Dachel'. *Recueil des travaux relatifs à la philologie et à l'archéologie égyptiennes et assyriennes* 21, 12–21.
- Starkey, P. and Starkey, J. 2001a: 'Introduction'. In Starkey and Starkey 2001b, 1–6.
- . (eds.) 2001b: *Travellers in Egypt* (New York).
- Thompson, J. 1992: *Sir Gardner Wilkinson and His Circle* (Austin).
- Thurston, H. 1987: 'Everlasting Oasis – Canadian Archaeologists Unearth 200,000 Years of Human Habitation in Egypt's Great Western Desert'. *Equinox* September/October 32, 35.
- . 2003: *Secrets of the Sands: The Revelations of Egypt's Everlasting Oasis* (New York).
- Toledano, E.R. 1998: 'Social and Economic Change in the "Long Nineteenth Century"'. In Daly 1998, 252–83.
- Trigger, B.G. 1989: *A History of Archaeological Thought* (Cambridge).
- Ucko, P. and Champion, T.C. (eds.) 2003: *The Wisdom of Egypt: Changing Visions Through The Ages* (London).
- Usick, P. 2001: 'William John Bankes' Collection of Drawings of Egypt and Nubia'. In Starkey and Starkey 2001b, 51–60.
- . 2006: 'William John Bankes in Egypt'. In Demarée, R.J. with Leach, B. and Usick, P., *The Bankes Late Ramesside Papyri* (London), 3–6.
- . 2007: Review of Bednarski 2005. *Egyptian Archaeology* 93, 308–10.
- Valloggia, M. 1986: *Balat I, Le mastaba de Medou-nefer* (Cairo).
- Vatikiotis, P.J. 1992: *A History of Modern Egypt: From Muhammad Ali to Mubarak*, 4th ed. (Baltimore).
- Vercoutter, J. 1977: 'Les travaux de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale en 1976–1977'. *BIFAO* 77, 271–86.
- Vivian, C. 2002: *The Western Desert of Egypt: An Explorer's Handbook* (Cairo).
- Wagner, G. 1987: *Les Oasis d'Égypte* (Cairo).
- Wheatcroft, A. 2003: "'Wonderful Things": Publishing Egypt in Word and Image'. In MacDonald, S. and Rice, M. (eds.), *Consuming Ancient Egypt* (London), 151–63.
- Whitehouse, H. 1998: 'Roman in Life, Egyptian in Death: The painted tomb of Petosiris in the Dakhleh Oasis'. In Kaper, O. (ed.) *Life on the Fringe: Living in the Southern Egyptian Deserts during the Roman and Early-Byzantine Periods* (Leiden), 253–70.
- Wilkinson, J.G. 1847: *Hand-book for Travellers in Egypt; including descriptions of the course of the Nile to the second cataract, Alexandria, Cairo, the pyramids, and Thebes, the overland transit to India, the peninsula of Mount Sinai, the oases, &c.* (London).
- Winkler, H.A. 1938: *Rock Drawings of Southern Upper Egypt I: Sir Robert Mond Desert Expedition. Season 1936–1937 Preliminary Report*, 2 vols. (London).

- . 1939: *Rock Drawings of Southern Upper Egypt II (Including Uwenat): Sir Robert Mond Desert Expedition. Season 1937–1938 Preliminary Report* (London).
- . 2009: *Ghost Riders of Upper Egypt: A Study of Spirit Possession* (Cairo).
- Winlock, H.E. 1936: *Ed Dakhleh Oasis: Journal of a Camel Trip made in 1908* (New York).
- Wood, M. 1998: 'The Use of the Pharaonic Past in Modern Egyptian Nationalism'. *JARCE* 35, 179–96.

Department of Archaeology
University of Reading
Reading RG6 6AB
UK
A.L.Boozer@Reading.ac.uk