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# John Beasley Greene

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**JOHN BEASLY GREENE**

By

Rachel Topham BFA, Ryerson University, 2004

A Thesis Project

Presented to Ryerson University and

George Eastman House: International Museum of Photography and Film

In partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

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## Abstract

This thesis focuses on the life and work of John Beasley Greene, photographer, archaeologist and Egyptologist. I describe Greene's early life, his training in photography with Gustave Le Gray in 1852, his two trips to Egypt in 1853 – 1854 and 1855, his trip to Algeria in 1855 – 1856 and his death in November 1856. I also consider the process and printing of his Egyptian negatives, their number and current location, and whether his book *Le Nil. Monuments – Paysages, Explorations Photographiques Par J.B.Green (sic)* was ever published. In my research I discovered that four separate images of Algeria in the collection of the Museum of Modern Art, New York constitute two panoramas.

## Acknowledgements

I would like to thank all of the institutions and individuals who assisted in the researching of this project. This includes Mack Lee, Gary Sokol, Will Stapp, Ann and Harry Malcolmson, Michael Mattis, Galerie Baudoin Lebon, Hans Kraus Jr., Jennifer Parkinson, Russell Lord, the Museum of Modern Art, the Metropolitan Museum of Art, Sylvie Aubenas at the Bibliothèque Nationale, Dominique de Font Reaulx and Fabrice Gobec at the Musée d'Orsay, Fabienne Queyroux at l'Institut de France, Carole Troufléau at the Société Française de Photographie, Max Caffell, Brian Arens, Benjamin Jones and all of the other individuals who took the time to speak with me about John Beasley Greene.

To my advisor Marta Braun, thank you for the hours and hours of work that you put into helping me with this thesis – I could not have done it without you. I would like to thank Alison Nordstrom, who should know that she now has twenty-two colleagues who will go to bat for her at any time.

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To Maren and Val, I will never forget the hours you spent listening to me speak about the most uninteresting and minute details, that of course, I always found to be fascinating. Remember, you both have a place at my table. James, thank you for being my rock and support system through this whole process. You are a wonder. And finally, thank you to my parents, who have supported me, not just through this Masters Program, but throughout my life.

This thesis is for Elisabeth – you are in my thoughts.

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## Introduction

One Wednesday afternoon, while I was working at the Museum of Modern Art's Study Center conducting research for this thesis, a woman at the table next to mine leaned over, looked at the print I was studying and asked, "What is that? And who made it?" Her demanding and intrusive tone made me flinch slightly and respond more curtly than I normally would have: "John Beasley Greene. Photographed from 1853 to 1856. Photographs of Egypt. Salt prints." The woman had her next question formed before I finished speaking: "Why did he stop?" I responded flatly, "He died."

There is no way one can summarize John Beasley Greene by the five succinct phrases that I offered to this woman. Greene was an archaeologist, an Egyptologist and an image maker whose photographs speak to an aesthetic sensibility, the source of which, the person behind the camera, will never be understood.

His death at the age of twenty-four was tragic. However, we are fortunate that John Beasley Greene's extraordinary work is available to us. It shows the existence of a young man with a large talent: a great photographer with an aptitude for archaeology.

Part of my interest in Greene was sparked by the lack of information available about him. There are many unanswered questions pertaining to Greene, his life and work. For example, where exactly did Greene travel and what did he photograph during the years 1852 - 1856? How and by whom was his work printed? To which institutions did Greene give his photographs and can these donations help clarify the chronology for the four years of his life that he was working with photography? This thesis is an attempt to answer such questions.

Throughout this thesis there are certain historical characters, photographic processes and techniques discussed. The criterion for the inclusion of these facts was



based on their relationship to Greene. If these details relate concretely to Greene and help to establish the chronology of his work and travel then they have been included in this research.

This thesis will not attempt to place Greene's photographs in the history of art or their status as art objects, which their place in the Musée d'Orsay - a museum of art, implies. The aesthetic qualities of Greene's photographs or Greene's personal character will not be approached in this thesis. As well, the comparison of his work aesthetically to other photographers working during that period will not be part of this research. With this research, my objective is to establish a concrete timeline for Greene and answer factual questions about his life.

## Methodology

In order to conduct original research, I viewed as many of Greene's photographs as was possible. I saw the photographs held at the Bibliothèque de l'Institut de France, the Bibliothèque Nationale, the Musée d'Orsay, the Société Française de Photographie, the Baudoin Lebon Galerie, the Museum of Modern Art, the Metropolitan Museum of Art, George Eastman House, as well as the private collections of Michael Mattis, Harry and Ann Malcolmson, and a collector who prefers to remain anonymous. I also consulted articles, albums and letters, all from the 1850s and 1860s that made reference to Greene. These proved to be of assistance in establishing the chronology of his activities from 1852 to 1856.

My two main modern sources were Bruno Jammes's article, "John B. Greene, An American Calotypist,"<sup>1</sup> and Isabelle Jammes's *Blanquart-Évrard et les origines de l'édition photographique française: catalogue raisonné des albums photographiques édités, 1851-1855*.<sup>2</sup> This thesis could not have been written without Bruno Jammes' article. As there is so little information published on Greene, "John B. Greene, An American Calotypist" was a constant reference point for my research; it provided the first chronological outline of Greene's life, which was the starting point of my own research. During the course of my research I was able to review and confirm all of Jammes' sources with the exception of two, *Catalogue de l'exposition instituée par l'Association pour l'encouragement et le développement des arts industriels en Belgique*, the 1856 exhibition that showed four of Greene's images, and the comments by Adrien Berbrugger in the 1856 *Africaine Revue*.

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<sup>1</sup> Bruno Jammes, "John B. Greene, An American Calotypist" *History of Photography* 5,4, (October 1981): 305 – 324.

<sup>2</sup> Isabelle Jammes, *Blanquart-Évrard et les origines de l'édition photographique française: catalogue raisonné des albums photographiques édités, 1851-1855* (Geneva: Librairie Droz SA, 1981).

# Chapter 1: John Beasley Greene

## Background

Apart from a brief overview given by Jammes, there is very little known about the first twenty years of John Beasley Greene's life. His ancestry and citizenship, his relationship to two important academic institutions in France and his friendships within the Egyptology community constitute the few facts known about him.

Greene's parents were American.<sup>3</sup> In the early 1830s they immigrated to France, settling in Le Havre, where Greene's father managed the bank *Wells et Williams*.<sup>4</sup> During the nineteenth century the city - at the mouth of the Seine on La Manche (The English Channel) in Normandy - was an industrial centre as well as the largest port in France. This is where, in 1832, John Beasley Greene was born. Despite his having been raised in France, Greene referred to himself, and was regarded as, an American citizen.

Soon after John Beasley Greene was born, the family relocated to Paris where Greene's father had been transferred to a bank at 28 Place Saint Georges.<sup>5</sup> The Greene family resided at 10 rue de la Grande-Batelliere.<sup>6</sup> Both addresses were in the center of Paris, between the Jardin du Palais Royal and the Cimetière de Montmartre.

Greene had a keen interest in photography, archaeology and Egyptology; by 1852, at the age of twenty, he had begun to study photography with Gustave le Gray and was a member of the Société Asiatique in Paris. This society was founded in 1822, and its objectives were to promote Oriental languages, to publish the reports of

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<sup>3</sup> There is a disagreement over where Greene's father originated. In a telephone conversation with the author on April 18, 2006, Will Stapp, former curator of GEH and National Portrait Gallery, stated that Greene's parents were from Concord, New Hampshire. Bruno Jammes describes Greene's father as a "Banquier Bostonien."

<sup>4</sup> Bruno Jammes, 307.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid., 306.

<sup>6</sup> Isabelle Jammes, 103.

scientists who studied the Orient and to present their activities at monthly conferences. Their newspaper, *le Journal Asiatique* was published from the society's inception.

Although not formally connected, the Société Asiatique was closely allied with l'Institut de France's l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres (henceforth called the Académie).<sup>7</sup> This association existed because many of the founding members of the Société Asiatique were also members of the Institut (as a result, the Académie always protected the existence of the Société Asiatique). The Académie was concerned with the study of monuments, documents, languages, and cultures from antiquity, the Middle Ages, and the classical period. It also provided assistance for individuals, often non-members, who were involved with archaeological excavations in Africa and Asia. Greene was not a member of the Académie, which is not surprising given that he was only twenty-four when he died.<sup>8</sup> His first interaction with the Académie was in September 1852, when he applied for assistance with his first trip to Egypt (the details of which are discussed further in Chapter 3).

As an aside, although Greene was never inducted as a member of the Académie, he did donate four albums of his photographs to the institution during the years 1854 to 1856. It is largely from the contents of these albums, which currently reside at the Académie's library, that I was able to establish Greene's chronology of travel and work. Donation of work to the Académie by non-members was very common. One can suppose that Greene's donations would have helped to establish his presence as an

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<sup>7</sup> The Institut de France is currently comprised of five separate and autonomous academies: l'Académie Française, founded in 1635; l'Académie des Sciences, founded in 1666; l'Académie de Beaux-Arts founded 1816 when l'Académie de Peinture et de Sculpture, l'Académie de Musique, and l'Académie d'Architecture were all joined; l'Académie des Sciences Morales et Politiques, founded in 1795; and finally, the division that relates to Greene, l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres founded in 1716.

<sup>8</sup> To be elected into l'Académie by its members was considered to be the peak of an individual's career and happened late in life, usually in recognition of a particular achievement. Once elected, the members held their positions until death.

Egyptologist in the minds of the Académie's members and it may have aided Greene's future induction into the institution, had that opportunity come about later in his career.

Although he was referred to as an Egyptologist by experts such as Vicomte Emanuel de Rougé,<sup>9</sup> curator of the Egyptology section of the Louvre, member of the Académie and professor at the Collège de France, Greene's actual training in Egyptian archaeology is unknown. It is possible that he took the courses given by de Rougé at Collège de France. In 1855, when Greene published his book *Fouilles exécutées à Thèbes dans l'année 1855, textes hiéroglyphiques et documents inédits par J.B. Greene*, he thanked the Egyptologist in his introduction:

Je suis entièrement redevable de ces détails au bienveillant intérêt que M. le Vicomte de Rouge a bien voulu prendre a mes découvertes, et a l'obligeance avec laquelle il a étudié les inscriptions et ma communique le résultat de cette étude.<sup>10</sup>

[I am entirely indebted for these details because of the kind interest that M. le Vicomte de Rouge has taken in my discoveries and to the obliging way that he has studied the inscriptions and communicated to me the result of this study.]

Not only was Greene associated with de Rougé, he was also close friends with Théodule Devéria, a fellow Egyptologist. Devéria was the son of Achille Jacques-Jean-Marie Devéria, Assistant Curator of the Cabinet des estampes at the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris. Born in 1831, Théodule was only one year older than Greene and had a similar interest in Egypt. He studied Coptic and Arabic at the École des Langues Orientales.<sup>11</sup> Théodule's father taught him drawing and lithography and he used this

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<sup>9</sup> Vicomte Emanuel de Rougé, *L'Athenaeum Française* 4 (1855): 689.

<sup>10</sup> John Greene, *Fouilles exécutées à Thèbes dans l'année 1855, textes hiéroglyphiques et documents inédits* (Paris: Firmin Didot Frères, 1855), 1. Translation, Marta Braun.

<sup>11</sup> Jammes, Andre and Eugenia Parry Janis. *The Art of the French Calotype: With a Critical Dictionary of Photographers, 1845-1870* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1983), 170.

talent to create illustrations to accompany archaeological publications. He continued to use his skills for the purpose of copying works after he joined the Egyptian section of the Louvre in 1855. Five years later in 1860, he was made assistant curator of Egyptology. Théodule traveled to Egypt three times in his life: first in 1858, then from 1861 – 1862, and finally in 1865. On these trips he assisted Auguste Mariette, French archaeologist and member of the Académie, whose 1853 excavations at Giza would be photographed by Greene.<sup>12</sup>

## Training

In the spring of 1852, Gustave Le Gray (1820-87) established a studio to teach photography near Montmartre. Le Gray was a painter who had studied at l'École des Beaux-Arts. In the mid 1840's he began to work with daguerreotypes; he soon turned to paper-based supports, working with the calotype until he perfected his own negative process, the wax-paper negative, in 1851. That same year he participated in the Mission Heliographique, traveling around the south-west of France with the photographer Auguste Mestral. It was after this that Le Gray opened his photographic printing house and chemical laboratory where he taught others how to work with both his process and the wet-collodion negative process.<sup>13</sup>

Le Gray's students included Charles Nègre and Henri Le Secq (two painters who had met Le Gray at l'École des Beaux-Arts), Félix Nadar (Gaspard-Félix Tournachon),

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<sup>12</sup> The relationship between Greene, Mariette and Devéria has yet to be understood. We do not know the precise dates at which they met, or the degree of involvement in each other's work. We can assume, however, that they were drawn together by their common interest in Egyptology. We also know that Mariette had made many donations to the Louvre's Egyptology section where Devéria was curator, and we know from their letters that Devéria and Greene were friends. Their friendship and Greene's association with Mariette is testament to Greene's acceptance by the archaeological community in France despite the Académie's refusal to assist Greene on his 1852 excursion.

<sup>13</sup> Sylvie Aubenas, *Gustave Le Gray* (London, New York: Phaidon Press, 2003), 2 - 5.

and John Beasley Greene. Maxime du Camp was also a pupil of Le Gray's; however, his training took place in 1849, three years before the establishment of Le Gray's formal studio.

Le Gray's waxed-paper process, presented to the Académie des Sciences on December 8, 1851, rid the calotype of its disruptive paper-fiber texture by using beeswax to coat the paper before it was sensitized. This gave the paper a uniform surface, which allowed for a smoother texture and prevented the reaction of silver nitrate with the organic materials that were often present in the paper.<sup>14</sup> In addition, the beeswax made the paper more translucent, allowing for better tonal separation during printing. Le Gray also introduced a new sensitization process that allowed photographers to prepare their paper several days before exposure. Instead of using a combination of silver nitrate, potassium iodide, acetic acid and gallic acid as did Talbot for his calotypes, Le Gray introduced several new ingredients. These included rice water, milk sugar, potassium cyanide, potassium fluoride and bone black (see Appendix 1).

This wax-paper method was taught to Greene by Le Gray in the spring of 1852. Greene, the student, was twenty years old, and Le Gray, the teacher, a mere twenty-nine. Greene's images from these tutorials were taken in the forest of Fontainebleau, a popular outing for the Parisian bourgeoisie.

The prints from the forest of Fontainebleau that I have seen at the Bibliothèque Nationale, Société Française de Photographie, the Museum of Modern Art, and Galerie Baudoin Lebon, have a distinct surface sheen and yellow tinge. These prints could be

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<sup>14</sup> Alexandra Botelho, "Early Paper Photographic Processes: The Calotype, Le Gray's Waxed Paper Negative Process" (Paper, Advanced Residency Program in Photograph Conservation, George Eastman House, n.d.), 1.

either salt-paper prints that are lightly coated with albumen or they could be albumen prints. The former consists of producing a salt-paper print, and then brushing albumen onto the surface to give the photograph a sheen that a traditional salt-paper print lacks. In this process it is common to see the brush marks of the albumen on the surface of the print. The latter process, albumen, is another possible explanation for the colour and sheen of the prints. First invented in 1850 by Louis Blanquart-Évrard, founder of the printing house l’Imprimerie Photographique, where later Greene’s photographs were printed, the albumen process could yield different levels of sheen depending on the ratio of albumen to water. Higher water content would produce a lesser sheen than a full strength albumen print; as well, the cracked emulsion usually visible on the surface of an albumen print would be less evident to the naked eye. The difference between these two processes is virtually indistinguishable by sight; consequently, at this point, it is impossible to tell which process Greene used for his Fontainebleau prints. A microscopic examination of a print could determine the process, but I have no access to the prints needed to conduct this assessment.

The time spent in Fontainebleau was not the only time that Greene and Le Gray photographed together; later that same year they reconnected in Paris to photograph the bas-relief sculptures on the Arc de Triomphe.<sup>15</sup>

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<sup>15</sup> Sylvie Aubenas et al., *Gustave le Gray 1820 – 1887* (Los Angeles, California: Getty, 2002), 331.



## Chapter 2: Going to Egypt

As previously mentioned, the Académie provided assistance for individuals, including non-members, who conducted archaeological excavations in Africa and Asia. On 24 September 1852, Greene wrote a letter to the Académie requesting this type of assistance for his upcoming trip to Egypt. He planned to depart for Egypt from Marseilles a mere ten days later and he requested guidance from the Académie which would allow him to “be as useful to research as he can be.”<sup>16</sup> Unfortunately Greene’s letter did not result in any kind of assistance or guidance from the Académie. We can only guess at the reasons the Académie did not agree to Greene’s request. Given Greene’s imminent departure date, it may not have had sufficient time to organize the support he was requesting. In addition, Greene’s status as an archaeologist or Egyptologist may not have been considered important enough to warrant the Académie’s support. Perhaps Greene’s status as an American citizen could have provided a reason for the Académie to withhold their support. Currently, all of the proposed reasons for the Académie’s refusal to support Greene are supposition.

It is likely, as Greene’s father was the manager of a bank, that Greene had the financial resources to fund his trip to Egypt himself. However, despite its refusal to fund his excursion, it would have benefited Greene to maintain good relations with the Académie as its members represented the archaeological community in France.

There appear to be several discrepancies between Greene’s letter and the actual trip completed by Greene in 1853 and 1854. The first inconsistency is the departure date stated by Greene in his September 1852 letter and the dates of his first

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<sup>16</sup> John Greene, letter to the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, September 24, 1852. Archives de l’Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, E 371, correspondance de particuliers. Translation, Hilary and Jim Pryor.

photographs in Egypt. In his letter to the Académie Greene wrote that he would depart from Paris for Marseilles on September 30, 1852 and leave for Egypt five days later. However, by studying his photographs it is clear that Greene did not start photographing in Egypt until the fall of 1853, one year later than the date he presented to the Académie. We do not know what Greene did between the time he wrote the letter to the Académie in the fall of 1852 and the time he started photographing in Egypt in 1853.

My hypothesis is that in the autumn of 1852, Greene fell ill and traveled to Egypt in the hopes that he would be cured by the hot, dry climate. I believe he remained there until he had completely recovered and then began the work for which he had requested the subsidy one year earlier. This hypothesis is substantiated by a letter concerning the death of Greene, written 21 December 1856 by Théodule Devéria to fellow Egyptologist, François Joseph Chabas. In the letter Devéria states,

Il était parti d'ici assez gravement malade mais cependant dans un état qui permettait d'espérer qu'il retrouverait la santé dans le climat qui l'avait déjà une fois guéri.<sup>17</sup>

[[Greene] left here seriously ill, but nevertheless in a state which allowed some hope that he would recover his health in the climate that had once already cured him.]

The climate Devéria refers to is Egypt's: Greene died there in 1856.

Consequently, this letter states that Greene had previously been sick, traveled to Egypt and recovered from his illness. As we do not know where Greene was between the autumn of 1852 and the autumn of 1853, and, as he had abandoned his plans so quickly after having proposed them to the Académie, it seems logical that the period of illness and recovery referred to by Devéria, occurred during that time.

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<sup>17</sup> Théodule Devéria, letter to François Joseph Chabas, December 21, 1856. Cited by Bruno Jammes, 305.

The second discrepancy between Greene's letter to the Académie and the actual events that occurred is the destinations. In Greene's September 1852 letter, the destinations listed were far more extensive than those he actually visited in 1853 - 1854. Originally, according to his letter, having landed in Alexandria, the closest Egyptian port to Marseille he planned to go up the Nile (heading south) to the second cataract (located in Lower Nubia). After reaching the second cataract, Greene planned to travel to Beirut, Damascus, Basra, Tadmour and Jerusalem.<sup>18</sup> However, when looking at Greene's 1853-1854 Egyptian images, it is obvious that he completed only the first half of his proposed trip; his images include only areas from Alexandria to the second cataract. It is unclear why Greene did not follow his original plans. Perhaps he was not fully recovered from his illness and thus unable to complete such extensive travel plans. Nevertheless, it is possible to trace his route from the photographs he made, if not the precise order of his itinerary. Photographs include the sites: Gebel Abousir, Ibsamboul [Abu Simbel], Kalabsché [Kalabsha or Talmis], Girché, Amada, Ouadi Esseboua [Wadi El-Sebwa], Meharraka [Mahararqa], Dakkeh [Dakka], Dandour [Dendur], l'Ile d'Eléphantine [Elephantine island], l'Ile de Philoe [Philae Island], Ile de Beghe, Ombos [Kom Ombo], Silsilis [Gebel-Silsileh], Edfou [Idfu], Thébes [Thebes], Kourna, Médinet-Habou [Medinet-Habou], Lougsor [Luxor], Karnac [Karnak], Gizeb [Giza], Cairo, Alexandrie [Alexandria].

During this first excursion to Egypt, not only was Greene passed over for financial and institutional support by the Académie, he also lacked the official permit required to excavate. The absence of the permit may well explain why he was able to concentrate so much on his photography.

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<sup>18</sup> John Greene, letter to the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, September 24, 1852.

## Greene's Process

Greene used Le Gray's waxed-paper process while he photographed in Egypt and Lower Nubia. Maxime Du Camp, French writer and photographer, whose book *Égypte, Nubie, Palestine et Syrie* was published in 1852, was trained by Le Gray to use the same wax-paper method in 1849. However, du Camp reported in *La Lumière* that he was unable to employ Le Gray's method when he traveled to Egypt in 1849 because of the hot climate. Du Camp's solution was to adopt Blanquart-Évrard's negative albumen process, Du Camp wrote on 28 August, 1852:

Je suis parti en octobre 1849, après avoir pris quelques leçons chez M. Gustave Le Gray ; j'emportai du papier préparé par la méthode qu'il suivait alors. Ce papier, qui donnait de fort beaux résultats entre les mains de M. Gustave Le Gray, n'en obtint aucun entre mes mains. - Etait-ce inhabilité de ma part ? - Etait-ce que les préparations chimiques s'étaient affaiblies à la température élevée de l'Égypte ? - Je ne sais. - Mes premières épreuves furent mauvaises, et je désespérais d'en obtenir de bonnes, lorsque le hasard me fit rencontrer au Caire M. de Lagrange, qui se rendait aux Indes, muni d'appareils photographiques. Il employait le procédé tout nouveau alors de M. Blanquart-Evrard ; il voulut bien me le communiquer, et je me résolus à l'employer. Je soumis donc tout le papier déjà préparé par M. Le Gray à un bain composé de:

Albumine .....250 grammes

Iodure de potassium.....12 grammes

De ce moment, mes épreuves sont devenues ce que vous les connaissez.<sup>19</sup>

[I left in October 1849, after having taken some lessons with M. Gustave le Gray; I prepared the paper according to his method. This paper, which gave beautiful results for M. le Gray, gives none in my hands – was this because of my inability - were the chemical preparations weakened because of the elevated temperatures of Egypt? - I do not know. My first views were bad and I was desperate to obtain good ones, when chance had me

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<sup>19</sup> Maxime Du Camp, *La Lumière* II (1852): 144. Translation, Marta Braun.

encounter in Cairo Mr. de Lagrange, who was returning to the Indies with cameras. He was using the very new process of Mr. Blanquart-Évrard; he really wanted to communicate it to me, and I resolved to use it. So I put all the paper already prepared by M. le Gray into a bath of:

Albumen..... 250 grams

Potassium iodide.... 12 grams

From this moment, my prints became those that you know.]

Although it was common for other photographers to experience this difficulty with Le Gray's wax-paper process in hot climates - despite the fact that, given its ability to be exposed dry, it should have been easier - some photographers were able to use it if they were knowledgeable enough to adjust their chemical ratios. These photographers would have had to take into account the changes in the chemical reactions that resulted from Egypt's hot and dry climate. As Greene was able to create good negatives with long tonal ranges, one can assume that he was knowledgeable enough to understand and compensate accordingly for the chemical changes caused by the heat.

Nicolas Le Guern, in his *L'Égypte et ses premiers photographes. Étude des différentes techniques et du matériel utilisés de 1839 à 1869*, supposes that Greene could have varied the chemical composition for the waxed-paper process or exposed the negatives while they were wet. Le Guern also points out that in Greene's images it is often possible to see his lab-tent, an unnecessary feature had Greene been exposing his negatives while they were dry.<sup>20</sup>

Greene made approximately three hundred and thirty negatives during this first trip to Egypt. Until 1986, these negatives were kept in the Egyptology section of the Louvre, brought there by Théodule Devéria in the late 1850's. In 1986 all of Greene's

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<sup>20</sup> Le Guern, Nicolas, *L'Égypte et ses premiers photographes. Étude des différentes techniques et du matériel utilisés de 1839 à 1869* (Mémoire de DEA en Histoire des techniques. École des hautes études en Sciences Sociales, 2001) 69. Translation, Valérie Boileau-Matteau.

negatives at the Louvre were deposited at the new Musée d'Orsay,<sup>21</sup> a museum dedicated to the art of the nineteenth century.<sup>22</sup>

According to Isabelle Jammes, Greene made approximately two hundred negatives during his 1853 – 1854 trip to Egypt.<sup>23</sup> However, the three hundred and thirty-one negatives at the Musée d'Orsay prove that he photographed at least one hundred more images than previously stated by Jammes. The belief that there were so few negatives is understandable, if her estimate was based solely on the available prints at the Académie, (where the total number of prints from Greene's first trip is one-hundred and eighty-five). As well, there appear to be more than 130 negatives for which Greene did not create any positives. This lack of corresponding prints for Greene's negatives was noted by Devéria in the late 1850's; attached to the negative inscribed *I12*, there is a note that reads, "pas de positif dans album" signed by him.

## The Series

Greene divided two hundred and four of his images into three distinct series: *Inscriptions*, for which there are one-hundred and two separate negatives, *Monuments*, for which there are forty-six separate negatives and *Paysages* (landscapes), for which there are fifty-six separate negatives.<sup>24</sup> The one hundred and two negatives that make up the *Inscriptions* series focus on hieroglyphic blocks of text. In most of these negatives, the

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<sup>21</sup> Three hundred and thirty negatives exist at the Musée d'Orsay. However, it cannot be stated that these constitute the total number of negatives taken by Greene during his first trip to Egypt. It is possible that he made more. private collector Gary Sokol states that he has one Greene negative in his collection.

<sup>22</sup> With the creation of Musée d'Orsay, works were relocated that best fit the museum's purpose. It should be noted that with this relocation, Greene's negatives – which were originally intended as archaeological documentation – became re-contextualized as works of art.

<sup>23</sup> Isabelle Jammes, 103.

<sup>24</sup> The precise number of *Monuments* and *Paysages* negatives is not known; as the highest numbers on the *Paysages* prints appear as fifty-six and on the *Monuments* prints forty-six, it can be assumed that there were at least one hundred and two negatives for these two series.

hieroglyphics are usually abstracted from the supporting monument and can be deciphered clearly. But some of these negatives show large sections of the monuments instead of close ups of the hieroglyphics. These photographs are obviously intended to show the size of the text in relation to the size of the monument.

With the *Monuments* negatives, Greene framed the monuments to show them as objects that were distinct in the landscape. The monuments are most often photographed so that their entire structure is visible, with an obvious attempt made to fill the image frame with useful and relevant information.

Greene's *Paysages* negatives appear to be the least informative as archaeological records because there is no indication of the sites they relate to, or what parts of Egypt or Nubia they depict. When monuments do appear in the *Paysages*, they are usually far in the distance. However, these photographs might have been important for his documentation of Egypt's environment. In all three of Greene's series, there is no indication of scale, which makes it difficult for the viewer to gauge the actual size of the monuments or inscriptions in relation to the landscape.

When printing his negatives, Greene assigned a letter and number to each image in the separate series, *Monuments*, *Paysages* or *Inscriptions*. The letters and numbers are white on the print, indicating that the writing was most likely done on the negative. The *Inscriptions* are titled *I* with a number, the *Monuments* are titled *M* with a number, and the *Paysages* are titled *P* with a number. The *I*, *M* or *P* identification is usually in the lower left hand corner of the print, while his signature *J.B.Greene* is in the lower right hand corner. The numbers appear to have been assigned in chronological order. Consequently, the photographs of a single monument are sequentially numbered under the *M* delineation, the photographs of a single area are sequentially numbered under the

*P* delineation, the photographs of the inscriptions from a single monument are sequentially numbered under the *I* delineation. It appears that while all of the prints in the *Inscriptions* series have these markings, some of the *Monuments* and *Paysages* series do not. In the most complete collection of the *Monuments* and *Paysages*, located at the Bibliothèque Nationale, only thirty-eight of the forty-six images in the *Monuments* series have been signed or numbered and in the *Paysages* series only forty-five of the fifty-six have signatures or numbers.

I believe that Greene did not sign all of his negatives but instead used a signature template to print some of the images; this theory is most applicable to the *Monuments* and *Paysages* series, as there seems to be inconsistency between the signatures appearing on the *Monuments* and *Paysages* prints and the signing of the negatives. For example, the images *M7 Ouadi Esseboua; temple* and *M8 Meharraka; temple* at the Bibliothèque Nationale bear signatures and number classifications on their bottom corners; however, the corresponding negatives for these prints at the Musée d'Orsay have no such numbers or signatures. Consequently, I believe that Greene would place a small transparent piece of paper with his signature and the *M* or *P* number designation, between the negative and print. The writing on the support would block light from the sensitized paper during exposure, and the resulting signature would appear white on the print. The result was a print that would appear to have been printed from an inscribed negative but was not.

In addition, as a point of interest, the Orsay *M7* and *M8* negatives have, outside the image frame in the lower right corner of each, pencil markings of their *M* designations. For *M7: Ouadi Esseboua; temple*, "GR.M7" is written and for *M8: Meharraka; temple*, "GR.M8."



## A technique for recording hieroglyphics

Greene also made more than one hundred negatives that he did not put into the *Monuments, Paysages* or *Inscription* series; these negatives constitute one of the most interesting aspects of the collection at the Musée d'Orsay. These photographs capture a unique process for recording hieroglyphics, a papier-mâché technique, which was invented by Greene, allowed for the taking of hieroglyphics in areas too difficult to photograph because of their location or low light levels. Greene would spread papier-mâché on the hieroglyphics and once it had dried, remove the newly-created relief from the wall and photograph it. There are records of Greene's communicating this process twice: first to the Institut de France, as mentioned in this article from the *Photographic and Fine Art Journal*, 1854:

A long series of photographic expressions, taken last winter in Egypt, have just been presented to the institute by a young American, Mr. John Greene, who has transversed that country from Alexandria to the second cataract of the Nile.... where photography has hitherto been unable to operate, and which Mr. G has now been enabled to lay before the members of the Institute by an ingenious method of his own invention. He took their impression by the application of pasteboard, which had been softened by soaking in water, to the sculpted surface of the stone, which, when dried in the sun, presented its exact counterpart, and thus he was enabled to produce by photography the inscriptions and bas-reliefs faithfully incrusts in the flexible pulp.... It is understood that Messrs Goupil and Co. will shortly publish about 60 of Mr. Greene's views, representing the most remarkable sites, landscapes and monuments in Upper Egypt.<sup>25</sup>

The second establishment to which Greene communicated his new process for capturing inscriptions was the Académie des Sciences. Unfortunately this institution misunderstood Greene's process and mistakenly thought that he had created a way to

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<sup>25</sup> Josiah Snelling ed., *Photographic and Fine Art Journal* 7 (1854): 320.

increase the sensitivity of the paper by changing its chemical composition. A committee was created by the Académie des Sciences to study his process. This was announced in *La Lumière* July 8, 1854.

M. le secrétaire perpétuel Flourens a présenté, au nom de M. J.-B. Grenne (*sic*), une épreuve photographique sur papier, représentant le bas-relief d'un des anciens tombeaux des environs d'Athènes.<sup>26</sup>

Le groupe se compose de deux figures demi-drapées, aux formes grêles, à l'épaisse et longue chevelure, qui se dessinent en relief peu saillant sur un fond noir semé d'hiéroglyphes bizarres. C'est bien le ton de la pierre sculptée grossièrement.

L'artiste a dû vaincre de grandes difficultés pour obtenir ces reproductions dans des bas-fonds tout à fait obscurs, il a employé des moyens pratiques peu connus. Lorsque MM. Les commissaires nommés par Académie feront leur rapport sur cette communication, qui leur a été renvoyée, nous pourrons donner la description des procédés de M. Grenne (*sic*).<sup>27</sup>

[The perpetual secretary Flourens presented, in the name of J.B.Grenne (*sic*), a paper print, representing the bas-relief of one of the ancient tombs in Athens.

The group is composed of two half-draped, quite thin, figures with long and thick hair, who are sketched without much relief on a black background with weird hieroglyphics. It is the colour of the stone coarsely sculpted.

The artist must have had to overcome great difficulties to obtain these reproductions in a completely dark underground, he used little-known practical methods. When the investigators named by the Academy submit their report on this communication, which has been sent to them, we will be able to give the description of Mr. Grenne (*sic*)'s processes.]

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<sup>26</sup> As there is no record of Greene ever traveling to Athens, and the article in the *Photographic and Fine Art Journal* (which is cited on the previous page) specifically mentions Greene's travel from "Alexandria to the second cataract of the Nile," I can only assume that this was a miscommunication of the content of Greene's images.

<sup>27</sup> M. le secrétaire perpétuel Flourens, "Épreuves photographiques de M. Grenne (*sic*)," *La Lumière* IV (1854):105. Translation, Marta Braun.

When Greene was made aware of the misinterpretation of his statement, he quickly communicated the reality of the situation to the Académie des Sciences and publicly apologized to the photographic community in *La Lumière*, July 11, 1854.

Monsieur le Rédacteur,

Dans votre dernier numéro, vous annoncez que j'ai découvert le moyen de faire des épreuves photographiques dans les lieux obscurs. Je n'ai jamais eu cette prétention. J'ai simplement dit que j'avais le moyen de reproduire, par une *nouvelle application* de la photographie, les sculptures et inscriptions des intérieurs, quelles que fussent les conditions d'éclairage et de *position*. Cette dernière condition excluait l'emploi immédiat de la chambre noire. L'application dont je parle est la reproduction des *estampages*.

Je compte sur votre obligeance pour insérer, dans votre plus prochain numéro, cette lettre, destinée à faire cesser un malentendu que je suis le premier à regretter...

John B. Green (*sic*)<sup>28</sup>

[In your last edition, you announced that I discovered the means of making photographic prints in dark places. I never made this claim. I simply said that I had the means of reproducing, by a new application of photography, the sculptures and inscriptions of the interiors no matter what the conditions of lighting and position. This last condition excluded the immediate use of the camera. The application of which I speak is the reproduction of stampings.

I am counting on your cooperation to insert in your next edition, this letter, intended to put an end to a misunderstanding which I am the first to regret....]

Greene's process involved photographing the reversed reliefs of the hieroglyphics created by the dried papier mâché. He then photographed this dry relief next to other hieroglyphic engravings. By juxtaposing the two, Greene created a comparison of size and scale as well as drawing attention to the accuracy of his new process.

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<sup>28</sup>John Greene, "Correspondance" *La Lumière* IV (1854): 115. Translation, Marta Braun.

The approximate twenty negatives that portray Greene's process are watermarked *J. Whatman/ / Turkey Mill*. As Greene most likely used these negatives as reference material for the rendering and transcribing of hieroglyphics, it seems likely that he was less concerned about the visually distracting effects of the watermarked paper. During my research I have only seen one of these images in positive: *Palais du Médinet-Habou. Colosse de Ramsès III. Inscriptions latérales du socle d'après des moulages en pâte de papier*. The image is in the album *Fouilles Exécutées à Thèbes* at the Académie. Since Greene was using the negatives as references for the transcription and translation of the hieroglyphics, it was not necessary for him to print the negatives: the hieroglyphics would have been intelligible in their negative form.

## Chapter 3: Greene's Negatives and Prints

### Louis Blanquart-Évrard's Imprimerie Photographique

Upon his return to France from Egypt in the spring of 1854, Greene delivered his *Monuments* and *Paysages* negatives to Louis Blanquart-Évrard's Imprimerie Photographique in Lille. The printing house's founding was suggested by the members of the Société Héliographique in the early spring of 1851, and it opened later that year.<sup>29</sup>

L'Imprimerie Photographique was unique, not only because it was the first institution to print photographs in large quantities, but because of the printing process used. Unlike traditional salt-paper prints that were printed-out, Blanquart-Évrard's prints were exposed for a fraction of the time (a few seconds at most), regardless of the weather conditions, and then developed out. This changed two key factors in production: first, several hundred prints a day could be produced from one negative; second, the operation of L'Imprimerie Photographique was not limited to producing prints during the brightest months of the year.<sup>30</sup>

Blanquart-Évrard's developing-out process was kept secret during the years the printing house was in operation. It was only after his death in 1872, that his associate Thomas Sutton, an Englishman, revealed the secret developing-out process in *The British Journal of Photography*.<sup>31</sup>

The paper used was sized with starch, resin, and alkali by the firm Canson Frères, after which the printers at L'Imprimerie Photographique immersed the paper in a tepid solution of gelatin, iodide and potassium bromide. After the paper dried, it was

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<sup>29</sup> Gerda Peterich, *The Calotype in France and its Use in Architectural Documentation* (Masters thesis, University of Rochester, 1956), 40.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, 45 - 50.

<sup>31</sup> Thomas Sutton, *British Journal of Photography* XIX (1872): 308-309.

fumed with hydrochloric acid and then floated on a bath of silver nitrate, acidified with nitric acid. After this sensitization, the paper had to be used immediately. Exposure times were very short, ranging from 10 – 20 seconds, while developing took 20 minutes in a saturated solution of gallic acid. The prints were then toned in either sodium aurothiosulphate or sulphur toning in hyposulphite of soda. Blanquart-Évrard was known to prefer gold toning to sulphur as it allowed for greater permanency, while imparting a cooler tone to the image. The washing was thorough, after which the prints were immersed in a very dilute solution of hydrochloric acid, which helped to remove paper impurities. Finally, the prints were dried in very strong sunlight which changed the tone of the prints from light russet, to soft brown, to darker shades of brown and purple, ultimately ending up with a neutral black tone. The prints produced by this process had a permanency that the salt- paper prints of the 1840s and early 1850s lacked.

### ***Was *Le Nil. Monuments – Paysages, Explorations Photographiques* Par J.B.Green (sic) published ?***

Writers on Greene mention his book, *Le Nil. Monuments. Paysages. Explorations Photographiques* (herein referred to as *Le Nil*), stating that it was published by Blanquart-Évrard's l'Imprimerie Photographique in 1854.<sup>32</sup> However, in her *Blanquart-Évrard et les origines de l'édition photographique française*, Isabelle Jammes asserts that

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<sup>32</sup> This claim can be found in Bruno Jammes' "John B. Greene, An American Calotypist," 310; in Kathleen Stewart Howe's *Excursions Along the Nile* (160): "Upon his [Greene's] return to Paris in 1854, Blanquart-Évrard published ninety-four of his salt-paper prints in *Le Nil*..."; and in the cataloguing records at the Bibliothèque Nationale: "*Le Nil*. 94 calotypes par signés publiés en livraisons 39 x 55cm, à Lille, chez Blanquart-Évrard en 1854."

Blanquart-Évrard's publication of Greene's album should not be taken as an absolute certainty.<sup>33</sup> There are facts that support each side of this debate.

I have seen one copy of Greene's *Le Nil*. This album is housed at the Bibliothèque Nationale (site Richelieu). Since this copy exists we know that Greene did publish his Egyptian photographs in some capacity under the title *Le Nil. Monuments. Paysages. Explorations Photographiques*, further more, as Jammes says that the album at the Bibliothèque Nationale is the most complete of the albums she has seen, it can be assumed that other versions of *Le Nil* exist. The album at the Bibliothèque Nationale was purchased on May 31, 1943 from a Mr. Turpin for 600fr. It contains ninety-two images, forty-six of which are from Greene's *Monuments* series, while forty-two are from his *Paysages* series. None of the images from his *Inscriptions* series are included in *Le Nil*. The series are presented separately, with the *Monuments* appearing first. The first page of the album reads *L'Imprimerie Photographique De Lille*" and "*Typographie de Danel à Lille*," while the next page reads *Le Nil. Monuments – Paysages. Explorations Photographiques Par J.B.Green (sic). Lille Imprimerie Photographique de Blanquart-Évrard – 1854*.

The existence of this *Le Nil* album at the Bibliothèque Nationale seems to confirm that it was published. Certainly the title pages with Blanquart-Évrard's name appear to be irrefutable proof.

Yet, as Jammes writes, there are certain inconsistencies about *Le Nil* that suggest it was not published by Blanquart-Évrard. Jammes states that the number of plates in different copies of *Le Nil* varies;<sup>34</sup> one reason might be that L'Imprimerie

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<sup>33</sup> Isabelle Jammes, 103.

<sup>34</sup> As I have only seen one copy of *Le Nil* I am unable to corroborate or deny Jammes' claim.

Photographique printed the photographs and Greene paid for a limited production run of albums.

However, just as there were instances where L’Imprimerie Photographique printed, bound and published albums of photographs, there were also occasions where the firm only printed and mounted the photographs. Then, the plates and introductory text, if any, were sent to a separate publishing firm, where subscribers could order whichever plates they wished and bind them themselves.

In the case of Maxime Du Camp’s *Égypte, Nubie, Palestine et Syrie, dessins photographiques, recueillis, pendant les années 1849, 1859, 1851* (herein referred to as *Égypte, Nubie*) for example, Du Camp’s images were printed by Blanquart-Évrard, while the album was published by the English firm E. Gambart & Co. in London and Gide & Baudry in Paris. From the four different versions of the Du Camp album I have seen, it would appear that the photographic plates and introductory text were ordered from E. Gambart & Co. or Gide & Baudry, depending on whether the album was an English or French version, and then assembled by the owner. This ordering of plates from a publishing firm by the purchaser, could explain the fact that none of the Du Camp albums I saw had the same number of images in them or a consistent order of their plates.

Just as Maxime Du Camp commissioned Blanquart-Évrard to print his photographs and E. Gambart & Co or Gide & Baudry to publish them, Greene, according to the article in the *Photographic and Fine Art Journal*, seems to have had a similar plan to hire Blanquart-Évrard to print the Egypt photographs and Goupil & Co. to publish them.



In the copy of *Le Nil* at the Bibliothèque Nationale, each series has a printed title page preceding its images. However, unlike Du Camp's album which, despite being published by a firm separate from Blanquart-Évrard's, still had plate numbers, printed titles, and the name of Blanquart-Évrard's printing company — *Imprimerie Photographique de Blanquart Évrard, à Lille* — on the mounts of each photograph, none of Greene's image mounts have any such text. This is a further factor mentioned by Jammes to support her doubts about *Le Nil*'s true publication history.

On the other hand, another fact opposes Jammes' doubts by supporting Blanquart-Évrard's printing and public distribution of Greene's album. The Bibliothèque Nationale has the policy of a *dépôt légal*, which dictates that one copy of all printed matter publicly sold or distributed in France must be deposited in the collection. Since the mid-eighteenth century, printed images have been included in the material required to be deposited with the library; this policy was later extended to include photographs. In 1854 Blanquart-Évrard gave one hundred and forty-seven loose salt-paper prints of Greene's Egypt photographs to the Bibliothèque Nationale as part of the *dépôt légal*. These one hundred and forty-seven prints represent a complete set of Greene's forty-six *Monuments* and fifty-six *Paysages*. All of the images in *Le Nil* are duplicated in this group of loose images. As a note, there are only one hundred and two unique images represented, as forty-five of the loose prints are duplicates. The donation of these prints by Blanquart-Évrard shows, as dictated by the policy of the *dépôt légal*, that he was, in some capacity, responsible for the selling or distribution of Greene's material.

The publishing of *Le Nil* by a separate publishing firm is questionable, as nowhere in the Bibliothèque Nationale's collection is there a copy of *Le Nil* deposited by

Goupil & Co., the company that Greene stated he wished to publish with in the *Photographic and Fine Art Journal* article, or any other publishing company.

During the course of my research, I did see a Greene print which belonged to Harry Lunn, whose estate is now owned by the Galerie Baudoin Lebon in Paris. This print is on a Blanquart-Évrard mount stamped with the name of his Imprimerie Photographique. Neither the photographs in the Bibliothèque Nationale's copy of *Le Nil* nor its loose prints are mounted in this way; the mount is an anomaly. A possible explanation for its existence is that it could have been ordered by Greene as a test mount.

### Print qualities

The loose prints at the Bibliothèque Nationale, deposited by Blanquart-Évrard, are divided by three distinct tonal hues. While a few of the prints are very neutral in tone, approximately half of the images are blue, while the other half have more of a purple-brown tone. The different tones could result from the prints being toned with either sodium aurothiosulphate or sulphur in hyposulphite of soda. One can assume that when the photographs were first printed, they were all neutral in tone and it is only with time that the skewing of colour has occurred.

One oddity in these loose prints is a copy of the photograph *M46, Geseb-Sphinx*. This print appears to be an albumen print or a coated salt-paper print, as are the images of the forest of Fontainebleau. Where the density of the image is at its highest, the silver particles have silvered out. Moreover, unlike the other prints in the album, which were cut to the size of the image area, this print has a black border with torn edges. The print

does not have the *dépôt legal* stamp and number present on most of the other prints, nor does it have the Bibliothèque Nationale classification number.

I have seen a similar print in a private collection, whose owner prefers to remain anonymous. Also from Greene's first trip to Egypt, it has the M37 delineation on the print and was titled by the owner as *Entrance of the second court of the temple of Ramses III, Medinet Habu*. This is the only other print I am aware of from Greene's Egypt series that appears to be either an albumen print or a coated salt-paper print.

Besides the photographs printed by Blanquart-Évrard, there is a further collection of Greene's Egypt prints. These prints, which are now owned by private collectors and the Metropolitan Museum of Art, are different in appearance from Blanquart-Évrard's. These prints were once contained in the "Red Album," nicknamed for their tone. The album was separated in the 1970s and the prints were sold individually. It has been said by a number of photographic historians and dealers that the prints in this album were printed by Greene himself. I have seen two of these prints, one in a private collection and one at the Metropolitan Museum of Art.

These prints are likely salt-paper prints, which have been printed-out in the traditional fashion, rather than developed-out, as those printed by Blanquart-Évrard. When silver salts are printed out, the silver particles are small and round; their slow, printed-out developing creates a type of silver called *photolytic silver*. These small particles reflect warm light, thereby creating a warm print tone of reddish-orange. Salt-paper prints are often toned in gold that replaces the circular silver particles with gold

particles that are oblong in shape. These larger gold particles reflect a cooler tone that is more neutral than the warm tone of the printed-out salt-paper prints.<sup>35</sup>

## The holdings of Bibliothèque de l'Institut de France

Although Greene was not a member of l'Institut de France's l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, nor did he receive its support during his trip, he donated his work to the Académie upon his return to France. Perhaps he believed the proof of his labour would encourage future monetary and instructional support from the Académie for his upcoming excursions.

There are four photograph albums, compiled by Greene, at the Académie. Two of these relate directly to Greene's 1853 – 1854 Egyptian trip. The third relates to his second trip to Egypt in 1855 and the fourth to his Algerian travels in 1855 – 1856. These later journeys are described below.

The first album, *Sculptures et Inscriptions Egyptienne*<sup>36</sup>(see appendix 4) has an inscription on the first page that states it was presented to the Institut, by Greene, on 21 July 1854. In a letter to the Académie that accompanied the album, Greene wrote that he was unsure whether he was happy with his results, he hoped that the Académie would accept his collection of works into their library with the understanding that he intended to continue his work.<sup>37</sup>

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<sup>35</sup> The prints produced at Blanquart-Évrard's L'Imprimerie Photographique had the growth of their silver particles augmented by chemical development, which produces large silver particles that reflect a very neutral tone. This large type of silver is referred to as *filamentary silver*.

<sup>36</sup> Bibliothèque de l'Institut de France, Z 129C

<sup>37</sup> John Greene, letter to the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, July 21, 1854. Archives de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, E373, correspondance de particuliers. Translation, Hilary and Jim Pryor.

This album has one hundred and two photographs of *Inscriptions*, all of which are dated 1854. Almost none of these images are duplicates of the loose prints at the Bibliothèque Nationale, or those in *Le Nil*, but the negatives are located at the Musée d'Orsay. As these images are not duplicates of the photographs given by Blanquart-Évrard in the 1854 *dépôt legal* or the prints in *Le Nil*, we might conclude that they were not produced at his Imprimerie Photographique in Lille, even though their quality and appearance are very similar to those he produced.

Although we do not know whether Blanquart-Évrard printed the *Inscriptions* photographs in the album, we do know that Greene bound and labeled the album himself since the table of contents and the titles of the photographs are written in his own hand.

The mounts are different from those of the photographs in *Le Nil* as they bear a manufacturer's blind stamp: *BRISTOL FRANCAIS//A.BINANT//À PARIS* surmounted by a coronet. Since viewing this album at the Académie I have seen several more collections, public and private, where Greene's prints are mounted on identically blind-stamped board. The similarity of the mounts connects all of these photographs. I believe that Greene is the source of these blind stamped mounts, that he purchased a set and used them when mounting his prints himself.

Greene's second album, given by him to the Académie 20 October 1854, was *Monuments et Paysages de la Nubie et de la Haut Egypt*.<sup>38</sup> In the letter that accompanied his

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<sup>38</sup> Bibliothèque de l'Institut de France, Réserve Fol. N142<sup>11</sup>

donation, Greene stated that he believed the studies of the monuments would be especially interesting in the context of the countries' landscapes (Greene's *Paysages*).<sup>39</sup>

This album was also bound and titled by Greene and, like the *Sculptures et Inscriptions Egyptienne* album, contains a table of contents that are written in his own hand.<sup>40</sup> This album contains eighty-three images, forty-two of which are *Monuments* and the remaining forty-one images, *Paysages*. The selection of prints in the album is slightly different from those in the *Le Nil* at the Bibliothèque Nationale. The mount boards of this album, unlike those in *Sculptures et Inscriptions Egyptienne*, do not have the *A Binant* blind stamp or any other type of marker visible.

There are three separate Inscription images that capture Auguste Mariette's excavation of the Sphinx at Giza. These images are titled: *Travaux de Mr. Mariette aux Pyramides de Giseh, Porte du granit découverte à gauche du Sphinx*; *Travaux de Mr. Mariette aux Pyramides de Giseh, Fouille à la gauche du Sphinx*; and *Travaux de Mr. Mariette aux Pyramides de Giseh, Stèle située au bas du poitrail du Sphinx déblayée par Mr. Mariette, en Décembre, 1853*. Mariette, with whom Greene's friend, Devéria later worked in Egypt, believed that Egypt's material heritage should remain in Egypt instead of being exported by foreign archaeologists. He excavated at Memphis, Sakkara and Thebes, as well as at the Temples of Dendera and Edfu. From 1851, for two years, Mariette worked on the excavation of the Sphinx. In December of 1853, when Greene was in Giza he was able to photograph the work of Mariette.

Two of these images are especially interesting because, unlike most of Greene's prints, there are people present. In the image of the excavations to the left of the Sphinx,

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<sup>39</sup> John Greene, letter to the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, October 20, 1854. Archives de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, E373, correspondance de particuliers. Translations completed by Hilary and Jim Pryor.

<sup>40</sup> *Monuments* is spelt *Monumens* on the cover of the album, but spelt correctly in the table of contents.

there are nine figures positioned on both sides of the excavation trench, and in the image of the granite door, people are sitting on top of the door. The inclusion of these people helps establish the scale that is so often missing in Greene's images, as well as providing a record of an excavation in progress. Perhaps, since this inclusion of people is such a departure from Greene's usual way of working, it was Mariette who requested the two images.

The last photographs in *Monuments et Paysages de la Nubia et de la Haute Égypte*, photographs of Giza, bear the highest monument number, *M45* and *M46*. The numbering and placement of the photographs would thus indicate that Giza was one of the last places Greene visited before returning to France in 1854. However, the placement of the images and the order of their numbers do not correspond to the chronology of Greene's travels. For if Greene was present at Mariette's December 1853 excavation of the Sphinx, then Giza would have had to have been one of the first stops on his trip. It appears that Greene assigned the *Monuments*, *Inscriptions* and *Paysages* number designation to his pictures, not in the order that they were photographed, but in the order of their location, starting at the second cataract and ending at Alexandria.

### **The holdings of the Société Française de Photographie**

On November 15, 1854, the Société Française de Photographie (herein referred to as SFP) was established in Paris, France. On its "Liste des premiers Fondateurs de la Société Française de Photographie" was Gustave Le Gray, teacher of J.B.Greene, while its "Liste des membres titulaires, correspondants et amateurs composant la Société Française de Photographie au 31 décembre, 1855" included the name, J.B.Greenn (*sic*).

The SFP was a group of amateur photographers and scientists who met to present and discuss new photographic processes and experiments. The SFP collection is compiled from materials donated after the examples had been presented and explained by their inventors. In the SFP collection, there are images that are fundamental to the history of photography, as well as examples of the success and failures of past photographic processes.

On 15 June 1855, Greene gave seventy-eight photographs of Egypt to the SFP. These donated photographs consist entirely of *Monuments* and *Paysages*, with no *Inscriptions* included. The mounts are inscribed by Greene with titles. His titles for these prints vary slightly from those in the albums at the Académie and *Le Nil* at the Bibliothèque Nationale.

When Greene presented the images to the SFP he spoke about the optimum times for photographing in Egypt and Nubia.

M. Green (*sic*) présente un grand nombre d'épreuves photographiques représentant des vues prises en Orient. M. Green ajoute quelques mots sur l'heure que lui a semblé la plus favorable pour obtenir ces épreuves. D'après ses observations, le matin est la moment le plus propice: à mesure qu'on avance dans la journée, après 11 heures par exemple, la lumière devient grise; il croit donc qu'il est bon de faire les négatifs de 7 à 11 heures, et d'attendre, pour continuer, 3 heures de l'après-midi. Ces observations sont relatives seulement aux épreuves photographiques obtenues en Orient<sup>41</sup>

[Mr. Green (*sic*) presents a great number of photographic prints representing the sights taken in the Orient. Mr. Green adds a few words on the time that seemed most favorable to him to make these prints. According to his observations, the morning is the most propitious: as course of the day continues, for example after 11 a.m., the light becomes gray; he thus believes that

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<sup>41</sup>*Bulletin of the Société Française de Photographie* III (1855): 165. Translation, Marta Braun.



it is wise to make the negative from 7am to 11 a.m. and wait until 3 p.m. to continue. These observations are relative only to photographic prints obtained in the Orient.]

The prints at the SFP appear to have been produced by Blanquart-Évrard as they are salt-paper prints with tonal hues like those at the Bibliothèque Nationale. Twenty-four of the photograph mounts have the *A Binant* blind stamp. The presence of these blind stamps places these photographs in the group that I believe were mounted by Greene himself.

As well as the prints given by Greene in 1855, the SFP has a group donated by Blanquart-Évrard. On July 20, 1855 Blanquart-Évrard presented an album which included samples of the work printed at l'Imprimerie Photographique in Lille. The album, which is titled, *Imprimerie Photographique de Lille, Spécimen* and inscribed *Hommage à la Société française de photographie*, contains two of Greene's photographs. Blanquart-Évrard's donation was recorded in the *Bulletin de la Société Française de la Photographie* as,

Par M. Blanquart-Évrard, un grand album relié, contenant une collection spécimen d'épreuves tirées à l'imprimerie photographique de Lille<sup>42</sup>

[By Mr. Blanquart-Évrard, a large bound album containing a specimen collection of prints printed at L'Imprimerie Photographique in Lille.]

There are an additional nine prints of Greene's 1853 – 1854 Egypt trip in the SPF's collection donated by Blanquart-Évrard in 1869. These prints are duplicates of the images given to the Bibliothèque Nationale during the 1854 *dépôt legal*.

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<sup>42</sup> *Bulletin de la Société Française de Photographie* III (1855): 178. Translation, Marta Braun.

## Chapter 4: 1855 – 1856

### Greene's return to Egypt and his book

In 1855, Greene's book *Fouilles exécutées à Thèbes dans l'année 1855, textes hiéroglyphiques et documents inédits par J.B.Greene*, was published in Paris.<sup>43</sup>

In the introduction to the book, Greene states,

A la fin de l'année dernière, j'obtins de S. A. Said-Pacha un firman qui m'autorisait à faire des fouilles dans la Haute-Égypte. J'exécutai quelques travaux à Thèbes, et fus assez heureux pour découvrir les inscriptions que je publie aujourd'hui.<sup>44</sup>

[At the end of last year, I obtained from his Highness Said-Pasha a permit which authorized me to make excavations in upper-Egypt. I carried out some work at Thebes, and was happy to discover the inscriptions that I am publishing here today.]

From this statement, we can infer that Greene received the firman (permit) at the end of 1854, most likely in Paris, and traveled to Egypt to excavate in the early months of 1855. The excavations took place at Médinet-Habou at Thèbes.

The book has twelve pages of text accompanied by eleven pages of lithographs of hieroglyphics and sculpture. The hieroglyphics were printed by Imp. Kaepelin, while the drawings have *T. Devéria* printed under them. This was one of the many times Devéria used the drawing talents nurtured by his father to create illustrations to accompany his archaeological publications.

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<sup>43</sup> Greene's book was published by Librairie de Firmin didot Frères imprimeurs de l'Institut, rue Jacob 56. Thus far I have located five copies of *Fouilles exécutées à Thèbes*, one at George Eastman House, Rochester, two at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, one at the Wilson Centre for Photography, London, one owned by the private collector Gary Sokol, and one at l'Institut de France's l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres.

<sup>44</sup> Greene, *Fouilles exécutées à Thèbes dans l'année 1855*, 1. Translation completed by Marta Braun.

There is also an album of photographs at the Académie titled on the cover page *Fouilles Exécutées à Thèbes 1855 par J.B. Greene*.<sup>45</sup> This album is the only one of its kind and contains twelve photographs of Medinet-Habou at Thèbes (see Appendix 5). All of the photographs are unsigned, undated and unnumbered. On the opening page there is a dedication to the Académie inscribed in the author's hand, reading "À l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres (*sic*) hommage respectueux de l'auteur. John B. Greene."

### Greene's travel to Algeria

After Greene's return from his second Egypt trip in 1855 he remained in Paris until December. This can be ascertained from a letter that Greene wrote from Paris to François Joseph Chabas in November of 1855. The letter notified Chabas that Greene was sending him a copy of his newly published book *Fouilles exécutées à Thèbes*.<sup>46</sup>

Soon after he wrote that letter, Greene departed for Algeria to explore the *Qabr-er-Rumia*, which is more commonly referred to as the *Tombeau de la Chrétienne* or the *Tomb of the Christian*. Once there, he worked with Adrien Berbrugger, a French archaeologist, who curated the library and museum of Algiers and edited the *Revue Africaine*. This tomb, with its two vaulted chambers, is thought to be the burial place of the Mauretanian king, Juba II and his wife. It is located near Kolea, approximately seventy-five kilometers west of Algiers, and ten kilometers inland. It currently stands on a hill 756 feet above the Mediterranean Sea.

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<sup>45</sup> Bibliothèque de l'Institut de France, Réserve Fol. Z 142<sup>D</sup>

<sup>46</sup> John Greene, letter to François Joseph Chabas, November, 1855, cited by Bruno Jammes, 318.

From this trip, Greene produced an album of fourteen photographs, *Tombeau de la Chrétienne*,<sup>47</sup> which is held at the Académie.<sup>48</sup> The fourteen photographs are all titled by hand on the mounts (see Appendix 6). Eight of the prints are signed by Greene, with four of the prints bearing the date 1856 next to the signature. These signatures and dates appear in white on the print as they do with the Egyptian prints.

The first three undated images include two views of the tomb from afar and an image of its door. The fourth image looks very similar to the first two but is dated January 1<sup>st</sup>, 1856. As we know that Greene was in Paris as late as November, from his letter to Chabas, we can assume that the *Tombeau de la Chrétienne* was the first stop on his Algerian voyage. This assumption is supported by Berbrugger's mention of Greene in the 1856 *Africaine Revue* in which he thanked Greene for photographing the Christmas excavation of the Tomb.<sup>49</sup>

There are also two prints in the album dated 5 April 1856, which, according to their titles, mark the end of the work during the second excavation of the tomb. As there is such a large gap between the dates of the first and last photographs in the album, and as the two months in between the first and second excavation are not represented by any other photographs in the album, it is possible that Greene was present to photograph the first excavation of the tomb in late December - early January, traveled for two months and returned to the tomb to photograph the second excavation in April.

During the two month break between the Christmas/New Year and Easter excavations, I believe that Greene traveled to Cherchell, which is close to the *Tombeau*

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<sup>47</sup> Bibliothèque de l'Institut de France, Réserve Fol. Z 154<sup>D\*\*</sup>

<sup>48</sup> It should be noted that Greene did not dedicate this album to the Académie as he did his other three albums, nor is there an accompanying letter from Greene at the Académie, as there is with his first two albums of photographs.

<sup>49</sup> Bruno Jammes, 316.

de la Chrétienne, and then to Constantine, located approximately one hundred and twenty-five kilometers from Cherchell. I have seen three Greene images of the Museum of Antiquities in Cherchell, and twenty images of Constantine and the surrounding area.

However, it is also possible that Greene traveled to Constantine after the second excavation of the tomb in April. In Le Guern's *L'Égypte et ses premiers photographes*, he cites a letter written by Félix-Jacques-Antoine Moulin, a photographer who photographed in Algeria from 1856 to 1858, on June 21, 1856. This letter states that Moulin encountered Greene while on his way to Cherchell.<sup>50</sup> As the last date in Greene's *Tombeau de la Chrétienne* is 5 April, 1856, and Moulin's letter was written in June (providing that Moulin saw Greene close to the time that he wrote the letter) it appears that Greene was in Algeria for several months after the excavation of the tomb was completed.

None of Greene's Algerian photographs were printed by Blanquart-Évrard's Imprimerie Photographique. Although we do not know where the images were printed, Greene's Algerian photographs, like the 1852 Fontainebleau prints, appear to be either salt-paper print lightly coated with albumen or albumen prints. Although listed as salt-paper prints by almost all of the institutions or private owners, the purple hue, yellowing highlights and sheen of the prints indicate that they are either salt-paper prints coated with albumen or are albumen prints.

In one anonymous private collection in New York, there are six Algerian images on mounts bearing the same *A Binant* blind stamp. Consequently, these six Algerian images should be included in the group of images that could have been mounted by Greene. As well, the presence of a title on one of the cards, *Aqueduc de Justinien/près*

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<sup>50</sup> Le Guern, 80. Translation, Valérie Boileau-Matteau.

*Constantine*, which appears, by comparison to letter writing samples, to be Greene's handwriting, proves that he was in contact with the mounts.

In the last paragraph of Bruno Jammes' article, he mentions an 1856 exhibition in Brussels at which four of Greene's images were shown. The photographs were of Constantine: "two were views of Constantine, one the Pointe de Tabia (in Constantine), and the fourth depicted Arab houses on the banks of the Rhumel (also in Constantine)." <sup>51</sup>

In the course of studying Greene's Algerian prints, I discovered two panoramas. These panoramas, consisting of two separate prints each, are at the Museum of Modern Art, which, with twenty-six separate images from his 1855 – 1856 Algerian travels, has one of the largest repositories of Greene's Algerian work. When questioned about the existence of the panoramas, a cataloguer at the Museum of Modern Art stated that "although we have noticed that the two pairs depict continuous landscapes, we have no reason to believe that Greene intended these to be mounted or exhibited as a panorama." <sup>52</sup> I think he did.

The first panorama is constituted by the two prints the Museum of Modern Art has titled *Viaduct leading into Constantine Algeria, 1855 – 1855* (689.1983) and *El-Kantara Bridge, Constantine, 1855 – 1856* (16.1992). These prints were donated by two separate individuals at two different times: Daniel K. Mayers in 1983 and Jerome Powell in 1992. As these were donated separately, it is understandable why no one has noted that they form two halves of a panorama. The two prints overlap slightly, but there is no doubt that they portray one bridge. A comparison image, also from the MoMA collection, has

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<sup>51</sup> Bruno Jammes, 316. For this information Jammes cited *Catalogue de l'exposition instituée par l'Association pour l'encouragement et le développement des arts industriels en Belgique*.

<sup>52</sup> Whitney Gaylord, Department of Photography, Museum of Modern Art, email message to author, August 4, 2006.

been presented, *El-Kantara Bridge, Constantine, 1855 – 1856* (15.1992), in which the bridge can be seen from a slightly different angle (see Appendix 6).

The second panorama is of a group of buildings on top of a cliff. The first image, *Untitled (Constantine, Algeria)* (220.1986) was donated by Jerome Powell in 1986; the second *Untitled (City on a Cliff)* (376.1986) was donated in the same year by Daniel K. Mayers. Again, the two images overlap slightly, but they form a distinct panorama (see appendix 7).

### Greene's last trip to Egypt and his death

I believe that upon Greene's return to France from Algeria, the sickness that affected him in 1852 – 1853 returned. This time, as in the autumn of 1852, Greene traveled to Egypt in the hope that the hot and dry climate might again cure him of his illness; however, it did not. A letter sent to Françoise-Joseph Chabas from Théodule Devéria on December 21, 1856 states:

Mon cher Monsieur,

C'est bien notre ami J.B.Greene dont les journaux annoncent la mort. Il était parti d'ici assez gravement malade mais cependant dans un état qui permettait d'espérer qu'il retrouverait la santé dans le climat qui l'avait déjà une fois guéri. Dans sa position de fortune il aurait pu rendre de grands services à la science, mais l'homme propose et Dieu dispose...<sup>53</sup>

[My dear Sir,

It is indeed our friend J.B.Greene whose death is reported in the papers. He left here already seriously ill, but, nevertheless in a state which allowed some hope that he would recover his health in a climate which already once before had cured him. In his position he could have rendered great services to science, but man proposes and God disposes...]

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<sup>53</sup> Théodule Devéria, letter to François Joseph Chabas, December 21, 1856. Bibliothèque de l'Institut de France, MS 2572 f. 257, cited by Bruno Jammes, 305.

Théodule Devéria was in Paris, not Algeria, in 1856. Consequently, when he states, “Il était parti d’ici...” he must have meant that Greene was leaving Paris seriously ill and returning to Egypt.. Therefore, contrary to previous reports that Greene traveled from Algeria directly to Egypt, <sup>54</sup> he must have returned to Paris from Algeria, become very ill, and left France for Egypt, in the hopes his health would improve. As proof, one of the *A Binant* blind-stamped mounts in the aforementioned private collection, in New York, of an Algerian subject, has the title *Aqueduc de Justinien/près Constantine* written on the mount in Greene’s hand. These titles, written in Greene’s hand, prove that he was not only alive when the photographs were printed, but was able to inscribe the title after the image was mounted.

In the January 1857 meeting of the SFP, Greene’s death was announced.

M. Durieu a la douleur d’annoncer à la Société la perte qu’elle vient de faire d’un de ses membres estrangers, M. John Greene, mort au mois de Novembre dernier à l’age de 24 ans. M. John Greene avait fait des voyages très intéressants en Egypte en Algeria, et il en avait rapporte beaucoup de belles et remarquables épreuves, dont quelques unes sont disposées dans les salons de la Société.<sup>55</sup>

[M. Durieu [the President] is sorry to report to the Society the loss it has just suffered of one of its foreign members, Mr. John Greene, dead last November at the age of 24. Mr. John Greene had made very interesting journeys in Egypt and Algeria and had brought back many beautiful and remarkable prints, some of which are exhibited in the halls of the Society.]

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<sup>54</sup> Kathleen Stewart Howe writes, “In 1855 he [Greene] set off again, stopping in Algeria to photograph the excavation of a tomb. He continued on to Egypt, where death ended his journey...” Kathleen Stewart Howe, *Excursions Along the Nile* (Santa Barbara: Santa Barbara Museum of Fine Art, 1993), 28.

<sup>55</sup> *Bulletin of the Société Française de Photographique* IV (1857): 3. Translation, Marta Braun.



## Conclusion

The life of John Beasley Greene and his exact movements between 1852 and 1856 will never be completely known. This thesis has tried to fill in some of the gaps. I have provided a possible explanation of Greene's activities during the "missing year" between the autumns of 1852 and 1853: it is likely that he spent his time recovering from illness in Egypt. I have clarified the details of his travels in Egypt and Nubia between 1853 and 1854. I have examined the question of whether his album was ever published by Blanquart-Évrard and I have determined that Greene made far more negatives in Egypt than previously thought. I have established that he returned to France from Algeria during the late spring of 1856 before his final departure for Egypt later that year. As well, I have discovered two panoramas, consisting of two prints each.

Greene's death at the age of twenty-four is tragic, and the extent of what he could have accomplished had he lived will never be known. Future research, however, remains to be done so that we can know what he did accomplish. It would be valuable to compare the three different types of extant Greene prints: Blanquart-Évrard's salt-paper prints, the "Red Album" salt-paper prints and the lightly albumenized salt-paper prints/albumen prints. Since it is unknown where Greene's Algerian negatives are, or if, in fact, they still exist, it would be useful to mount an investigation to locate these important artifacts. In addition, it would be advantageous to assemble a catalogue raisonné of Greene's work in order to establish his *oeuvre*.

## **Appendices**

### **Appendix 1:**

#### **Comparison of Talbot's Calotype process to Le Gray's Waxed-Paper Negative Process**

##### **Talbot's Calotype Process:**

- 1: Brush the paper with silver nitrate solution and allow to dry.
- 2: Place the paper in tray of potassium iodide solution, wash, blot and allow to dry.
- 3: Mix together solution A (silver nitrate, distilled water, and strong acetic acid) with equal amounts of solution B (a saturated solution of pure gallic acid in cold distilled water).
- 4: Brush solution on paper, rinse, blot and allow to dry.
- 5: Expose sensitized paper.
- 6: Brush paper with solution explained in step 3 (solution A combined with solution B) and then warm the paper.
- 7: Rinse the paper in water, dip into potassium bromide solution, rinse with water, and then dry.

##### **Le Gray's Wax-Paper Negative Process:**

- 1: Submerge paper in hot beeswax and distribute in a uniform layer over the paper.
- 2: Place paper in a tray of rice water, milk sugar (whey) and potassium iodide, potassium cyanide and potassium fluoride for half an hour, remove and then dry.
- 3: Place paper in a tray containing distilled water, silver nitrate, acetic acid and bone black (noire animal).
- 4: Dry the paper, expose it and develop in gallic acid.

## Appendix 2: Assigning names to the prints which have *M* and *P* classifications

This is an itemization of Greene's prints from his 1853 – 1854 trip to Egypt. I have listed the *Monument* and *Paysages* numbers on the prints and coordinated them with the corresponding titles assigned by Greene himself.<sup>56</sup>

### *Monuments*

|                  |  |
|------------------|--|
| <i>M1</i> :      | Ibsamboul; Spéos de Phré                               |
| <i>M2</i> :      | Ibsamboul; Colosse de l'est                            |
| <i>M3</i> :      | Ibsamboul; Statue de Femme                             |
| [ <i>M4</i> ] :  | Ibsamboul; Spéos d'hather ; partie gauche de la façade |
| <i>M5</i> :      | Ibsamboul; Speous d'hather entrée                      |
| <i>M6</i> :      | Amada; temple  |
| <i>M7</i> :      | Ouadi Esseboua; temple                                 |
| <i>M8</i> :      | Meharraka; temple                                      |
| <i>M9</i> :      | Dakkeh; temple   |
| <i>M12</i> :     | Dandour; temple  |
| <i>M13</i> :     | Dandour; temple  |
| [ <i>M14</i> ] : | NO KNOWN TITLE   |
| <i>M15</i> :     | Ile de Philae; temple Hypètre                          |
| <i>M16</i> :     | Ile de Philae; temple Hypètre                          |
| <i>M17</i> :     | Ile de Philae; temple Hypètre                          |
| <i>M18</i> :     | Ile de Philae; colonnade de gauche                     |

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<sup>56</sup> If I have seen two of the same image, one with a *Monument* or *Paysages* number and one without, then there are brackets around the number.

- M19* : Ile de Philae; grand temple N<sup>o</sup>.1
- [*M20*] : Ile de Philae; grand temple
- M21* : Ile de Philae; Porte auprès du grand temple
- M22* : Ile de Philae; Pylône du grand temple; massif de gauche
- M23* : Ile de Philae; grand temple; côte gauche de la cour
- M24* : Ombos; temple
- M25* : Silsilis; Stèles (also named by Greene - Tablettes de Silsilis)
- M26* : Edfou; temple
- M27*  
(*I26*)  
(*sic*) : Thèbes; Médinet-Habou, Palais de Thoutmosis III
- [*M28*] : NO KNOWN TITLE
- M29* : Thèbes; Memmonium
- M* [*30*] : Thèbes; Memmonium or Vue du Memmonium n<sup>o</sup> 2.
- M31* : NO KNOWN TITLE
- M32* : NO KNOWN TITLE
- M33* : NO KNOWN TITLE
- [*M34*] : Thèbes; Kournah Temple
- M35* : Thèbes; Médinet-Habou, 1st pylône
- M36* : Thèbes; Médinet-Habou, vue prise de l'entrée du palais de Ramsès Méiamoun
- M37* : Thèbes; Médinet-Habou, Palais de Ramsès Méiamoun 2<sup>o</sup>cour
- M38* : Thèbes; Médinet-Habou, Palais de Ramsès Méiamoun 2<sup>o</sup>cour; face est
- M41* : Thèbes; Médinet-Habou, Palais de Ramsès Méiamoun 2<sup>o</sup>cour; face sud
- M42* : Thèbes; Luxor, Portique

- M43* : Thèbes; Karnac, temple du sud
- M44* : NO KNOWN TITLE
- M45* : Giseb; Pyramide de Chéops
- M46* : Giseb; Sphinx

### **Paysages**

- P1* : Études de terrains près de Gebel Abousir, 2<sup>e</sup> Cataracte and below
- P2* : Études de terrains près de Gebel Abousir, 2<sup>e</sup> Cataracte
- P3* : Études de terrains près de Gebel Abousir, 2<sup>e</sup> Cataracte
- P4* : Études de terrains près de Gebel Abousir, 2<sup>e</sup> Cataracte (No.1)
- [*P5*] : Montagne d'Ibsamboul
- P6* : Village de Kalabsché
- P7* : Montagne de Girché
- P8* : Montagne de Thèbes
- P9* : Étude de Sycomores; Korosko
- P10* : Études de Dattiers (yes, it is plural in the original)
- P11* : Études de Dattiers No.11
- [*P12*] : Études de Dattiers ?
- [*P13*] : Études de Dattiers
- [*P14*] : Études de Palmiers doums ; Kalabsché
- P15* : Bord du nil à Kalabché n°1
- P16* : Désert, aux grandes pyramides
- P17* : Bords du Nil, Kalabsché
- [*P18*] : TITLE UNKNOWN
- P19* : Étude de Gommiers

- P20* : TITLE UNKNOWN
- P21* : Paysage, bord du Nil
- P22* : TITLE UNKNOWN
- [*P23*] : TITLE UNKNOWN
- P24* : Seconde Cataracte
- P25* : Seconde Cataracte
- P26* : Egypte : Seconde Cataracte, au dessus de Gebel Abousir No.3
- P27* : Première Cataracte d'Hélépnautisse
- P28* : Première Cataracte, vue prise de Philae
- P29* : (photograph of boat with an American flag)
- P30* : Village de Ghirché
- P31* : Les portes du Nil à Ouadi Taffah
- P32* : TITLE UNKNOWN
- P33* : Ile de Philae
- P34* : TITLE UNKNOWN
- P35* : Ile de Beghé
- P36* : Ile de Beghé
- P37* : Bords du Nil à Thèbes
- [*P38*] : TITLE UNKNOWN
- P40* : Ruinés à Ouadi Taffah
- [*P41*] : Palais de Ramsès Méiamoun, entrée de la 2<sup>nd</sup> cour sud
- P42* : Château de France à Luxor
- P43* : Vue de Lougsor (Luxor) (*sic*)

- [*P44*] : Portique de Lougsor (Luxor) (*sic*)
- P45* : Temple de Qournak (Karnac) (*sic*)
- P46* : Village d'Ouadi Taffah
- P47* : TITLE UNKNOWN
- P48* : TITLE UNKNOWN
- P49* : Sakkia (*sic*) Nubienne
- P50* : TITLE UNKNOWN
- P51* : Temple d'Ouadi Esseboua
- P52* : Vue du temple de Qartas.
- [*P53*] : TITLE UNKNOWN
- P54* : Temple de Médinet-Habou
- P55* : Cimetière Arabe à Alexandrie
- P56* : TITLE UNKNOWN

### Appendix 3: List of photographs in the album *Sculptures et Inscriptions Egyptiennes*:

#### transcription of the table of contents

- Dedication: Présentes à l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles lettres  
(Institut de France) Paris 21, Juillet 1854. John B. Greene
- I 1* : Ibsamboul, stèle à droite du temple d'Hathor; 1 pl.
- I 2* : Amada Pilier du Temple; 1 pl.
- I 3–I 12* : Dakkeh, Salle méridionale du Temple; 10 pl.
- I 13* : Bet-Oualli, Entrée du Temple; 1 pl.
- I 14–I 17* : Bet-Oualli, Sculptures historique de la paroi de gauche; 4 pl.
- I 18* : Bet-Oualli, Sculptures historique de la paroi de droite; 1 pl.
- I 19* : Philoe, Stèle; 1 pl.
- I 20* : Silsilis, Stèle; 1 plate
- I 21–I 25* : Edfou, Sculptures et Inscriptions de la face orientale du mur d'enceinte; 5 pl.
- I 27–I 28* : Médinet-Habou, Palais de Ramsès - Méiamoun 1st pylône, massif de droite; face extérieure; 2 pl. .
- I 29* : Médinet-Habou, Palais de Ramsès - Méiamoun 1st pylône, massif de gauche; face extérieure; 1 pl.
- I 30* : Médinet-Habou, Palais de Ramsès - Méiamoun 1st pylône, massif de droite; face intérieure; 1 pl.
- I 31* : Médinet-Habou, Palais de Ramsès - Méiamoun 1st pylône, massif de gauche; face intérieure; 1 pl.
- I 32* : Médinet-Habou, Palais de Ramsès - Méiamoun Entrée de la seconde cour; 1 pl.
- I 33* : Médinet-Habou, Palais de Ramsès - Méiamoun 2<sup>nd</sup> pylône; massif de droite; 1 pl.



- I 34 :* Médinet-Habou, Palais de Ramsès - Méiamoun 2<sup>nd</sup> pylône; massif de gauche; 1 pl.
- I 35–I 36 :* Médinet-Habou, Palais de Ramsès - Méiamoun Entrée du côté Est; 2 pl.
- I 37–I 38 :* Médinet-Habou, Palais de Ramsès - Méiamoun Sculptures et Inscriptions de la paroi Est; 2 pl.
- I 39 :* Médinet-Habou, Palais de Ramsès - Méiamoun Paroi droite; 1pl.
- I 40–I 57 :* Médinet-Habou, Palais de Ramsès - Méiamoun Paroi gauche. Sculptures et Inscriptions; 18 pl.
- I 58–I 63 :* Médinet-Habou, Palais de Ramsès - Méiamoun Muraille du Nord; 6 pl.
- I 64–I 65 :* El-Assasif, Porte de Granit rose; 2 pl.
- I 66 :* Meninonium, Salle hypostyle; Tableau de gauche; 1 pl.
- I 67 :* Thèbes, Colosse de droite; face postérieure; 1 pl.
- I 68 :* Thèbes, Colosse de gauche; face postérieure; 1 pl.
- I 69 :* Thèbes, Colosse de gauche côté gauche; 1 pl.
- I 70 :* Louqsor, Obélisque; côté Nord; 1pl.
- I 71 :* Louqsor, côtés Est et Sud; 1 pl.
- I 72–I 75 :* Louqsor, Sculptures historiques du Pylône; massif de gauche; 4 pl.
- I 76–I 78 :* Louqsor, Sculptures historiques du Pylône; massif de droite; 3 pl.
- I 79–I 83 :* Karnac, Salle hypostyle; mur du sud; face extérieure; 5 pl.
- I 84 :* Karnac, Salle hypostyle; extrémité Est; face extérieure; 1 pl.
- I 85 :* Karnac, Salle hypostyle; et Obélisque; 1 pl.
- I 86–I 91 :* Karnac, Salle hypostyle; mur du Nord; face extérieure; 6 pl.
- I 92–I 95 :* Karnac, Salle hypostyle; mur du Nord; face intérieure; 4 pl.  
Temple au Sud de La Salle Hypostyle
- I 96–I 97 :* Temple au Sud Mur du Sud; face extérieure; 2 pl.
- I 98 :* Temple au Sud Mur du Sud; Porte de l'ouest côté gauche; 1 pl.
- I 99 :* Temple au Sud Mur du Sud; Porte de l'ouest droite; 1 pl.

- I 100 :* Travaux de Mr. Mariette aux Pyramides de Giseh, Porte du granit découverte à gauche du Sphinx; 1pl.
- I 101 :* Travaux de Mr. Mariette aux Pyramides de Giseh, Fouille à la gauche du Sphinx; 1pl.
- I 102 :* Travaux de Mr. Mariette aux Pyramides de Giseh, Stèle située au bas du poitrail du Sphinx déblayée par Mr. Mariette, en Décembre, 1853; 1pl.

## Appendix 4: List of photographs in the album *Fouilles*

### *Exécutées à Thèbes par J.B. Greene:*

#### transcription of the table of contents

##### *Fouilles Exécutées à Thèbes par J.B. Greene*

Dedication: A l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles lettres hommage respectueux de l'auteur, John B. Greene

- 1 : Palais du Médinet-Habou. Inscriptions du seconde pylône massif du droite.
- 2 : Palais du Medinet-Habou. Fouilles au sud du second pylône/massif du droite.
- 3 : Palais du Médinet-Habou. Colosse de Ramsès III.
- 4 : Palais du Médinet-Habou. Colosse de Ramsès III (vêtement).
- 5 : Palais du Médinet-Habou. Colosse de Ramsès III (socle).
- 6 : Palais du Médinet-Habou. Restes de la coiffure d'un des colosses.
- 7 : Palais du Médinet-Habou. Colosse de Ramsès III. Figure de droite
- 8: Palais du Médinet-Habou. Colosse de Ramsès III. Figure de gauche
- 9 : Palais du Médinet-Habou. Colosse de Ramsès III. Inscriptions latérales du socle d'après, des moulages en pâtre de papier.  
[Example of Greene's process of capturing inscriptions by creating molds]
- 10: Palais du Médinet-Habou. Ruines coptes dans la première cour.
- 11 : Médinet-Habou. Porte découverte près du Palais de Thutmes III
- 12 : Médinet-Habou. Porte découverte près du Palais de Thutmes III

## Appendix 5: List of photographs in the album

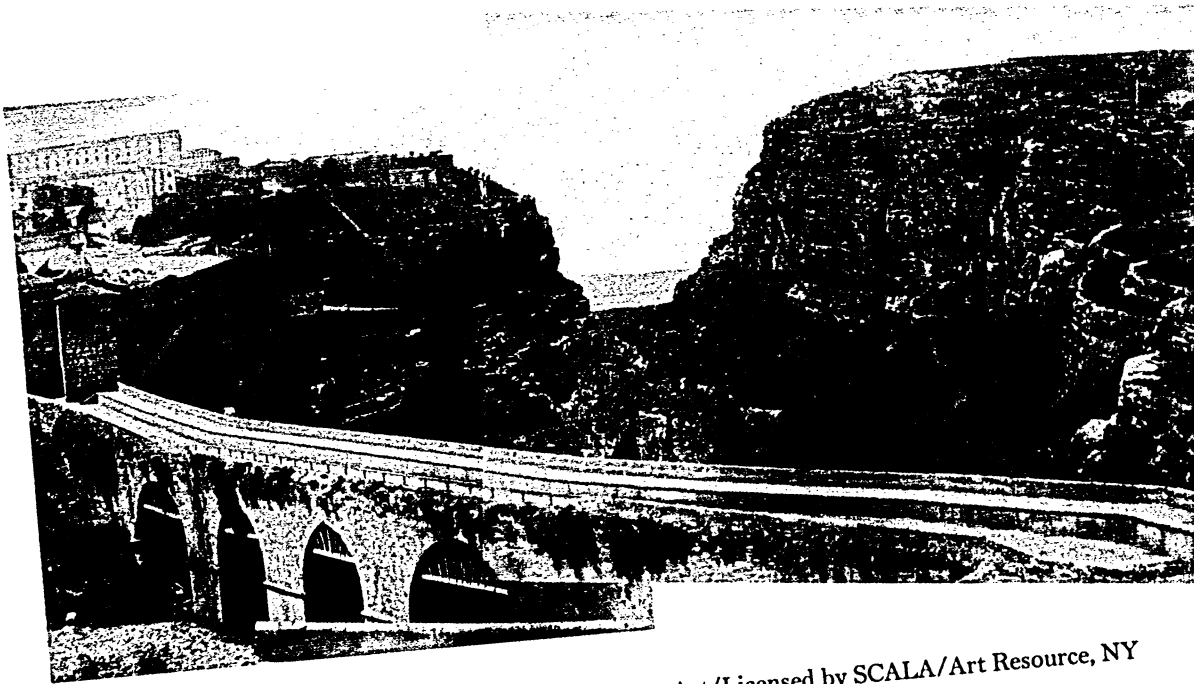
### *Tombeau de la Chrétienne.*

#### transcription of the table of contents

##### *Tombeau of the Chrétienne*

- Inscribed: Recueil de photographiques, 1856, 14 photographiques
- 1 : Côté du Sur [signed]
- 2 : Fausse Porte (côté du nord) [signed]
- 3 : Côté de l'ouest [signed]
- 4 : Etat de l'éboulement (côté oriental) le 1<sup>er</sup> janvier 1856, après les bois prôneurs journées le travail
- 5 : Etat de l'éboulement le 1<sup>er</sup> janvier 1856, après le trois premier de travail
- 6 : Etat des travaux au 6 janvier 1856
- 7 : No. 7. Vue de côté nord [first time the page is numbered in album]
- 8 : No. 8. Vue du côté est à la fin de travaux de la 2<sup>e</sup> exploration (5 avril 1856)[signed and dated 1856]
- 9 : No.9. Même vue que le No. 8., mais sur vue plies grand e'échelle
- 10 : No.10.Vue de fausse porte de Nord le 5 avril 1858 (*sic*) à la fin travaux de la 2<sup>e</sup> exploration [signed and dated 1856]  
[note that the date is 1858, not 1856 as it should be]
- 11: No.11. Vue d'une portion d'architrave [signed and dated 1856]
- 12: No.12. Vue d'une portion de corniche [signed and dated 1856]
- 13: No.13. Chapiteau No.1. vue de face
- 14: No.14. Vue de côté en envasé [signed]

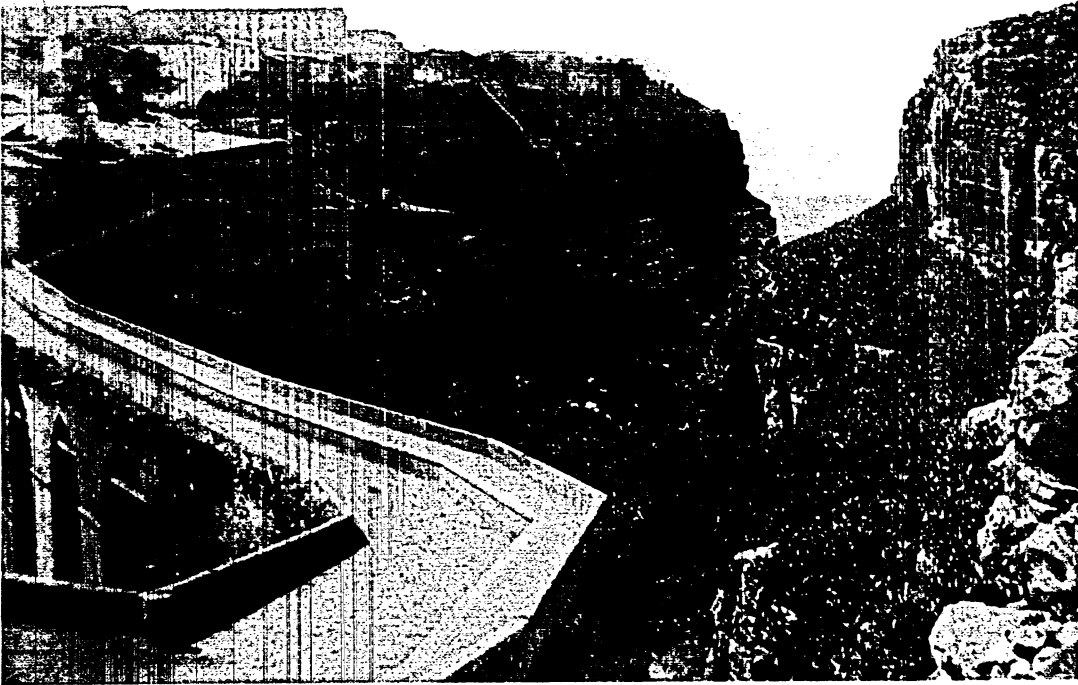
Appendix 6: First panorama, from the images  
*Viaduct leading into Constantine, Algeria* (left)  
and *El-Kantara Bridge, Constantine* (right)<sup>57</sup>



Both images: Digital Image © The Museum of Modern Art/Licensed by SCALA/Art Resource, NY

<sup>57</sup> left image – *Viaduct leading into Constantine, Algeria* - accession number, 689.1983, right image – *El-Kantara Bridge, Constantine* accession number, 16.1992

Image presented for comparison,  
*El-Kantara Bridge, Constantine*<sup>58</sup>



Digital Image © The Museum of Modern Art/Licensed by SCALA/Art Resource, NY

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<sup>58</sup> accession number, 15.1992

Appendix 7:

Second panorama, from the images

*Untitled (City on a Cliff)* (left)

and *(Untitled) (Constantine, Algeria)* (right)<sup>59</sup>



Both images: Digital Image © The Museum of Modern Art/Licensed by SCALA/Art Resource, NY

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<sup>59</sup> left image - *Untitled (City on a Cliff)* - accession number 376.1986, right image - *(Untitled) (Constantine, Algeria)* - accession number 220.1986

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