

**David George Hogarth at Asyut, Egypt, 1906-1907
The History of a "Lost" Excavation**

by

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Introduction:

While engaged in a study of ancient Egyptian cordage in the British Museum during 1984, I came across a fragment of rope recovered from Asyut, Egypt by the British archaeologist, D.G. Hogarth. In investigating this artifact, I learned that this excavation by Hogarth was known to very few scholars and had never been published.(1) Intrigued by the data I encountered in Hogarth's notes, I initiated a project to organize, clarify, and make available the information found therein. A reconstructed excavation report based on Hogarth's field notes, correspondence and British Museum records is currently in press (Ryan, in press).

Apart from the archaeological data itself which is of significant Egyptological interest, Hogarth's material provides an intriguing personal glimpse at the goings-on of an Egyptian excavation in the early part of the 20th century. Various documents provide much of the story from the conception of the idea for an expedition to the ultimate disposition of many of the artifacts derived therefrom.

The Beginnings of an Excavation:

In 1894, E.A. Wallis Budge was appointed Keeper of the Department of Egyptian and Assyrian Antiquities in the British Museum. Academically diverse, energetic, and unwaveringly loyal to his Museum, Budge worked very hard to enhance his Department's collections.(2) During a meeting of the Trustees of the British Museum on the 13th of January, 1906, the following motion was passed:

The Trustees approved a recommendation by the Director [Sir Edward Thompson] that Dr. Budge be sent out on a visit of about three weeks to Egypt, to confer with Mr. Maspero (3) [Director of the Egyptian Service des Antiquités] with a view to obtaining a concession from the Egyptian Government to the Trustees of the British Museum of a small site for excavation...(TM, 13 Jan. 1906, p. 2178).

In pursuance of this directive, Budge left London for Egypt on March 3, 1906 and returned on the 30th of that month. Budge reported that he had discussed with Maspero the subject of obtaining a concession with an objective "to obtain objects necessary to fill up the gaps in our collection"(BM 1283). He noted that the British Museum "could not afford to issue large publications or plans of sites on a large scale" (BM 1283). As a result, Maspero suggested the site of Khawaled,(4) near Asyut. Part of the site had already been conceded to the Italian, Ernesto Schiaparelli,(5) but an area extending to the town of Dronka was feasible. Khawaled was said to contain "many tombs of the XVIIIth Dynasty [c.1550-1307 B.C.], and tombs of a far earlier period, containing wooden statues, etc" (BM 1283). Budge indicated that the British Museum was willing to pay £1,000 "for a few years provided the results were satisfactory" (BM 1283). Maspero urged Budge to apply and offered to arrange for another site should Khawaled prove unproductive (BM 1283).

Budge returned to England on March 30th, and on April 7th, the Trustees considered his report and directed him to apply for the recommended concession (TM 7 April 1906 p. 2205). Budge applied at once on behalf of the Trustees for permission to excavate at Khawaled. While his letter of application was in transit, however, he received word from Maspero that the concession at Khawaled had been granted to W.M. Flinders Petrie (6) by the Comité d'Égyptologie of the Service des Antiquités (BM 1621). As consolation, Maspero offered two other sites: Abydos (7) and Asyut, "the latter containing tombs of the X-XIIth dynasties" (BM 1621). Weighing the merits of each, Budge selected Asyut and the Director of the British Museum telegraphed this intention to Maspero on April 24th (BM 1621).

Budge's preference for the site was given as follows:

The site now asked for contains certain tombs of the last princes of Manetho's Xth Dynasty and nobles of

the Herakleopolitan Dynasty, who were engaged in resisting to [sic] advance of the Theban princes to the north. Of the history of that period very little is known and it may reasonably be expected that successful excavations on the site will materially advance the knowledge of the history of that time" (BM 1621, TM, 12 May 1906, pp. 2216-2217).

On May 30th, 1906, a letter from Maspero arrived granting a concession to the British Museum for

...les localités voisines d'Assiout, sous la réserve que vous devrez vous arranger, pour les limites, avec Mr. Schiaparelli à qui nous avons déjà concédé une partie de ces localités." (8)

This permit "for the proposed excavation" was noted by the Trustees on the 14th of July, and Budge's prosecution of the project was approved (TM, 14 July 1906, p.2241).

In a letter to the Trustees dated October 12th, 1906, Budge suggested that steps be taken to begin the excavation in November and described the site as follows:

The site is situated a little to the north of Asyut, and the southern end of it has been granted to Prof. Schiaparelli. It contains tombs of all periods, from the IXth to the XXXth dynasty, [c.2134-343 B.C.] and in Coptic times a flourishing community of Christians lived there" (BM 3468).

D.G. Hogarth was recommended for the task as one "whose skill and experience are well known." Hogarth, an archaeologist trained in the Classics, had been involved sporadically in archaeological projects in Egypt during the previous dozen years. Though not an Egyptologist, his general archaeological abilities were quite competent. Budge suggested that Hogarth be paid £3 per day, round-trip fare from England and other travel expenses (BM 3468). It was anticipated that the season's work would be completed in three or four months and a sum for all expenses was suggested at £1,500. The Trustees approved all (TM 13 Oct. 1906 p.2260, TM 10 Nov. 1906 p.2274).

David George Hogarth:

David George Hogarth was born on the 23rd of May, 1862 at Barton-on-Humber, Lincolnshire, England. Biographical information on Hogarth is rare. It is found here and there in obituaries (e.g. Courtney 1928, Fletcher 1928, Kenyon 1931-40, Sayce 1927, also WWE p.204-05), biographies of T.E. Lawrence (e.g. Aldington 1955, Mack 1976) and sporadically in some of his own works (e.g. Hogarth 1896a, 1910, 1925). Aldington wrote: "Hogarth was one of those 'hide thy life' Oxford scholars who seems to have been successful in evading any attempts which may have been made to publicise him" (Aldington 1955, p.75). A definitive biography of this important man has yet to be written.

In 1881, Hogarth's college career began at Magdalen College, Oxford, where his studies centered upon the Classics. He completed his undergraduate days in 1885 and Oxford would remain his academic home for the duration of his life, as a Fellow and later as a Museum Keeper. In 1886, Hogarth was elected the first Craven Fellow, which allowed him to travel and study in the Classical world and the following year he set off to Greece to serve as the apprentice to William Martin Ramsay, the epigrapher and explorer of Asia Minor. He journeyed to Cyprus in 1886 where he assisted in an excavation at Paphos and explored and recorded the less-visited sites of antiquity on the island (Hogarth (1889).

In 1894, Hogarth visited Egypt for the first time at the behest of the Egypt Exploration Fund in order to assist Swiss Egyptologist Édouard Naville with his excavations at Deir el-Bahri (Davies 1982 p.58). The next two years found Hogarth exploring a few other sites in Egypt, with a distinct preference for Greek remains, as exemplified by his exploration of a Graeco-Roman cemetery in Alexandria in 1895 (Hogarth and Benson 1895), and his papyri hunting activities in the Fayum (Grenfell, Hunt and Hogarth 1900). Though Hogarth decidedly did not acquire a taste for pharaonic art and culture (Hogarth 1896a, pp.157-170), it was nevertheless in Egypt that he learned the higher archaeological standards of his time as they were being developed by W.M.F. Petrie at sites such as Koptos (Hogarth 1896b; 1910, pp.19-20).

In 1897, Hogarth served as a war correspondent for the London Times in Crete and Thessaly. That same year he was appointed director of the British School of Archaeology in Athens. While director, he worked in 1899 at the site of Naukratis, an ancient Greek town located in the Egyptian delta and also the site of Phylakopi at Melos (Hogarth 1904). He was also able to join Arthur Evans with his excavations at Knossos, Crete.

Hogarth excavated briefly at Zakro on Crete in 1901 (Hogarth 1901) and returned to Naukratis in 1903 (Hogarth, Lorimer and Edgar 1905). During 1904-1905, he excavated the temple of Artemis at Ephesus for the British Museum (Hogarth 1908), and then journeyed back to Egypt at the request of the Museum, to excavate at Asyut during the winter of 1906-1907. After Asyut, Hogarth would never again dig in Egypt and his career as an excavator would continue for only a few more years. Very notable is

his work at the ancient Hittite site of Carchemish in northern Syria where he would initiate the first season of excavations there under the auspices of the British Museum in 1911 (Hogarth 1914). Hogarth was appointed Keeper of the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford in 1909.

While the majority of Hogarth's life was dedicated to archaeological pursuits, he is known to many as the mentor of T.E. Lawrence, the famed "Lawrence of Arabia". With the outbreak of the First World War, Hogarth offered his services to Britain in 1915 and was appointed Director of the Arab Bureau in Cairo where he served from 1916-1919 (Bidwell 1978). During the war, Hogarth earned, among other honors, a D.Litt. Degree from Oxford and the Gold Medal of the Royal Geographical Society. Following the war, he participated in the Versailles Peace Conference as the British Commissioner for the Middle East. Returning to Oxford, his career continued with distinction as his leadership ability was actively applied to the University. Hogarth also found time to lend his service to such organizations as the Palestine Exploration Society and to the Royal Geographical Society, where he served as President from 1925 until his death. While still Keeper of the Ashmolean, David George Hogarth passed away on November 6, 1927.

The site of Asyut.

Asyut is located on the west bank of the Nile about 400 kilometres upstream from modern-day Cairo. Situated as it is opposite the southernmost end of the Gebel Abu Feda, a natural barrier of steep cliffs on the East Bank, and with mountains on the desert edge to the west, Asyut served as a gateway to Middle Egypt from the south. This geographical situation, in fact, made the region of the town a frontier between north and south in times of political disunity. The town itself sits in a fertile plain with the backdrop of a large limestone mountain running generally west to east, honey-combed with tombs (Beinlich 1975, pp.489-490; Kees 1961. pp.99-100, 212).

Ancient Asyut is known primarily for the following: as the capital of the XIIIth Upper Egyptian nome (Brunner 1937, pp.38-41; Gomaà 1986, pp.264-267; Helck 1974, pp.102-104; Montet 1961, pp.135-140); for its role in the tumultuous events of the "First Intermediate Period" [c.2134-2040 B.C.] (Gomaà 1980; Hayes 1971; Helck 1968, pp.93-103; Leospo 1988); as a cult center for its local god Wepwawet, and others such as Anubis and Osiris (Gaillard 1927; Gomaà 1986, pp.268-274; Graefe 1985) as the ancient Greek city of Lycopolis (Calderini 1922; 1935, pp.210-212; Kees 1927) for its five inscribed tombs of Herakleopolitan [c.2134-2040 B.C.] and Middle Kingdom [c.2040-1640 B.C.] nomarchs which bear important historical, biographical, and funerary texts (Brunner 1937; Porter and Moss 1934, pp.259-264) and for its vast necropolis from which many wooden funerary figures and coffins bearing texts have been recovered (Porter and Moss 1934, pp.265-269).

A number of Western antiquarians visited Asyut during the late 18th and 19th centuries, several copying the texts found in the inscribed tombs.(9) The first full collection of the texts from the five principal inscribed Asyut tombs appeared in 1889 as copied by the English Egyptologist Francis Llewellyn Griffith (Griffith 1889 also 1886-1887). Local exploitation of the Asyut necropolis for the purpose of obtaining saleable antiquities was no doubt extensive through much of this time. In 1893, a native digger by the name of Faraq "excavated" a large uninscribed tomb of Mesehti, a high official of the Herakleopolitan Period. The tomb contained, among other things, Mesehti's coffins bearing funerary texts and most notably, two now-celebrated model groups of foreign soldiers (Porter and Moss 1934 p.265).(10)

The first official foreign excavation in the ancient cemetery of Asyut was conducted in 1903 by the Frenchmen Émile Chassinat and Charles Palanque.(11) Working primarily in the area above the inscribed tomb of Khety II, the excavations uncovered twenty-six small and uninscribed tombs were, only five of which had been violated. Of the sixty-one coffins recovered from these tombs, thirty-four were inscribed, thus offering a wealth of biographical, funerary, and religious textual data (Chassinat 1904; Chassinat and Palanque 1911; Palanque 1903).

The Italian Egyptologist Ernesto Schiaparelli excavated at Asyut beginning in 1905. His concession contained most of the large inscribed tombs and the area extending eastward. He worked at Asyut through 1913 and though his labors were apparently productive, Schiaparelli published nothing on the subject.(12) Many objects from his Asyut excavations are presently housed in the Turin Egyptian Museum. Archaeological and epigraphic work subsequent to Hogarth's work in 1906-1907 will not be described here.

The Excavation.(13)

Hogarth wrote:

I was bidden to search the tombs in part of the hill behind Assiut, whose soft calcereous cliffs are honeycombed with graves of every age. This vast cemetery, lying near a large town, has been ransacked over and over again, chiefly for wooden statuettes and models, which seem to have been carved at the Wolf Town more often and more cleverly than anywhere else in old Egypt. I was warned to expect no untouched

burial, but to content myself with raking the leavings of hastier robbers (Hogarth 1910, pp.154-155).

His mission was characterized by him as

that body-snatching sort, which Science approves and will doubtless justify to the Angel of Resurrection by pleading a statute of limitations. To rob a tomb appears, in fact, to be held dastardly or laudable according as the tenancy of the corpse has been long or old (Hogarth 1910, p.154).

The excavation concession was established in the immense tomb-pocketed mountain directly behind the town of Asyut. A magnetically-oriented line was established from the mountain's base beginning near, and slightly to the east of the tomb of Hepzefa III. The British Museum was free to explore the mountainside to the west and 15 kilometres north as far as the village of Beni Adi. The eastern side of the line was the domain of Schiaparelli.(14)

Hogarth apparently began his excavation on the 15th of December 1906, although his pay sheets indicate that he hired seven men the day before and his field notebook begins on the 17th. Before work began, French Egyptologist Gustave Lefebvre (15), the local antiquities inspector, pointed out where robbers in the last year had discovered an inscribed tomb door at the foot of the hill in the courtyard of the so-called Salkhana or slaughter-house tomb [Hepzefa III] (Moss 1933, Porter and Moss 1934 p.264). Hogarth began at this spot and revealed, over the course of the next ten days, a tomb bearing inscriptions on its lintels and jambs and containing a variety of objects in its fill. The tomb was given the number "I" and thus began a tomb numbering sequence that would end with 57 tombs "cleared with good result" by the end of the season (BM 143; FN, pp.1-6).

Tomb I was mapped and others in the immediate vicinity were investigated as the general boundaries of the concession were explored. Trials of other "painted and inscribed tombs" in the vicinity proved "fruitless"(BM 143). Though the concession extended far West from its border with Schiaparelli, its operative boundary ended in this direction where modern quarries ensue.

Many trial excavations were made in the search for relatively unravaged tombs. In one account, Hogarth estimated that "For every profitable tomb at least twenty profitless had to be opened and, moreover, examined scrupulously..." (Hogarth 1910 p.155). In a letter written by Hogarth from Asyut on the 1st of January, 1907, he wrote:

Meanwhile I began tombs high up the mountain...but, although again and again tombs were found which had not been robbed in modern times, they were never intact. The tombs lie in terraces, and it was not till we had worked systematically down to the third terrace from our starting point that we hit a virgin grave (BM 143). (16)

The size of the expedition's labor force increased greatly during the first three weeks. On December 15th, there were 13 employees, by the 18th there were 27, on the 19th, 40; and by December 24th, 54 locals were on the payroll. Overall there were at least 63 Egyptians employed, a few dropping out and some working part-time.

The average wage was 5 piasters per day though one fellow, Omar Hussein, received 6 per day (probably as headman) and Gabr Seidan received 3 1/2 per day (perhaps a child). Achmet Hussein was paid 10 piasters per day for his services and that of his donkey. Bonuses were occasionally paid, assumable for exemplary service, hardship, or bakshish. ("Bakshish" means "tip", and many archaeologists in Egypt would reward their workers by paying a competitive price for objects discovered. At best, the bakshish system "kept the workers honest and at worst, it encouraged 'salting'".) (17) On the 24th day of December, for example, 21 piasters were paid out for the discovery of the missing fragments of a statue found in Tomb I.

Weekly bonuses could exceed as much as 20 additional piasters. Faraq Ali Ali and Mussi Hassan were two of the most successful diggers, receiving an additional 23 1/2 and 24 piasters respectively during the week of December 31 - January 5. Perhaps they were involved in the discovery of the intact Tomb IX on January 1st. Salaries were paid on Saturdays, and Sundays were a day of rest with the exception of a very busy January 27th when seven tombs were in progress. In the first three weeks of digging (December 14th - January 5th), salaries and bonuses amounted to £20.18. (18)

Early on, Hogarth expressed certain doubts of success in his concession. His area appeared to be exceedingly plundered and quarried and lacked the big tombs found in Schiaparelli's neighboring concession and that of Petrie's to the south. Hogarth wrote,

The facts mitigate against success here. The Copts in the early centuries of the Christian era evidently used this cemetery as a dwelling place, turned tombs into homes and systematically robbed grave pits, etc; and in very recent times - especially since Faraq's discovery of the soldiers - there has been most thorough plundering. I often find a dozen tombs communicating by holes and passages made by these robbers who worked constantly underground. But the most serious consideration is the absence of the

larger type of tomb in our part of the cemetery - if one may judge by such tombs as have long been opened. The central and southern parts, conceded to MM. Schiaparelli and Petrie respectively, seem to contain the larger graves. I have little doubt that I can find small graves here and there intact and of good period; but about large and well furnished graves I feel much doubt unless M. Schiaparelli's concession is ceded to me (BM 143). (19)

It is clear that Hogarth's ultimate ambition was to find intact burials in large tombs. This can explain the extraordinary effort and stamina expended in the excavation of two large collapsed tombs, Nos. XXVII and XLII. Tomb XXVII occupied his serious attention from January 14th through February 1st, as he blasted away at fallen blocks of stone. Teased by what appeared to be a shaft sealed with palm logs, wherein "the dust from the [ancient workmen's] chisels still clung to the walls and floor" (BM 890). Hogarth persisted and found the shaft essentially empty and unused.

Tomb XLII was addressed from January 22 through February 16 producing very little for the effort. Near the end of the season Hogarth wrote:

What has never been forthcoming during the season has been one fairly large virgin Middle Kingdom tomb, wherein both upper and lower chambers were well furnished. I have found virgin upper chambers, and virgin pits but never the two together (BM 890).

Schiaparelli's concession expired on December 31, 1906, and Hogarth wrote to Maspero regarding this, presumably to request that the British Museum be ceded that territory (BM 143). By the end of the excavation, word had been heard that Schiaparelli would be back and Hogarth responded as follows:

He [Schiaparelli] would probably not exhaust it [the concession], if the results of his excavations elsewhere afford any guide, but he would, in any case, make it more difficult for anyone else to succeed by disturbing the superficial indications. On the other hand he may only do a little work, sufficient to retain his claim, and once more renew his concession at the end of the year, as he did on the last occasion (BM 1252).

Hogarth doubted that Maspero would react against such concession maintenance games.

By the end of January, Hogarth had achieved a certain level of success in finding several intact small tombs and others still containing a variety of objects. The unviolated tombs were often very small and with their doors intact. Many closed doors and chambers were found and opened to reveal that the tombs had been robbed from above, below, or from the sides, sometimes producing vast networks of communicating chambers. The unviolated tombs tended to be "hidden away in odd corners of the cemetery, or cut in promontories of rock, which have, by their position, escaped the methodical subterranean progress of the native plunderers" (BM 754). Some of the larger plundered tombs were found to contain more and better objects than the virgin tombs which, though intact, tended to be quite small and sparse or common in their artifactual content. Bemoaning the paucity of objects in the intact tombs, Hogarth wrote:

One [intact tomb], for example, opened yesterday, contained no less than ten coffins, all plain, but of the Middle Kingdom, apparently, and nothing else but rough pottery. On the other hand, two large tombs plundered in antiquity, and recleared by me in the last two days, have yielded three boats with rowers, etc.; several wooden figures, and other objects of value (BM 754).

During about the second month of excavation, Hogarth transferred the focus of his operations to the vicinity of Schiaparelli's concession boundary in hope of making higher quality discoveries.

Hogarth was very worried about thieves in the area. He tended to clear quickly tombs found in the afternoon rather than waiting until the next morning and he made note of several objects having been stolen.

From Tomb LV, for example, I hear that in spite of my 'bakshish system', there was some leakage to the dealers from this tomb. Two wooden statuettes are reported stolen, besides some small objects e.g. scarabs. Lying as this cemetery does just above Assiout it is as favorable a spot for intrigue between dealers and workmen as any in Egypt (BM 890).

In *Accidents of an Antiquary's Life*, Hogarth wrote:

Had I been an annual digger in Egypt, able to call a trained and trusted crew to Siut, and had the scene not lain so near a large town notorious for its illicit traffic in antiquities, that penance might have been

avoided. And even in performing it one was robbed. Dealers waited for my men at sunset below the hill and beset them all the way to town, and one digger, a youth of brighter wit and face - he was half a Bedawi - gained so much in the few weeks before I turned him off that he bought a camel, a donkey and a wife. The order of his purchases was always stated thus (Hogarth 1910, pp.155-156).

It seems clear that Hogarth was very concerned about such problems and endeavored to remove loose objects as quickly as possible. Describing Tomb XXXIX, for example, he notes: "got into tomb at 3:30 p.m. - only 1/2 hour to get 8 coffins out" (FN p.98).

Hogarth entertained at least two visitors who performed Egyptological tasks while in the area. On January 2nd, English philologist Archibald Sayce (20) was noted as having copied the inscription on a statue found in Tomb I. French Egyptologist Pierre Lacau (21) in Cairo was asked by Hogarth to copy the fragile inscription belonging to that same tomb. Lacau did so and copied the statue from the tomb as well and also offered his opinion "that most of our painted and inscribed coffins are Xth Dynasty" (BM 754).

There are several references in Hogarth's field notes to a certain "R.N.", especially in regard to the planning of tombs. In the notes concerning Tomb XXVI, for example, is found the rubric, "Plan in R.N.'s book" (FN p.69). The plan of that tomb had been cut from elsewhere and added to the adjacent blank page. Tomb XV commentary indicates that "This tomb was not planned by N." due to an earth slip (FN p.43). Indeed, there is a distinction in the tomb plans. The plans inserted later tend to bear a great detail in noting actual measurements whereas the plans drawn directly into the notebook, presumably by Hogarth himself, tend to be simple and lacking in detailed measurement. Altogether it appears that nine tombs were planned by this individual beginning with Tomb XXVI, first described on January 17th to Tomb XLVI, which was completed on February 26th.

Given the above evidence, it seems very plausible that Hogarth had some manner of assistance from "R.N." who possessed good mapping skills. If this is indeed the case, this might explain Hogarth's often less than precisely detailed written descriptions, especially if the plans were not immediately available when the description was being written. R.N. is not mentioned in any of the correspondence.

Reading through Hogarth's material regarding this excavation, one feels his growing sense of frustration: the hit and miss process of sorting through many hundreds of plundered tombs in hopes of finding something large and unlooted, but at best, recovering relatively intact yet pathetically furnished burials; thieves in the midst; a seemingly better yet unexploited concession next door; and a sincere desire to provide his employers with quality objects likely contributed to his anxiety. Expending much effort only to find an English beer bottle; digging all day and hitting the wrong tomb door; exploring empty shafts: a continuous battery of excitement and expectation followed by disappointment. On February 3rd he wrote,

In the course of the month I have opened some twenty virgin tombs, mostly, to judge by the style of the coffins, burial, and pottery, of the Middle Kingdom. From these I have taken out nearly fifty coffins, of which about fifteen are painted. As a whole, however, these tombs with doors intact, are small and contain little besides coffins (generally plain) and rough pottery. Bows and arrows and in a few cases, wooden ushabtis and other statuettes, have been the only companions of the dead...It is hardly worthwhile to find any more of the small types...One can go on finding tombs everyday and all day. I shall bring home a considerable mass of antiquities from which you will be able to judge whether further search is desirable. The questions for you to decide is whether the ten percent of these tombs which are rich, make it worthwhile to find the ninety-percent which are comparatively poor, or have been completely robbed (BM 754).

Hogarth apparently inhabited accommodations common for turn of the century excavators: a local tomb. He evidently occupied the Tomb of Khety II, though it lay within Schiaparelli's concession. His evenings were spent in this

...huge grotto with storied walls, because the lower Nile Valley is a thoroughfare of furious winds all winter long, and tent life, a constant misery in Egypt, would have been most miserable on the face of the Siut bluff, which stands out into the wind's track, and is buffeted by all their storms. Not that our wide-mouthed grotto, however, proved much better than a tent. The north wind struck its farther wall, and was sucked around the other two in an unceasing, unsparring draught which dropped dust by the way on everything we ate or drank or kept. Warmth after the day's toil we never felt December to February, even when sitting closest to the fire which we kindled nightly with unpainted slats of ancient coffins on a hearth of Old Empire bricks. The dead wood, seasoned by four thousand years of drought, threw off an ancient and corpse-like smell, which left its faint savour on the toast which we scorched at the embers; and a clear smokeless light fell fitfully on serried coffins, each hiding a gaunt tenant swathed and bound, to whose quiet presence we grew so little sensitive that we ranged our stores and bottles, our pans and our spare garments on his convenient lid (Hogarth 1910, p.157). (22)

And there were dangers, too. The threats of earth slips and cave-ins occasionally presented themselves.

...to pursue [success] was dangerous, where rock was rotten and screes of loose chips, thrown out from plundered tombs above, might slip at any moment over the only channel of air and escape, and condemn us to the death of trapped rats in a most unworthy cause and most unpleasant company" (Hogarth 1910 p.156).

One workman was half buried when a constantly threatening large bank of earth slipped while excavating Tomb XXXIII (FN p.86). While blasting away some large stone blocks in Tomb XXVII, cracks developed along the cliff and what remained of the original roof collapsed (FN p.74).

Hogarth mentioned other unpleasantities such as, "the dim light of smoky candles in the choking dust-laden air of a narrow cell, which reeked of mummy clothes and the foul rags of fellahin" (Hogarth 1910 p.155). Another description is reminiscent of Giovanni Belzoni's tomb crawling adventures of the previous century:

Crawling on all fours in the dark, one often found the passage barred by a heap of dim swaddled mummies turned out of their coffins by some earlier snatcher of bodies; and over these one had to go, feeling their breast-bones crack under one's knees and their swathed heads shift horribly this way or that under one's hands. And having found nothing to loot in a thrice plundered charnel-house, one crawled back by the same grisly path to the sunlight, choked with mummy dust and redolent of more rotten grave-clothes than the balms of Arabia could sweeten (Hogarth 1910 pp.156-157). (23)

Hogarth nonetheless persisted, and by the end of February had explored the whole of the "Middle Kingdom" cemetery within the British Museum's concession.

The lower part of the concession had been tested and had been found to contain Late, Ptolemaic, and Roman graves carved into poor rock. At Budge's request, and under protest by Lefebvre, a certain Hassan Abu Lifa (a former associate of Chassinat) was employed to make special explorations in this lower section. He located a few common Graeco-Roman tombs and several objects including many mostly broken and late ushabtis and a large stele that had been thrown into a shaft (BM 890).

Hogarth considered the principal discoveries of February to be 'a small group of tombs earlier than any known hitherto...' (BM 890), they being tombs which he dated to the late Old Kingdom by a cartouche of Pepi I [6th Dynasty: (c.2289-2255)] found inscribed on a coffin and a cylinder seal of that same king. The region just along Schiaparelli's eastern border proved disappointing and with one small potentially promising area remaining, the expedition began to wind down.

The last field notebook entry is date February 27, 1907. The expedition's final efforts proved fruitless. The border area and the lower section revealed only more late plundered tombs. Addressing the Director of the British Museum, Hogarth wrote, "In my opinion, there is nothing whatsoever to be done further in your present concession, which would be in the least worthwhile..." (BM 1252). To Budge he wrote, "I would not advise anyone, unless he wants things Ptolemaic and Roman, to put a spade into your part of the site again." (24)

"A good representative selection" of the objects was packed and others, including unpainted coffins, "hundreds of common vases, and other things not worth sending" were left in the tomb of Khety II. (25) By March 7th, Hogarth had packed and sent off 37 crates of objects from the excavation to the Museum in Cairo and then he himself departed for Khartoum in the Sudan. On the 20th of March, he returned to Asyut, and on the 21st, he proceeded to Cairo to deal with the objects.

The mandatory division was made with Maspero. Nineteen of the 37 cases were left the Cairo Museum. Hogarth retained some of the earlier tomb groups for the British Museum in exchange for some other items. Maspero evidently was not interested in examining the contents of all of the crates and Hogarth urged Budge to consider making a claim for more objects during some future trip to Egypt. The eighteen remaining cases were repacked into 27 and shipped for England on the 28th of March, 1907 (BM 1252; TM, 13 April 1907, p.1252).

The cases reached Britain where the objects were catalogued in the British Museum beginning on the 11th of May, 1907. Altogether, about 700 objects were registered. Several of the wooden figures and models, and a few of the coffins, have been displayed over the years. (26) Interestingly, two coffins from the excavation were donated by Baron E. Empain (27) to the Musées Royaux du Cinquanteaire in Brussels, their acquisition being reported in an article dated 1909 (Capart 1909). Some time before, then, these two coffins had been sold or otherwise bargained for from the Cairo Museum. At that time the Museum operated a "salle de vente", and it is not known what other objects of the Cairo Museum's share have been traded away and now rest in foreign collections.

A thorough examination of the Cairo Museum's *Journal d'Entrée* in 1986 indicated only one registered item directly attributed to Hogarth's excavation: a New Kingdom stele, perhaps the one discovered in the shaft by Hassan Abu Lifa. A few other items from 1907 entries in the *Journal* have Asyut listed as their provenance but without positive ascription to Hogarth's work. The complete fate of Maspero's nineteen cases is unknown.

Hogarth's photographs have been lost. Two, however, were published in *Accidents of an Antiquary's Life* and provided tantalizing glimpses of a tomb's sealed door and the in-situ contents of a burial chamber.(28) A few of the objects have been published in the British Museum's ongoing *Catalogue of Objects* (29) while others are presently being enjoyed by an international audience of that Museum's visitors. The vast majority of these Asyut objects, however, remain behind the scenes in the collection of the Department of Egyptian Antiquities.

For the scholar, the Asyut objects hold a vast body of as yet scarcely tapped data relevant to a wide range of potential research topics. There is little doubt that many other "lost" or unpublished excavations await rediscovery in museum archives worldwide. As these resources are investigated, many surprises can be expected as well as valuable contributions to the history of archaeology.

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Abbreviations:

BM	British Museum Correspondence, (See Documents).
FN	Field Notebook of D.G. Hogarth, excavations at Asyut, Egypt, 1906/07.
TM	Minutes of the Trustees of the British Museum.
WWE	Dawson, W.R., D.P. Uphill and M.L. Bierbrier 1995 Who was who in Egyptology. 3rd edition. Egypt Exploration Society, London.

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- (forwarded in letter from Hogarth to Budge).
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D.G. Hogarth to the Director of the British Museum, c. March 1907.
- Paysheet for workmen, Asyut excavation,
14 December 1906 - 6 January 1907.

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1. There is but a brief mention of Hogarth's efforts reported in the annual Archaeological Report of the Egypt Exploration Fund (Griffith 1908, pp.23-24). As noted below, there was never any intent by Budge to produce a publication for this excavation.
2. Budge [1857-1934] was Keeper of Assyrian and Egyptian Antiquities at the British Museum from 1894-1924. He was an extremely prolific writer with over 140 books to his credit on Egyptological and other ancient subjects along with numerous scholarly articles (WWE, pp.71-72). Budge's acquisitional strategy emphasized networks of dealers and collectors in the appropriate countries, and a series of personal collecting trips. Indeed, Budge's efforts during his tenure were very successful in obtaining many fine Egyptian objects for the British Museum. Though not without its problems in terms of obtaining full and accurate contextual knowledge for each artifact, Budge's well-developed collecting skills remained his preferred means of building the Egyptian collection and was not an unusual approach. In the early years of this century, however, Budge decided that an excavation in Egypt would likewise be appropriate. James (1981, p.25) states, "[Budge] never encouraged the Trustees actively to support excavation in Egypt by the grant of funds." The Asyut excavation is an exception. Some of the archaeological adventures of Budge are found in his autobiography, *By Nile and Tigris* (1920). James (1981 pp.22-27) discusses his role at the

British Museum.

3. Gaston Maspero [1846-1916] was director of the Antiquities Service from 1881-1886 and then again from 1899-1914. His archaeological projects, museum work and publications play a prominent role in the development of Egyptology (WWE, pp.278-9).
4. Khawaled is located south of Asyut on the Nile's east bank and is a possible site of Asyut's New Kingdom cemetery (Porter and Moss 1937, p.60).
5. Schiaparelli [1856-1928] was responsible for many impressive archaeological discoveries at several different sites in Egypt and is well-known for his association with the Egyptian Museum in Turin, Italy (WWE, pp. 377-78).
6. Petrie [1853-1942] was an English archaeologist considered today by many as a "father of modern archaeology" due to his early advocacy of rigorous methodology. During his long archaeological career he excavated at numerous sites in Egypt, and also in Palestine (WWE 329-32).
7. Located on the Nile's west bank between Asyut and Luxor, Abydos is a very important site with remains spanning Predynastic through Graeco/Roman times. It is especially noted as the major cult center for Osiris (Porter and Moss 1937, pp.39-105).
8. Excavation Permit from Service des Antiquités, (Gaston Maspero to the British Museum/E.A.W. Budge) 30 March 1906.
9. Epigraphers include the French Expedition: Jomard (1802-1825, Text volume 4:133-157 and Plate volume IV, Nos. XLIII-XLIX), Frederic Cailliaud (1831 Plate XIX), James Burton (mss. in the British Library), Robert Hay (mss. in the British Library), Heinrich Brugsch (1862, pp.21-22, Plate XI), and François Mariette (1881 plates LXIV-LXIX).
10. This tomb of Mesehti discovered by Faraq is Hogarth's Tomb No. III.
11. Émile Chassinat [1868-1948] excavated at a variety of sites in Egypt and served as director of the French Institute in Cairo from 1898-1911 (WWE pp.95-6). Charles Palanque [1865-1909] was involved in excavations in Egypt for only a brief period during 1900-1902 (WWE p.317).
12. Hogarth would observe that Schiaparelli's concession in the Asyut necropolis possessed great archaeological potential and he also noted that Schiaparelli's concession seemed to contain "larger graves" (BM 143).
13. No notes were available concerning Hogarth's acceptance of the task, his preparation, or his arrival and establishment at Asyut. The primary sources of information concerning the excavation are two notebooks, one being his day by day field account which specifically addresses a selection of individual tombs, the other being a very straightforward register of objects. Hogarth wrote regular reports to the Director of the British Museum at about monthly intervals, and at least twice to Budge at the British Museum. Five letters written from the field offer a few but not many anecdotes. Some paysheets for the workmen also survive. A hand-written Final Report to the Director of the British Museum seems foreshortened; perhaps it was unfinished. Romanticized reminiscences of the excavation appear in Hogarth's *Accidents of an Antiquaries Life*, later repeated in a sort of Hogarth anthology, *The Wandering Scholar*.
14. "Report on Excavations in the Cemetery of Assiut." D.G. Hogarth to the Director of the British Museum, c. March 1907, pp.1-2.
15. Lefebvre [1879-1957] served as the inspector of Middle Egypt for the Antiquities Service from 1905-1914 (WWE p.244).
16. Refers to Tomb IX.
17. Petrie (1904 pp.33-35) offers sage advice on the "bakshish system". The paying of bakshish also encouraged careful digging for the discovery of unbroken objects and for those which are especially small. The system did not work in all situations as Hogarth found while working with Naville at Deir el-Bahari in 1893/94 (see Davies 1982 p.58).
18. Most of the above information concerning employees, salaries, etc. was derived from surviving paysheets dating 14 Dec. 1906 - 5 Jan. 1907.
19. BM 143. Hogarth wrote to the Director of the British Museum, "If M. Schiaparelli's share were to be transferred to you next year, it might pay you to undertake a second campaign" (BM 1252).

20. Sayce [1845-1933] "traveled extensively in Egypt where he spent many winters in his own boat on the Nile copying inscriptions, etc.; he had a wide circle of friends among Egyptologists..." (WWE, p.375).
21. Lacau [1873-1963] would be the director of the Antiquities Service during 1914-1936 (WWE, pp.233-234).
22. Though most archaeologists of today would consider the burning of ancient coffins planks to be outrageous, there was certainly precedent for such behavior in Hogarth's day. In a letter home written from Kafr Ammar, Egypt in the year 1912, T.E. Lawrence wrote: "Even our very firewood comes from 24th dynasty coffins, and our charcoal brazier first performed that office in the days of the fall of Carchemish" (Lawrence 1954, p.185). Lawrence was writing from the camp of one of Hogarth's mentors, none other than Petrie himself!
23. In his Narrative (1820 p.157), Belzoni describes a similar atmosphere: "Once I was conducted from such a place to another resembling it [a tunnel with mummies], through a passage of about twenty feet in length, and no wider than that a body could be forced through. It was choked with mummies, and I could not pass without putting my face in contact with that of some decayed Egyptian; but as the passage declined downwards, my own weight helped me on: however, I could not avoid being covered with bones, legs, arms, and heads rolling from above."
24. Letter to Budge, 6 March 1907.
25. Ibid.
26. See, for example, several coffins from the excavation described in Edwards (1938, pp. 23-24, 26).
27. Édouard Eropain [1852-1929] was a wealthy Belgian engineer involved in a variety of industrial projects in Europe and Egypt and a benefactor to Egyptological institutions in Belgium (WWE, p.141).
28. Hogarth (1910, plates opposite pages 155 and 158).
29. Objects from the excavation in the British Museum Catalogue of Egyptian Antiquities can be found in Andrews (1981 pp. 47-48, 50), Cooney (1976 pp.49, 131, 154), Dawson and Gray (1968 pp.6), and Glanville (1972 pp.27-37).

History of Latin American Archaeology

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Two recent contributions (Oyuela-Caycedo 1994 and Politis 1995) to analyses of the intellectual development of archaeology in Latin America provide us with new perspectives. A theme shared by both is the perception by the authors of a need to distance the development of archaeology in Latin American countries from the overweening influence of Europe, and especially U. S., archaeologists. Politis argues that U. S. influence has been tantamount to 'cultural imperialism' (1995:226). He sees U.S. archaeologists as having a history of appropriating and manipulating the knowledge of the past which ignores the local peoples own traditional perceptions of their patrimony, and argues that the U. S. perspective is designed to satisfy the needs of western scholarship but fails to enter a dialog with the legitimate concerns of the subject countries. Oyuela-Caycedo's introductory essay in his book "Nationalism and Archaeology" carries a very similar message. He faults U. S. archaeologists for failing to locate their studies in the areas social and local context, which he sees as leading the U. S. scholars to employ a model derived from "dependency theory" (1994:5), resulting in an overly simplistic perception of the context for the development of archaeological disciplines in respective Latin American countries.

Politis strives to discuss the history of intellectual development of all of South America from the perspective of Argentina. This endeavor is the article's extraordinary strength as well as its weakness, for on the one hand the intellectual development of other countries in South America are cast in the Argentine model, which leads to some provocative new insights, but on the other hand, this leads to a reconstruction that is heavily biased toward Argentine developments. Oyuela-Caycedo approaches the issue from another tact: he is the editor of a volume which contains contributions on the intellectual heritage of archaeology in seven countries, by natives of those countries, which gives the volume specific authenticity in covering those countries, but on the other hand ignores the intellectual trajectory of the score of other Latin American countries, as well as suffering from the typical edited