

FROM THE NILE RIVER TO THE ERIE CANAL:  
TRACING THE PHOTOGRAPHS OF THE ZANGAKI BROTHERS  
AT GEORGE EASTMAN HOUSE

by

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## **ABSTRACT**

The collection of photographs by the Zangaki Brothers at George Eastman House provide a case study for tracing a trajectory of nineteenth century photographic images made for a tourist market. Beginning with the photographers themselves and the clientele they served, to the albums the photographs were mounted into, the collections they were placed in and the subsequent modern critiques of the photographers, this thesis aims to understand decisions that ultimately define the context in which we now find the photographs.

## **ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS**

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I am grateful to Katena Lafkas Presutti, Valentina Branchini, Maya Dalinsky and Edith Currier for their translations of Greek, Italian, German, and French texts, respectively. Without their assistance I would have been at a huge disadvantage. Also thank you to Joseph Strubel and Jamie Allen of George Eastman House and Jeff Spurr of the Aga Khan Collection at Harvard for assisting me with accessing Zangaki photographs. Finally, without the editing of my mother, Margaret (they don't call me Hackman for nothing) Hackman, I would have been a grammatical mess. Many thanks for your time and patience.

## **DEDICATION**

This thesis is for my Yiayia, Olympia Gekas.

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## **Introduction**

This thesis focuses on 103 commercially produced tourist photographs made by Konstantinos and Georgios Zangaki, now housed in the photography collection at GEH. My aim herein is to answer biographical, historical and collections management-related questions regarding these photographs. These queries include identifying who the Zangaki brothers were, reviewing what is already known about them and establishing new insights concerning their biography, photographic career and photographic techniques. I answer what can be inferred by compiling a list of their negative numbers. My research looks into who bought Zangaki photographs, where they bought them and why. Next I trace their provenance and show how these albums and loose prints found their way into George Eastman House. I establish how these photographs were organized and stored at George Eastman House and the implications of these collections-management decisions. I consider who looks at Zangaki photographs today and why. Finally, the culmination of my research points to the question of why their work has been largely overlooked.

It is my aim to explore these questions in order to have a more comprehensive understanding of the photographs of the Zangaki Brothers in the collection at George Eastman House.

I would like to clarify the spelling, dates, terms and abbreviations in this text. When possible I copied the Zangaki titles directly from the prints, which are in French and often misspelled. If the title was illegible, I used a descriptive title in its place.

The date I assigned all the loose Zangaki photographs is ca. 1880. I determined this date after consulting with Jamie Allen, Associate Curator of Photographs at George

Eastman House. Allen advised that according to the cataloging standards at George Eastman House, the circa clause added in front of a date may include a range of ten years before and after the specified date. Therefore ca. 1880 includes 1870-1890, covering the dates established for the height of the Zangaki studios.

The term Levant used in this thesis has traditionally been used to describe the lands east of Venice, in this thesis I defer to the *American Heritage Dictionary*, which defines the Levant as countries bordering on the Eastern Mediterranean.<sup>1</sup>

The abbreviation TMS is for The Museum System™, the collection management software used by George Eastman House. PPCM denotes Photographic Preservation and Collection Management, the Master's degree for which this thesis is in fulfillment of, and finally GEH is often used in place of George Eastman House International Museum of Photography and Film in Rochester, New York.

### **Brief Literature Survey**

Researchers have found limited primary sources with which to write about the Zangaki brothers. The result is that authors on the subject of nineteenth century Near Eastern photography tend to include inaccurate, little or no biographical information on the brothers. There is, however, a plethora of publications on Near East photography in general, as well as a sampling of period guidebooks. In the following brief literature review I aim to contextualize a mere fraction of the myriad published works on Near East photography from the nineteenth century, and to name those who diminish and those who champion the Zangaki brothers in order to have a better understanding of their contemporary status.

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<sup>1</sup> William Morris, ed., *American Heritage Dictionary of the English Language* (New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1973), s.v. 'Levant'.

Nissan Perez's 1988 *Focus East* is the paradigm of this genre. It is one of the more thorough and better-written accounts of nineteenth century photography in the Near East. Perez writes eloquently and definitively about the influence of Orientalism, aesthetics, religion and national identity on Near East photography. His writing on the Zangaki brothers, however, presents a bias against them. In his text, Perez negatively critiques their portraiture and uses a Zangaki photograph to illustrate his notion of a falsified, Western fantasy of the Orient actualized by photography. Although the Zangaki biography is longer than that to be found in any book until Ken Jacobson's 2007 *Arabesques and Odalisques*, In *Focus East*, Perez delivers a crushing blow to the Zangaki reputation. "Their work does not go beyond average commercial photography meant for the tourist and the occasional visitor. It is difficult to find innovative vision or groundbreaking achievement in the mass of images they must have produced."<sup>2</sup>

It is clear Perez made an obligatory entry for them based on the sheer quantity of their images; they would have been hard to ignore for a writer on this topic. Perez, however, neglects to provide evidence for his critique, it remains an unsupported generalization. The consequence of Perez's consideration is that the Zangakis are relegated as copycat profiteers in a land of innovation and skill. This stigma has stayed with the brothers since the Perez biography is quoted and paraphrased over and over in subsequent publications; even George Eastman House cites Perez in their TMS database constituent description of the brothers.

Ken Jacobson's *Odalisques & Arabesques: Orientalist Photography 1839- 1925* is in the similar vein as *Focus East*, though it takes a softer, post-post modern angle on

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<sup>2</sup> Nissan Perez, *Focus East: Early Photography in the Near East 1839-1885* (New York: Abrams, 1988): 233.

the roots and influences of Orientalism. The value in this work lies in the perspective Jacobson gives to understanding the Westerners awe and reverence for the Orient as well as the social context he provides for the Zangaki brothers in his chapter, “A Boom in Tourist Photography”.

The primary champion of the Zangaki cause is Greek photography historian Alkis Xanthakis. He published two articles in Greek magazines<sup>3</sup> and has one recent unpublished piece<sup>4</sup> solely on the brothers. His research has given me insight into nuances, such as how to spell their names correctly and where they were born. He also hails them as creative, original and skilled: Descriptions that have always passed up the brothers for more established photographers of the genre like the Maison Bonfils. The only trouble with Xanthakis is that I am not sure about his primary sources. He does not cite them and in a conversation with author Ken Jacobson, he warned me to be cautious about Zangaki biographical information from Xanthakis. Ironically, Jacobson cites Xanthakis for most of his Zangaki biography in *Odalisques & Arabesques*.<sup>5</sup>

Italian photography historian Italo Zannier also sings the praises of the Zangaki brothers. In his 1999 *L' Egitto del grand tour nella fotografia degli Zangaki*,<sup>6</sup> Zannier gives a positive opinion of the brothers. He writes at length on the friendly collaboration between them and Hippolyte Arnoux and how they, unlike other photographers including those in Italy, photographed the local populations with dignity and respect. Zannier emphasizes that their subjects demonstrate pride and that the Zangaki brothers would

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3 Alkis Xanthakis, “Zangaki Brothers,” *Fotografos*, September 2005 and “Zangaki Brothers,” *Optikon*, December 1995.

4 Alkis Xanthakis, “Photographers, Greek and others, who photographed in Greece during the 19th and 20th-centuries” (unpublished working paper, translator unknown, courtesy Hellenic Historical Archive, Athens, 2008).

5 Ken Jacobson, *Odalisques & Arabesques: Orientalist Photography 1839- 1925* (London: Quaritch, 2007).

6 Italo Zannier, *L' Egitto del grand tour nella fotografia degli Zangaki* (Milano: CRAF, 1999).

often include themselves not only for fun, but to show tourists that the native population was not to be feared. Zannier commends the Zangaki's compositions above their contemporaries and makes a point to reject scholar Mounira Khemir's statement that, "...their body of work suffers from a purely commercial objective."<sup>7</sup> Zannier responds that, "These photographers' objective, including Beato [Antonio Beato, a photographer based in Luxor], was obviously commercial...yet [the Zangaki brothers] remained artistically attuned throughout their career".

The nineteenth century guidebooks by Baedeker and Murray<sup>8</sup> provide a vehicle through which we today can see the travel choices put before the Victorian tourist. In reading their itinerary suggestions and detailed descriptions of Near Eastern towns, including places to buy photographs, I was able to gain a certain level of understanding of the perspective and desires of these travelers. I have yet to find a specific reference to the Zangaki brothers in any of these guidebooks.

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7 Cfr. M. Khemir, in *L'Orientisme*, Paris, 1994, 10.

8 K. Baedeker, ed., *Palestine and Syria: Handbook for Travellers* (Leipsig, K. Baedeker, 1876, 1894); K. Baedeker, ed., *Egypt: Handbook for Travelers* (Leipsig, K. Baedeker; London, Dulau and Co., 1878-92); John Murray, *A Handbook for Travellers in Egypt*. 4th ed., rev. on the spot (London: J. Murray, 1873).

## Contextualizing photography and the *voyage en Orient*

*To photograph is to appropriate the thing photographed. It means putting oneself into a certain relation to the world that feels like knowledge—and, therefore, like power...Today everything exists to end in a photograph.*” — Susan Sontag<sup>9</sup>

By the mid nineteenth century, a trip to the East, also known as a *voyage en Orient*, was a common and fashionable Western bourgeois rite of passage. The aims of the tour were to educate, to heighten family status by “doing” all possible countries, to reconnect the true Christian with the Holy Land, and to satisfy the increased Victorian thirst for all things Oriental.

“For romantic Orientalists emotion was an end in itself, and the stimuli to awaken it could no longer be found in the West; thence the painful desire to reach the Levant.”<sup>10</sup> The morally and socially restrained nineteenth century Westerner was naturally fascinated with what was considered his hedonistic antithesis: the Orient. This Near East “leg” of a Grand Tour through Europe was facilitated by the 1869 completion of the Suez Canal, organized tours provided by Thomas Cook and the detailed suggestions of where to sleep, eat and buy souvenirs in the Murray and Baedeker guidebooks. The opening of the Suez Canal also provided more affordable access to the region, therefore the tourists were now not only aristocratic but upper middle class.

The heightened frenzy of Western leisure tours to the region was preceded by and then simultaneous with increased French and British colonial activity in the region. A general cultural fascination with the Orient, archeological explorations and political

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<sup>9</sup> Susan Sontag, *On Photography* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1977), 4 and 24.

<sup>10</sup> Nissan Perez, *Focus East*, 64.

power struggles for the region grew throughout the nineteenth century. This buildup of interest in the Levant and Egypt coincided with the invention and evolution of photography. The new medium would be employed to satisfy the colonizing desires.



(Figure 1) John B. Greene, *The Banks of the Nile at Thebes*, 1854, paper print, George Eastman House, (1992:0384:0001).



(Figure 2) Félix Teynard, *Portico of the Tomb of salted Amenemhat, Beni Hasan*, 1851–52, salted paper print, Metropolitan Museum of Art, (1976.607.13).



(Figure 3) Maxime Du Camp, *Stele at Temple, Egypt*, ca. 1850, salted paper print, Time-Life International, *Die Photographie, Große Photographen*, 1973, Page 38.

The 1845 hazy-dreamscape salted paper prints by John B. Greene conjure and fulfill the Western fantasy of the elusive Near East landscape (fig. 1). Architectural documents made in the form of daguerreotypes and salted paper prints had enhanced the French archeological surveys of Egypt (figs. 2 and 3) since the birth of photography. At the turn of the century, Britain conducted political mapping under the guise of the Palestinian Exploration Fund (PEF), making and collecting albumen photographs of the

region, including ones made by the Zangakis. The notable Lieutenant Colonel Thomas Edward Lawrence (Lawrence of Arabia) was paid by the PEF to survey the strategically important Negev Desert.<sup>11</sup> Panoramic photographs of the region like those taken by the Zangakis (fig. 4) would have aided in creating Lawrence's map of the area that secured the British defeat of the Ottomans.



(Figure 4) Zangaki Brothers, *Panorama du Vieux Caire et Pyramides* No. 855, c.1880, Albumen print, GEH (1981:2125:0012).

But the proliferation of nineteenth century Near East photography is a direct response to the tourist- driven market. In traveling we collect. There is an absolute desire, when an experience is out of the ordinary, to somehow contain and conquer it and bring it home. We need to exhibit to our relations and friends the landscape, painting, castle or pyramid that moved us from the everyday into a more extraordinary moment. In 1833, William Henry Fox Talbot expressed his desire to capture the view of Lake Como in front of him as a permanent and exact image;<sup>12</sup> two years later he invented his photogenic drawing process that would do just that.<sup>13</sup>

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11 C. Leonard Woolley and T. E. Lawrence, *Wilderness of Zin* (London: Palestine Exploration Fund, 1915).

12 William Henry Fox Talbot, *The Pencil of Nature* (London: Longman Brown, Green & Longmans, 1844-46).

13 Newhall, *The History of Photography* (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1982), 20.



It is photography that so succinctly answers our desire to bring home a piece of the novel experience. “Eventually the souvenir to carry home had to be the photograph, and tourists bought commercially available views as mementos.”<sup>14</sup> Commercial tourist photography also marks a shift in the class of traveler that was just at this time starting to visit the Holy Land. Aristocratic travelers once used their drawing skills to make their souvenirs of foreign lands; now the upper-middle class could forgo drawing and the skills associated with it and amass photographs of their journey.

Francis Frith is credited with being the first commercially motivated photographer in Egypt and the Holy Lands. However his production facilities, opened in England in 1860,<sup>15</sup> catered to “armchair tourists,” British customers who did not leave home. “There is no substitute for actual travel; but it is my ambition to provide for those to whom circumstances forbid that luxury, faithful representations of the scenes I have witnessed.”<sup>16</sup>

The first local commercial studios of note and longevity in the East are credited to Hippolyte Arnoux in Cairo (1860), Antonio Beato in Luxor (1864), and Felix Bonfils in Beirut (1867).<sup>17</sup> These big-city studios produced volumes of architectural and landscape views to serve tourists on their *voyage en Orient*. When the real boom of tourist photography, driven by the influx of tourists utilizing the canal, hit the Near East from 1870-1899, they were well established and stocked with thousands of 8x10” albumen prints for sale. “Though the commercial centre for the sale of [Near] Eastern photographs remained in Egypt, distribution appears to have shifted away from the main cities towards

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14 Deborah Bull, *Up the Nile: A photographic excursion, Egypt 1839-1898* (New York: C. N. Potter, 1979), xvii.

15 Beaumont Newhall, *The History of Photography*, 105.

16 Francis Frith, *Egypt and Palestine photographed and described* (London: James S. Virtue, 1858-1860), introduction.

17 Jacobson, *Odalisques & Arabesques*, 34.

the heart of the tourist trail itself.”<sup>18</sup> It was at this point that the Zangaki brothers established their studio in Port Said, Egypt.

## Biography

*“The grand object of all traveling is to see the shores of the Mediterranean. On these shores were the four great empires of the world—the Assyrian—the Persian—the Grecian—and the Roman. All our Religion—almost all our law—almost all our Arts—almost all that sets us above savages, has come to us from the Shores of the Mediterranean.”*<sup>19</sup>

The Greek island of Milos appears as an upright horseshoe in the Aegean Sea. It lies southeast of the mainland of Greece and is a volcanic member of the Cyclades island group.<sup>20</sup> Its location provides an ideal launching point from which to navigate the Mediterranean Sea. The ports of Italy, Turkey and North Africa are all within less than a week’s sail from the island. Being volcanic, Milos contains quantities of obsidian, which was useful to early civilizations. This natural glass can be traced for thousands of miles from the island.<sup>21</sup> The ideal position of Milos and its possession of obsidian made it an important center of early Aegean civilization. The famed Venus de Milo is from Milos,

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<sup>18</sup> Perez, *Focus East*, 53.

<sup>19</sup> Dr. Samuel Johnson, cited in George Wilson Bridges, *Selections from Seventeen Hundred Genuine Photographs* (Cheltenham: Mary Hadley, c. 1852).

<sup>20</sup> The World Book Encyclopedia, Volume 3, (Field Enterprises Educational Corporation, 1960), s.v. “Cyclades.”

<sup>21</sup> Colin Renfrew and Malcolm Wagstaff, eds., *An Island polity: the archaeology of exploitation in Melos* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982).

and Konstantinos Zangaki likened his tall and beautiful wife, Eleni, to this statue of the Goddess Aphrodite.<sup>22</sup>

Around the year 1870, two brothers from Milos, Georgios and Konstantinos Zangaki, set off in these sparkling turquoise waters southward toward Egypt.<sup>23</sup> A year earlier, in 1869, the Suez Canal had finally been completed. This new waterway between the Mediterranean and the Red Sea not only facilitated trading between the Middle East and Europe but it also provided easier access to the Holy Land and Egypt for well-heeled tourists. In *Up the Nile*, Deborah Bull writes, “The Suez Canal was a magnet that attracted people to the area.”<sup>24</sup>

Just as word of a localized boom in jobs spreads today, the brothers heeded the call to prosperity at the new port town servicing the Suez Canal. This city was called Port Said, named after the Viceroy of Egypt, Said Pasha, who gave the French permission to begin canal construction in the 1850s.<sup>25</sup> The newly bustling city of Port Said is where the Zangakis landed, roughly 600 miles or 965 km south of Milos. The awe that this busy port town was built practically overnight is recorded in John Murray’s 1873 *A Handbook for Travellers in Egypt*, “The Suez Canal, from being a ‘chimerical’ project has become an accomplished fact; and the town of Port Said...has sprung into existence with it.”<sup>26</sup>

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22 Xanthakis, “Zangaki Brothers,” *Fotografos*, September 2005, 62.

23 Xanthakis, “Zangaki Brothers,” *Optikon*, December 1995, 44.

24 Bull, *Up the Nile*, xvii.

25 Pierre Larousse, *Grand dictionnaire universel du XIXe siècle*, XIV, Paris, 1866-1879, s.v. “Biography of Mohammed Said.”

26 John Murray, *A Handbook for Travellers in Egypt* (London: J. Murray, 1873), v-vi.



(Figure 5) Zangaki Brothers, *Rue du commerce a* [sic] *Port-Said* No. 456, c. 1880, albumen print, GEH (1986:0310:0005)

Merchants immediately set up shop to accommodate and profit from the influx of tourists. When examined under a loupe, Port Said's Rue du Commerce, pictured in the Zangaki photograph above, reveals tobacco shops, hostels, umbrellas and pith helmets for sale, like knickknacks at Disney Land. There are also photographs for sale, visible in the shop windows at the bottom right. There was clearly a niche market for photographs of Egypt and the Holy Land in Port Said. It would be the perfect point on a voyage to buy fragile photographs: right at the end while waiting for your steamer to sail back to Europe. Whether or not these are Zangaki photographs visible in the shop, I cannot be certain; however, I believe the two men in the foreground posing and looking directly at the camera (one with a jaunty stance and sombrero style hat), are the brothers (figure 6). Another view of the same street features the same man wearing a fez style hat (figure 7).



(Figure 6) Zangaki Brothers, *Rue du commerce a [sic] Port-Said* No. 456, c. 1880, albumen print, GEH (1986:0310:0005)



(Figure 7) Zangaki brothers, *Rue du commerce a [sic] Port-Said* No. 458, c. 1880, albumen print, GEH (2001:1522:0007)

I have yet to find evidence regarding whether they had previous photographic training, but they did open their Port Said studio, “Anatolikon Photographeion,” (Eastern Photo studio) shortly after arriving.<sup>27</sup> Arnoux and Beato had moved to Port Said soon after the canal was built<sup>28</sup> and may have acted as mentors and teachers to the Zangaki brothers. Photography historian Italo Zannier suggests that the brothers not only learned from but also initially collaborated with Arnoux.<sup>29</sup>

According to Murray’s “Handbook,” tourists on the beaten path would only stop over at Port Said while transferring from the steamship to a canal boat and to meet up with the Cook’s tour guides. “To the general visitor Port Said offers few objects of interest in its present state, and a walk of two or three hours on shore during the stay of the steamer will more than satisfy the curiosity of most people.”<sup>30</sup> What better way to spend their time than to buy photographs and other mementos during their brief time at an otherwise unremarkable port town.

27 Alkis Xanthakis, “Photographers, Greek and others, who photographed in Greece.”

28 Perez, *Focus East*, 53.

29 Zannier, *L’ Egitto del grand tour*, 6 .

30 Murray, *A Handbook for Travellers in Egypt*, 244-245.

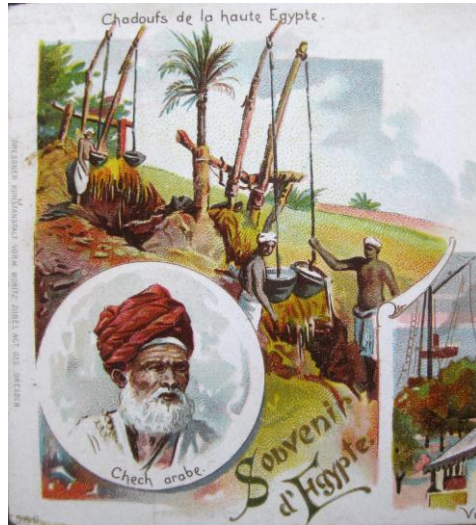
Beginning in the early 1870s, in order to supply the ever-increasing traffic of arriving and departing tourist-filled steamers with original views of the Holy Land and Egypt, the Zangaki brothers embarked on a photographic mission up the Nile. They made panoramic views of cities including Cairo, Alexandria and Jerusalem as well as country landscapes of significant biblical locations. The brothers also made balanced and detailed architectural studies of mosques, churches and ancient Egyptian monuments. Their portraits are significantly fewer in number than the landscapes and architecture studies. They include studies of interesting characters such as sheiks and snake charmers but mostly represent dignified portraits of the native populace including merchants, teachers and brides. In their most prolific time period, between 1870 and 1890, the Zangaki Brothers made the photographs we now see in so many albums and collections, including those found at George Eastman House.

The Zangaki Brothers remained career photographers throughout their lifetimes. There is no documentation to suggest that they pursued other trades as was common for merchants, including photographers, of this era. Their passion and commitment to the medium shows in the well-composed images they made. According to Alkis Xanthakis, the brothers were awarded prizes for their photographs at the 1891 International Exhibition in Palermo and the 1893 Exhibition in Paris.<sup>31</sup> Toward the end of the 1890s they opened a second studio in Cairo. Shortly afterwards Georgios died and the Port Said studio was closed. Arnoux and P. Peridis acquired an unknown quantity of the Zangaki's negatives and the rest of the studio contents were scattered. In the early twentieth century, Konstantinos became involved in publishing postcards of some of their most popular

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<sup>31</sup> Xanthakis, "Photographers, Greek and others who photographed in Greece."

views. Figure 8 shows one of these postcards, half of which includes a reproduction of one of their scenes that can be viewed in a print (figure 9) in the George Eastman House collection.



(Figure 8)

Postcard by Zangaki ca. 1900



(Figure 9) Zangaki Brothers, *Chadoufs de la Haute Egypte* No. 630, c. 1880, albumen print, (GEH 2000:0817:0002).

According to Xanthakis, Konstantinos died in 1913, the Cairo photo studio was subsequently closed and their remaining archive was destroyed.<sup>32</sup> They left behind a legacy of hundreds of fine views that ultimately represent a dedication to the medium and reflect the tastes of nineteenth century western tourists in the Near East.

## Negative Numbers

It is possible to trace the geographical routes the brothers took over their career by following the numbers they painted in script onto their negatives. Assigning dates to their journeys would at this time be speculative, as I have not yet been able to tell significant differences that would show the passing of time in landscapes or architecture found in different views of the same scene.

<sup>32</sup> Xanthakis, "Photographers, Greek and others, who photographed in Greece."

The negative numbers were printed through along with the image on the negative onto the photographic paper. Unless the image is severely faded, the numbers can be clearly read adjacent to the neatly scripted French title along the bottom of their negatives (figure 10).

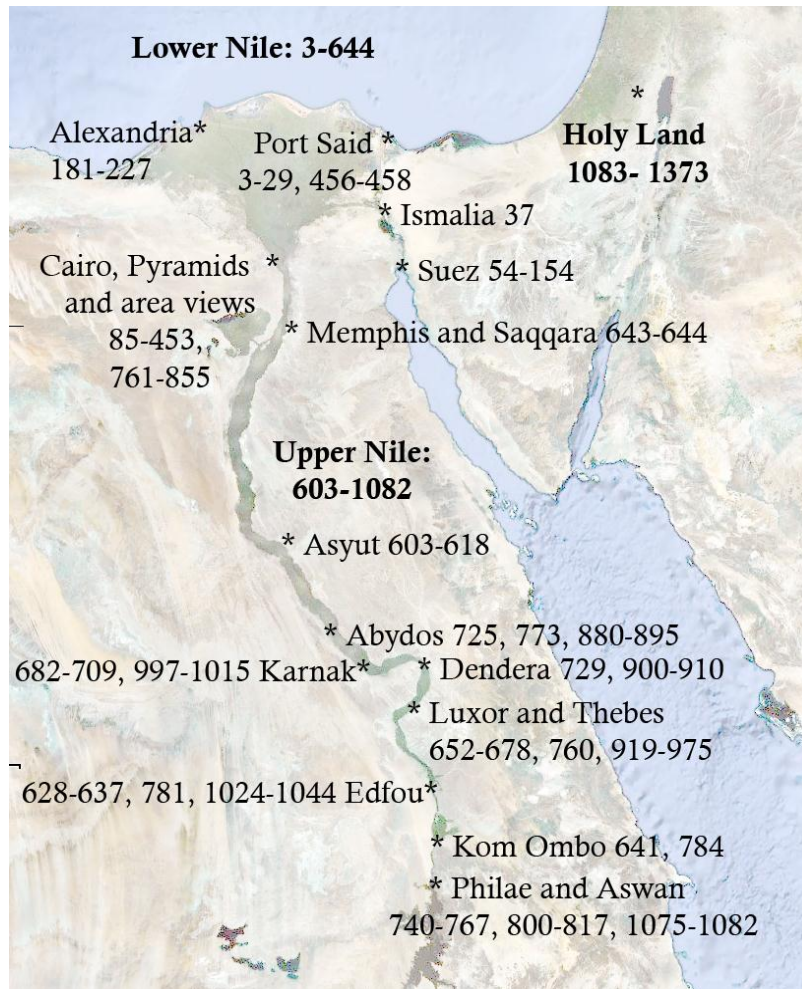


(Figure 10) Zangaki Brothers, *Thebes colosses de Memnon*, c. 1880 albumen print, GEH (1978:1297:0021).

(The French language was used since, as mentioned earlier, the Government of France established Port Said in order to build the Suez Canal.) The Zangaki signature is most often found on the bottom left of the image, the number and subject title on the right. Other photographers of this era also wrote their name, title and numbered their negatives not only to claim the image as their own, but also to make clear to the fact-savoring tourist which subject and view they were buying.

When regarded in sequential order, the negative numbers correspond to a particular region, although there are some anomalies. I compiled a list of 334 Zangaki photographs with clearly visible negative numbers from the collections of the Harvard Fine Arts Library, New York Public Library, Library of Congress, George Eastman House and several published books. After organizing the list in ascending negative number order, a pattern, though not without a few anomalies, emerged.





(Figure 11)

Zangaki Negative Number Map ©Andrea Hackman

### Following their Photographic Excursions

- I. Lower Nile: Port Said, Cairo and vicinity, negatives 3-458
- II. Middle Nile: Asyut, 603-618
- III. Upper Nile: Edfou, and farther up to Kom Ombo, 619-641
- IV. Down the Nile: Memphis and Saqqara, 643-644
- V. Up Nile again to the ancient cities, 645-817
- VI. Back down the Nile to Cairo and vicinity, 818-855
- VII. Final trip up the Nile returning to the ancient cities, 856-1082
- VIII. Holy Land: Jerusalem, Bethlehem and vicinity, 1083-1373

There are three distinct regions to which the numbers correspond. The Lower Nile comprises numbers 3-644, Upper Nile includes numbers 603-1082 and the Holy Land finishes their series off with numbers 1083-1373. There is some overlap in the Lower and Upper Nile numbers. According to the numbers, the brothers photographed around their base of Port Said and made views of Ismalia, Suez, Alexandria and Cairo up to number 458. They next made three journeys up the Nile. This can be ascertained by noting that they went all the way south to the temples at Edfou and Kom Ombo for negative numbers 603-641, then returned north to Memphis, Saqqara and Cairo shooting to negative number 644. Perhaps this journey back to Cairo was to stock up on photographic supplies. For numbers 652-817 they sailed south again and photograph at Luxor, Thebes, Karnak, Abydos, Denderah and to Philae and Aswan, the furthest point up the Nile they ever went. The brothers next made another journey to Cairo and the pyramids producing numbers from the mid-700s to the mid-800s before returning for their third and final round through the upper Nile monuments: the final negative number I recorded, 1082, was from Philae. The brothers finally journeyed to the Holy Land. Fine views documenting Jerusalem, Bethlehem, Jaffa and their environs make up negative numbers 1083-1373.

Though I cannot draw a definite conclusion from the negatives alone, it is safe to say the brothers first traveled up the Nile and later into the Holy Land to make their photographs. In order to make their photographic excursions up the Nile, I believe they traveled in a Dahabie, or a Nile River cruise boat, which can be observed in several of their views along the Nile. (See a detailed description of these photographs in the *Views*:

*Egypt* section below). I further speculate that they maintained a darkroom on this boat, allowing them to develop negatives as they went along their Nile excursions.

### **Photographic Technique**

The Zangaki brothers created hundreds of aesthetically original and technically sound 8"x10" (21x27cm) glass-plate negatives. In order to produce negatives of this size they employed a large format, 8"x10" view camera. This was a common camera for the period; landscape photographers around the world would have used similar models made available from photography equipment purveyors in industrial cities. This camera requires a sturdy tripod and merely setting up the composition would be a physically arduous task involving the movement and adjustment of cumbersome equipment. The time required to expose a negative would become shorter throughout the Zangaki's career. Chemists and photographers themselves were constantly improving upon the speed of silver's sensitivity to light. I have observed some blurry pedestrians in a few Zangaki views; however, their images overwhelmingly freeze movement, pointing toward their use of fast exposure times of around one second or less. A good example of a bustling scene frozen by the camera is this bazaar view in figure 12.



(Figure 12) Zangaki Brothers, *Grand Bazar au Kasr el Nil Caire* No. 390, n.d., Library of Congress, LOT 13549-15.

It is probable that from 1870-1879 they used the wet-collodion technique, the dominant negative process from 1851-1878.<sup>33</sup> This theory is supported by a 1870s Zangaki photograph in the collection at the Art Gallery of Ontario, of a darkroom wagon with the advertisement, “Adelphoi Zangaki” (Zangaki Brothers) painted on the side. In this image, the wagon is parked in the shadow of the Sphinx. After Nissan Perez first wrote about this mobile darkroom in *Focus East*, most biographies subsequently made an obligatory mention of it. The wagon, however, was employed only as long as the Zangaki brothers needed to make wet-collodion negatives. Invented by Frederick Scott Archer in 1851, the process required the negative to be wet with sensitized collodion upon exposure, and developed immediately thereafter in a darkroom while still wet. This was a difficult challenge, and a testament to the dedication and skill of photographers at the

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33 María Fernanda Valverde, *Photographic Negatives: Nature and Evolution of Process* (Rochester, N Y: George Eastman House, 2005), 9-14.

time who were successful in making a negative. Francis Frith recorded that the collodion actually boiled in his darkroom tent while he was photographing in Egypt.<sup>34</sup>

By 1879 commercially manufactured gelatin dry plate glass negatives were being sold worldwide.<sup>35</sup> These plates of different sizes: 4x5", 5x7" and 8x10", needed no preparation, the photographer needed only to place them in the camera for exposure. He did not require a nearby darkroom stocked with water and chemicals, adjacent to the scene where he was shooting (near the Sphinx, for example) in order to develop the negative. The dry plate, in turn improved the ease of production and the quality of negatives. I examined Zangaki prints at George Eastman House with nineteenth century glass plate negative expert Mark Osterman. By the marked absence of clues to the wet-collodion process such as "comets" of dust streaking throughout the sky or wavy streaks left from pouring wet collodion, Osterman was able to determine with relative certainty that the Zangaki prints were made from the commercially uniform gelatin dry plate negatives. The widespread use of dry plate negatives corresponds to the period in which they were most productive, from the late 1870s through the late 1880s. The Palestinian Exploration Fund in London, which has the only known holding of Zangaki negatives, classifies their 29 negatives as gelatin dry plates. The negatives are of course of Palestine, and consist of the later negative numbers, from 1005-1356.

The last step in preparing the negative would be to varnish it, to protect the image from scratching and peeling and finally applying the signature and title. According to Osterman, the scripted signature and titles would be written backwards in India ink.

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<sup>34</sup> Marie-Cecile Bruwier and Alain D'Hooghe, *The Great Pyramids of Giza* (Paris: Viol, 2000), 22.

<sup>35</sup> María Fernanda Valverde, *Photographic Negatives: Nature and Evolution of Process*, 15.

Whoever the Zangakis employed to execute this challenging task was extremely skilled, since the script on their negatives is elegant and uniform.

Back at the studio in Port Said, the brothers would get to work printing their negatives. They most likely hired assistants to help print the thousands of photographs they made in the darkroom. All of the Zangaki photographs in the collection at George Eastman House are on albumen paper. Albumen paper is a thin, smooth, commercially manufactured paper coated with a solution of salted egg whites.<sup>36</sup> The main European source of albumen, the nineteenth century's most popular photographic print medium, was the huge chicken factories in Dresden that provided the supply of eggs. Just before exposure, the paper would be light-sensitized with a silver solution. While exposing the sensitized albumen paper to light, the paper and negative are placed flush together. This results in an image that is the exact size as the negative, 8"x10" in our case. Albumenized paper proved to be a good match for glass plate negatives (both wet collodion and dry silver gelatin), as opposed to the textured and softer aesthetic of earlier salted paper prints. Albumen paper replicated the sharpness and detail of a glass plate negative on a smooth, glossy surface, a characteristic sought after by most photographers and consumers of this era. Albumen waned in popularity after commercially produced silver gelatin paper came into use in the 1890s. I have observed two silver gelatin prints made by the Zangakis, one at the Harvard Fine Arts Library Special Collections, and one I purchased from EBay. Their signature is on the print and after discussing the physical characteristics with process expert Grant Romer, Director of the Advanced Residency Program in Photograph Conservation at George Eastman House, we concluded these

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<sup>36</sup> Jim Reilly, *Care and Identification of 19th-Century Photographic Prints* (Rochester, NY: Eastman Kodak Co., c1986), 5.

prints were most likely made in their Cairo studio in the early 1900s, before the death of Konstantinos.

The albumen prints are all gold-toned, giving a purple hue to the images. Gold toning is the next step after image-development, when the silver image is “partially converted to gold by treatment in a solution containing gold chloride.”<sup>37</sup> Toning was employed primarily as a stabilizer; gold-toned photographs do not fade or yellow as rapidly as untuned prints do. These albumen prints were then sold unmounted to the traveler, who eventually would bring the photographs home and compile them in an album as a chronological record of their journey. These albums and often the remaining fragments of albums are precisely what comprise the Zangaki photograph holdings at George Eastman House.

## **Zangaki Photographs in the George Eastman House Collection**

### **VIEWS: EGYPT**

The most common method used by art museums to organize their collections is to classify under the creator’s name. George Eastman House uses this method and therefore the photography archive is organized by photographer’s name. There are exceptions to this rule and in studying the Zangaki brothers I became familiar with a few of these exceptions. The first is albums, of which there are hundreds in the collection that are stored by size and the year they were accessioned. Secondly there are sections designated by subject, one of which is called “Views,” into which miscellaneous landscapes are stored and organized geographically. It is in the albums and miscellaneous views that the GEH holdings of Zangaki brothers are stored.

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<sup>37</sup> Jim Reilly, 5.

The first group I examined comprised twenty-six photographs in a box titled *Views: Egypt* in the section of views organized geographically. There are roughly 50 other photographs in *Views: Egypt* by contemporaries of the Zangakis including the Abdullah brothers, Hippolyte Arnoux, G. Légakian, G. Sarolides, Henri Bechard, Alexandre Dumas and the photographers of the American Colony of Jerusalem. The prints are albumen or early gelatin silver from the mid nineteenth to early twentieth centuries. Most of the prints are mounted and protected within polyester sleeves. A few are specially matted as if for an exhibition, and some are unmounted and are in a polyester sleeve supported with a backing board.

The Zangaki brothers photographs in *Views: Egypt* are divided into five groups, or lots.<sup>38</sup> I will describe the lots in chronological order by year of accession. The first of these, lot 1981:2125, came from an unknown donor and a second, lot 1981:2126, is from the collection of Alden Scott Boyer. The Boyer Collection, as it is called, is one of the core collections at GEH. Boyer was an ardent photography collector who donated his entire collection to GEH in 1950.<sup>39</sup> It is likely he acquired the Zangaki photographs in a bound travel album. The prints were crudely cut from their album by him or by their previous owner in order to sell them individually or for framing.

The photographs in both these lots are mounted on the same type of khaki-colored, sturdy board that has aged uniformly. They were cut from an album in the same haphazard manner, are roughly the same size and the prints have also aged uniformly. This leads me to speculate that the unknown donor of lot 2125 was in fact Boyer. Viewed

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<sup>38</sup> The first two lots are 1981:2125:0001-0014 and 1981:2126:0001-0007. The prefix 1981 designates the year the objects were accessioned into the collection. The lot numbers are 2125 and 2126. Lots usually indicate the donor or the provenance of the objects.

<sup>39</sup> *A Collective Endeavor: The First Fifty Years of George Eastman House* (Rochester, NY: George Eastman House, c1999).



together, the two lots appear very similar. It is possible that before being placed into *Views: Egypt*, the prints were stacked in separate piles in physically opposite parts of the archive, causing their original connection to be missed by the catalogers in 1981.

Therefore 2125 was attributed as unknown and 2126 as Boyer. They are all images of the Nile and Cairo and there are no duplicate scenes, a further indication they were previously from one album, telling the story of one traveler's trip to Egypt.

Well over a century old and having traveled across oceans, the twenty-one Zangaki photographs from lots 2125 and 2126 are in remarkably decent condition. They uniformly exhibit the typical yellowing edges found on early albumen prints. Curiously, these prints were all made on paper that was tinted pink. Some of the papers are a deeper pink than others, indicating the Zangakis may have been experimenting with different dye saturations. Regardless, a pink tint is discernable in all the photographs in these two lots. Mark Osterman elaborated on tinting while looking at these prints with me. He said that tinting was common. As silver oxidizes and the highlights fade over time, a paper tinted with pink dye will appear to age more gracefully and not end up such a sickly yellow. This also supports the probability that these lots were printed in the Zangaki studio around the same time. The same batch of pink paper, similarly yellowed edges and uniform tone of the prints indicate a consistent pattern in the photo chemicals and gold toning process of these images.

Many of the prints exhibit a horizontal cracking in the emulsion, suggesting they were purchased and brought home as rolled prints and mounted into an album after the trip. This is precisely what the Baedeker guidebook for travelers to Palestine and Syria suggested to tourists in 1876. "*Shapira*, Christian Street, is the best shop [for]

photographs of every part of Palestine, medium size, 18 fr. Per dozen. They should be bought unmounted, and rolled on a round piece of wood to facilitate transport.”<sup>40</sup>

Osterman explained that a striated, horizontal cracking visible in albumen is evidence of a once tightly rolled print. Another commonality between the two lots is the appearance of brushstrokes in the skies, revealing where glue was applied to mount the print to the board. The appearance of these brushstrokes in all the images with sky indicates that a similar adhesive and application technique was used in both lots.

The content in lots 2125 and 2126 includes panoramas, mosques and street scenes of Cairo as well as different views of the Nile. It suggests the traveler took a boat ride up the Nile and spent time in Cairo, prompting him or her to purchase photographs that exemplified this experience. There are a few images of note in the lots. 1981:2125:0005 *Exportation dans le Nil, No. 618* reveals a technical strategy employed by the brothers. Since the print has faded we can now see a mask they painted on the negative. It was painted to lighten the reflection of the boat pictured in the Nile, possibly to show more detail in the reflection. It also appears that they painted out the sky in this negative as they did to the skies of their other landscapes. According to Osterman, this negative-painting strategy was used by every wet-collodion and by most dry plate photographers. Because of their high sensitivity to UV light, these early negatives did not capture clouds. Blue and white light exposes the silver at the same value in negatives. Skies were basically blank canvases through which every flaw of the negative and processing could be seen. Collodion often dried streaky or dust particles would embed in the sky and print clearly onto the photographic paper. Photographers, therefore, invented a method of

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<sup>40</sup> K. Baedeker, ed., *Palestine and Syria*, 145.

masking their tracks and utilized red oxide paints to block out the entire sky. The final print would produce a uniformly blank, cloudless vista, that we are used to seeing in landscapes of this era.

Certainly there were some fastidious photographers who combined two negatives in order to add clouds to their stark landscapes. The first successful attempts at “combination printing” are usually credited to Gustave Le Gray in the mid-1850s.<sup>41</sup> Combination printing would not be a cost-effective technique for a busy commercial studio like the Zangaki’s. They were occupied with mass-producing images for the bustling tourist trade.



(Figure 13) Zangaki Brothers, *Dahabie montant le Nil*  
No. 639, ca.1880, Albumen print, GEH (1981:2125:0001)

Another photograph of note in lot 2125 is *Dahabie montant le Nil*, (figure 13). As mentioned earlier, a Dahabie, or, more commonly, Dahabieh, is a Nile River cruise boat, built for comfort<sup>42</sup>. This particular one has a cast of characters lounging aboard with the

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<sup>41</sup> Newhall, 74.

<sup>42</sup> Grant Romer, in conversation with the author, April 2009.

Greek flag flying and the name *OLGA* painted along the side. It is possible that this Dahabieh was named after the Queen of Greece. Olga Konstantinovna of Russia married George I (the Danish king of Greece) in 1867. One of their daughters, who died at three months old in 1881, also was named Olga.<sup>43</sup> So it is also possible that the baby Olga may be intended as the boat's name. If this is the case, the photo could be dated to after 1881. The Greek flag leads to my speculation that this is the Zangaki's boat, or at least their rented boat for the journey. A man on the top deck, wearing a flat cap and western clothes, double fists two bottles while a hookah waits in front of him. He is at the head of the boat and is the focal point of the composition, signifying that he is the captain of the outfit. The other man on top deck appears disheveled while he leans back on a rope. He has wild hair, a beard, wears a robe, and looks Western. The third man wears Arab clothing and does not seem to be having a good time as he tries to avoid the sun while sitting on the stairs. Prominently displayed in the foreground on the shore are a pair of boots, suggesting the photographer took them off and carried them as he forded the river with his camera equipment in order to make this shot. It also indicates he was going to need the boots after making this record of *OLGA*, possibly to hike along the riverbank and make more plates. Did the crew join him after this shot? The effort put forth in this staged document reveals the pride the Zangakis must have had in their outfit. They are affirming their claim in the Levant, anchoring on the banks of the Nile, their presence in this historic landscape confirmed.

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<sup>43</sup> Dr. Nikos Kokkinos, e-mail message to author, April 3, 2009.



(Figure 14) Zangaki Brothers, *Inondation au Pyramides* No. 775, ca. 1880 GEH, (1981:2125:0007).

The Zangaki's *Inondation au Pyramides* No. 775 is a striking and beautiful image. In this and other pictures they employ the use of reflections in the Nile as do Maison Bonfils and Légakian. What distinguishes the Zangaki image is its use of figures in the foreground. They create a rhythm as the second person from the left faces toward the pyramids while the other three figures face the camera. The sway in the stance of the female at the far right dreamily beckons the viewer. These two mysterious people in the image transform it from a simple reflection of the pyramids into a quiet, serious and elegant depiction of the native people of the Nile.

At some point during this print's life at GEH it was selected for display. It is one of two Zangaki prints in *Views: Egypt* that are framed with an over-mat and protected with tissue paper. *Inondation au Pyramides* is still mounted on the same irregularly cut board as all the other Zangaki's in lots 2125 and 2126. It was most likely selected to be in an exhibition for the aesthetic qualities I noted above, and was therefore framed.

One irregularity in these lots is *Partie del Caire el Mosquee Hassan No. 153*. This architectural photograph is found in the *Middle East: Types* box. Although this is a view of a Mosque in Cairo and should therefore be in *Views: Egypt*, on the reverse of *Mosquee Hassan* is a mounted photograph of a Turkish woman, a *type*. It is titled *Dame Turque* by L. Fiorillo, an Italian photographer based in Alexandria. According to GEH Curator of Photographs and Director of PPCM, Alison Nordström, it was common practice for travel albums to have a section on *types*, studio portraits of “typical” native people, inserted toward the end of the album after the landscapes and views.<sup>44</sup> The archivist who made the selections for the box titled *Middle East: Types* chose *Dame Turque* to be included as a *type*. *Mosquee Hassan*, mounted on the reverse, inadvertently tagged along. This Zangaki print has been lost in the shuffle, sacrificed for the preference given at one point in time to a *Dame Turque* over a Mosque in Cairo by an archivist.

The next two lots in *Views: Egypt* are 1983:1317 and 1983:1345 and were donated by the noted photojournalist Pirkle Jones. According to the GEH registrar’s records, Jones donated 20 mounted photographs and an album of photographs to the Museum in July of 1960. Four of these 20 mounted photographs are by the Zangakis. The other mounted prints are from the same era, by Giacomo Brogi, L. Fiorillo or unknown makers. In these lots, the four Zangaki prints are presented with much more formality than those in the previous two lots. Mounted singly on high quality, heavy mat board with rounded edges, they appear to be meant as exhibition pieces, not to be hidden away in an album. The images are elegant, balanced compositions of palms along the Nile,

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<sup>44</sup> Alison D. Nordström, in conversation with the author, Fall 2008.

women on donkeys and a panorama of Cairo. In considering aesthetics and content, these images rise to the top.

One of the four mounted Zangaki photographs is mounted on a deep maroon-colored mat while the other three are on tan mats. There is evidence of severe striated cracking in a diagonal direction on three of the four prints, the usual indication they were rolled and mounted once back home. There is no pink tint visible in the paper, though this does not necessarily indicate there was no dye used. According to Osterman, the dyes faded easily when exposed to light for prolonged periods of time. As they are individually mounted on exhibition quality mat board and show fading and yellowing throughout, I believe they were displayed at some point and the dye along with some of the silver, once visible, has now succumbed to light fading. It is possible Jones inherited these prints from relatives who traveled to Egypt, or that he bought them as curiosities. Either way he considered GEH a suitable repository for these four prints.

The final Zangaki photograph stored in *Views: Egypt is Chadoufs de la Haute Egypte No. 630*, part of a gift from Christina Oddleifson. The image depicts men working at a well, drawing water up from the Nile for irrigation. The Library of Congress also has this print and as previously mentioned, the Zangakis reproduced it as a collotype postcard at the turn of the century (see figure 8). There were many photographs of irrigation wells made during this period, suggesting it was a favorite tourist subject. The scientific and industrial mind of the time was no doubt intrigued by this primitive irrigation system used along the Nile. (Curiously, this type of system is now being considered by European nations as a sustainable irrigation method).<sup>45</sup>

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<sup>45</sup> <http://www.shaduf-eu.org/>

This is the second Zangaki photograph in *Views: Egypt* that is housed in a modern, exhibition-quality overmat. It is framed in the French style called *montage évidé*, a technique used by conservationists to display unmounted albumen prints. The print is unobtrusively attached along its edges to rice paper that in turn is adhered to the window opening of the mat. This allows the front and back of the print to be viewed while keeping the print unrolled and presentable. *Chadoufs de la Haute Egypte* exhibits excessive horizontal cracking in the emulsion and is faded and yellow throughout. Perhaps it had been rolled right up to the point it was treated with a *montage évidé*.

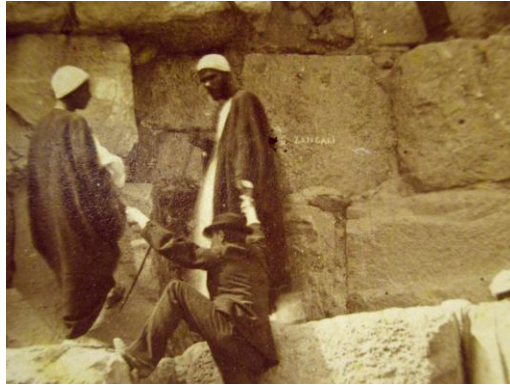
According to the acquisition records for this lot it was a “drop and run” gift from Christina Oddleifson, a resident of Rochester. Seventeen photographs from the two tattered albums with loose prints that comprise this lot were donated to conservation for “educational purposes.”<sup>46</sup> I believe *Chadoufs de la Haute Egypte* was one of them, accounting the use of the *montage évidé* and the fine-quality overmat. There is one other Zangaki photograph in this same Oddleifson gift, though it is not stored in the *Views: Egypt* box. It is in one of the two fragile albums described above in the “drop and run” gift. The album is made of heavy gray construction paper with brittle and yellowed wax-paper interleaving. It appears to be handmade. Included are photographs of Cairo and the Pyramids by Maison Bonfils, Sébah and Légakian. All the photographs are in poor condition, showing signs of fading and yellowing. The Zangaki image, *Laggeh Egyptienne No. 540*, is in the worst condition of all the prints. It is severely yellowed with fading and density loss throughout. This may point to a lack of thorough processing and washing by the brothers. Perhaps Ms. Oddleifson and whoever originally made the album stored it in

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<sup>46</sup> Stacy VanDenburgh, Memorandum from Assistant Registrar to Collection Records, “Bizarre accessioning of Oddleifson gift”, (George Eastman House, April 5, 2001).



a location with high humidity and temperature levels, causing the excessive deterioration. One of the Maison Bonfils photographs in this album, of tourists climbing the Great Pyramid, shows graffiti carved in a rock. It reads, “G Zangaki” (figure 15).



(Figure 15) Maison Bonfils, *Climbing the Pyramids*, ca. 1880  
GEH, (2000:0814).

Joe Struble, photography collection manager at George Eastman House, discussed with me the storage decisions he made roughly fifteen years ago concerning *Views: Egypt*. He began by reviewing the fact that the box comprises travel views made by different photographers. The catalog records for these images have not been “cleaned up” or dealt with. Rather than creating individual photographer boxes, into which the rest of the GEH collection is organized, the collection manager at the time, David Soures-Wooters, and Struble decided to store these views together in one box. This decision was based on their belief that the strength of these photographs lies in the subject matter rather than with the individual photographer. As previously stated, this is a departure from the traditional method of organizing by artist. However, Struble and Soures-Wooters made their decision based on the concept of accessibility from a researcher’s point of view. Researchers, they believed, were more likely to come into the archive and ask to see views of nineteenth century Egypt rather than photographs by the Zangaki brothers. As Struble explained, it was a matter of access.

According to Struble, the researchers most likely to request the *Views: Egypt* box are those with academic interest in the Grand Tour. He was quick to note that many of these researchers are on what he calls the “point the finger bandwagon.” “They are looking for evidence of the Western Gaze confronting exotic cultures. These researchers are curious about how Near East people were portrayed and are often outraged and self-righteous about the photographs before even looking at them,” said Struble<sup>47</sup>. This view, reminiscent of Edward Saïd’s accusatory angle in his critique *Orientalism*, is, one hopes, becoming outdated.<sup>48</sup>

This mixed-box storage decision highlights the Zangaki’s obscurity. But *Why* have they been neglected? The manner in which these photographs are stored is both a reaction to and a perpetuation of the fact that the Zangaki brothers hold no weight in the Near East commercial canon. Had there been a Maison Bonfils photograph of the same quality and subject in *Views: Egypt*, it would surely have been cherry-picked out and placed within a “Bonfils” box. There are certainly enough Zangaki photographs in the mix to warrant their own box. Yet they are shuffled into this grab-all box because of their third-tier status, and it is here they remain, their place in the miscellaneous box continuing their legacy as yet another secondary tourist outfitter from Egypt. This is analogous to the storage decision Struble mentioned that he and Soures-Wooters made for “Native American portraits”. The Edward Curtis portraits had been separated out and placed in their own box, while every other studio or individual photographer is grouped into a *Portraits* variety box. Of course there is not enough time, space or money at GEH to have an individual box for each photographer. But why do Maison Bonfils and

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<sup>47</sup> Joe Struble, in conversation with the author, January 2009.

<sup>48</sup> Edward W. Saïd, *Orientalism* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1978).

Arnoux, for example, have their own box, and not the Zangakis, is ultimately the question. The same situation exists in other collections around the world, as the Maison Bonfils and Arnoux studios are decidedly the historically recognized ones from the era. In his book *Masterpieces of Photography: From the George Eastman House Collections*, the only Near East photograph Robert A. Sobieszek includes is one by Maison Bonfils of a young boy resting on a broken column.<sup>49</sup> We therefore understand the Maison Bonfils picture to be the sole masterpiece of Near East photography.

### **Charles Wilder Gorton Album**

Besides the *Views: Egypt* box, GEH has Zangaki photographs in souvenir albums and portfolios. The photographs are bound or arranged in their original context, parts of a larger group of photographs that document the different places the traveler visited.

The earliest accessioned album at George Eastman House that contains Zangaki photographs is an elegant but worn, heavy red-leather album with a patterned gold-leaf embossed border that belonged to Charles W. Gorton (1855-1930) of Rochester, N.Y. Gorton was born into wealth as a son to the president of Flour City Bank (later National Bank of Rochester).<sup>50</sup> The cover bears a title stamped in gold leaf: THE MEDITERRANEAN JAFFA – ALGIERS 1895.

Charles Gorton would have made his *voyage en Orient* at age 40, when he traveled in the Holy Land up to Constantinople, ending his journey in Tunis and Algiers. The pastedown and end-papers of this album are beautifully marbled and multi-colored, a popular trend for photographic albums in the 1890s. There are roughly 120

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<sup>49</sup> Robert A. Sobieszek, *Masterpieces of Photography: From the George Eastman House Collections* (New York: Abbeville Press, 1985).

<sup>50</sup> William Farley Peck, *History of Rochester and Monroe County* (New York: The Pioneer publishing company, 1908), 928.

brittle, warped, originally cream-colored but now yellowed, two-ply pages in this album, each with a photograph mounted on the right-hand page. The first seven pages of the album are still bound, the next 80 or so have been carefully sliced out by a conservator and the remaining ten pages are still attached to the binding material.

Twenty-eight of the Gorton album photographs are by Zangaki and they comprise the first section: Views of Jaffa, Jerusalem and Bethlehem; (there are twelve photographs interspersed with the Zangaki's that are unidentified). Immediately following this group is a Maison Bonfils view of Smyrna, a Sébah of Smyrna, a dozen or so views of Constantinople by Gulmez and Abdullah Frères and many of Tunis and Algeria marked as unidentified. The album is completed with portraits of "types" from the regions Gorton visited.

This album was originally cataloged by 2007 PPCM graduate Maryam Ghorbankarimi. The catalog records in TMS listed seven prints with the Zangaki signature as unidentified. With permission from GEH registrar Wataru Okada, I changed the photographer "unidentified" to Zangaki and added the dimensions for all the Zangaki images in this lot.

Gorton arranged his album to illustrate his journey and he wrote the dates of his visit to each location pictured. All of the Zangaki prints have a BFK Rives N° 74 blind stamp, identifying it as the popular French paper used for albumen. I don't believe these prints were tinted with pink dye; nor were they gold-toned especially well since they exhibit severe yellowing.

Notably, there are several interior shots of churches that required the use of flash. At this time, the brothers would have employed the blinding magnesium flashlight

powder<sup>51</sup> that created the strong shadows and contrast in these images (figures 16 and 17).



(Figure 16) Zangaki Brothers, (Jerusalem) *Interieur de la de la Sainte-Croix* No. 1095, c. 1895, albumen print, GEH (1973:0230:0009).



(Figure 17) Zangaki Brothers, (Bethleem) *Interieur Grotte de la Nativite* No. 1117, c. 1895, albumen print, GEH (1973:0230:0033).

Compared with the other photographs in this album, the Zangaki brothers' photographs function as landscapes of the Holy Land and less as architectural views or portraits. Landscape work is their aesthetic strongpoint, and this album highlights this well with images like that in figure 18.



(Figure 18) Zangaki Brothers, *Panorama de Jerusalem*, c. 1895, albumen print, GEH (1973:0230:0015).

The composition features a strong diagonal that leads the eye from the cypress and olive trees in the foreground, through a barren field of the mid ground, across to the walled city of Jerusalem in the background. It is a sophisticated and pleasing way to

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51 Newhall, *The History of Photography*, 133.

organize this landscape, in which the earth takes up seven eighths of the composition, the sky an even swath across the top.

### **James Sibley Watson, Sr. and Edmund Lyons Portfolios**

Two portfolios originally belonging to James Sibley Watson, Sr. and Edmund Lyons are souvenirs from a journey made by two friends. A portfolio is distinct from a traditional album in that the group of mounted prints is not bound. Portfolios are a later style of presentation than the heavy leather bound albums<sup>52</sup> and make it possible to easily frame and display individual photographs.

The Watson portfolio has a front and back cover made of brown woven fabric with gold-trimmed, red-leather corners and marbled pastedown and end papers. It is stored with other albums of the same size in the photography vault at GEH. The portfolio was a gift made in 1978 by Dr. James Sibley Watson, Jr. (1894-1982), a doctor from Rochester who experimented with early motion pictures.<sup>53</sup> Beginning in 1949 he made many gifts to the Museum over the years, mostly motion picture related. The photography gifts Watson made include seventeen Zangaki photographs that are in the portfolio and eighteen other travel and early snapshot albums from the late nineteenth century.<sup>54</sup> As these albums and the portfolio date from an earlier generation, I surmised that Watson was handing over his parents' photographic albums for posterity to George Eastman House.

The second portfolio of prints that includes sixteen Zangaki photographs is part of a gift to the museum from Eugene Van Voorhis that contained more than 500 nineteenth

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<sup>52</sup> Joe Struble, in conversation with the author, January, 2009.

<sup>53</sup> Bonnie Costello, ed., *The selected letters of Marianne Moore* (New York: Knopf, 1997), 570.

<sup>54</sup> Registrar records, 1978:1297-1315, November 7, 1978, George Eastman House.

century travel views. According to a brief description of the gift written by GEH intern Elizabeth M. Stauffer, Van Voorhis donated his grandparents' (Edmund and Carol Lyons) collection of travel albums, and is therefore aptly titled the "Edmund and Carol Lyons Collection." The Lyons' were a prominent Rochester family whose personal papers are held at the University of Rochester Manuscript and Special Collections archive. In box XVI of the Lyons Collection, marked "Misc. notebooks and papers", I found a "List of Passengers" for the R.M.S. UMBRIA, from Liverpool to New York, June 22, 1889. Among the passengers listed are 'Mr. E. Lyon' and 'Mr. George Watson, Jun.'

I have been unsuccessful in determining who exactly George Watson, Jr. was, though he most likely is related to the donor James Sibley Watson, Jr. That is how the portfolio from his *voyage en Orient* ended up at George Eastman House. It seems clear that Edmund Lyon and George Watson were friends from Rochester, traveled abroad together, and while in Egypt, selected 33 Zangaki prints (as well as ones by other photographers) as souvenirs. Edmund would have been 34 on this trip, and according to the write-up by Stauffer, "Before his marriage...he visited the Holy Land with friends, traveling to places mentioned in the Old and New Testaments..."<sup>55</sup> I imagine Stauffer interviewed Eugene Van Voorhis to obtain this illuminating biographical information about his grandfather.

The Watson portfolio was uncataloged, so with registrar Wataru Okada's help, each page in the album was given an individual record in TMS. I next added the constituent, date, medium, dimension and title for each Zangaki photograph. I also

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<sup>55</sup> Elizabeth M. Stauffer, *Edmund and Carolyn Lyons*, George Eastman House collection records, 2003.

arranged for GEH collections photographer Barbara Galasso to digitally photograph the Zangakis (1978:1297:0015-31), as well as the rest of the photographs in the portfolio.

The Lyons portfolio was partially cataloged, seven of the 16 photographs had a record in TMS. Okada added the records and I again cataloged the pertinent information for each print into TMS. Galasso also digitally photographed all 16 photographs.



(Figure 19)<sup>56</sup>

Viewed together, the Watson and Lyons portfolios are remarkably similar. Figure 19 above shows a selection of photographs from both portfolios. No two prints are the same even though Lyons and Watson each chose architectural views of the ancient temples along the Nile, pastoral Egyptian scenes and one view of Port Said. They must have taken a Nile cruise themselves, and stocked up on souvenirs in Port Said before returning to their Mediterranean steamer. The uniform size, shape and gray color of the boards on which the photographs are mounted suggest the men had them mounted at the same shop.

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<sup>56</sup> A selection of Zangaki photographs from two different portfolios at George Eastman House (1978:1297 and 2001:1522).



The prints are tinted pink and a careful study of them highlights the commercial nature of the Zangaki brothers' enterprise. There is evidence that these are mass produced, with some negatives printed slightly at an angle on the paper, exposing a black corner. A few prints reveal areas where chemicals pooled on the paper edge, leaving stains. Some prints were not toned in gold well enough and have yellowed more than usual. White circles in several prints show where silver never took to the paper. All of these little markings describe a busy studio that had hundreds of prints exposing in the sun, coated with chemicals and hanging to dry all at once, leaving room for error. These technical imperfections are not unique to the brothers, but the selection made by Watson and Lyons in 1889 has a large number that reveals the mass-produced origin of these prints. The year 1889, when Lyons and Watson took their tour, may well have been the apex of the Zangaki studio success.



(Figure 20) Zangaki brothers, *Ile. de rocher Konosso* No. 753, ca. 1880, albumen print, George Eastman House (2001:1522:0003).



(Detail of fig. 20)

Above is the most intriguing image from the two portfolios. Seated just below huge boulders with ancient Egyptian inscriptions, one of the Zangaki brothers, the same

one with the jaunty stance in the Port Said street scenes, poses with a dog. The usual explanation for including figures is to provide a sense of scale to the architecture or elements in the scene. This cross-legged figure seated front-and-center, with his right hand on a dog and left palm-up and holding something, reads like a pitcher/catcher signal in baseball. Something is being communicated between the brothers, or perhaps the upward palm signifies something just to the brother posing. He may also be holding a clock marking the exposure time. Regardless, it creates an interesting composition in which the figure becomes part of the rock formation, his presence likely overlooked upon first glance. A more careful study reveals the posed man-and-dog, among the strong shadows and highlights that construct this scene. Also of note in the top left corner is an example of the misaligned negative and paper, exposing a black angle where the negative did not perfectly match up with the paper. Together, these portfolios highlight the commercial nature of the business in which the brothers were engaged.

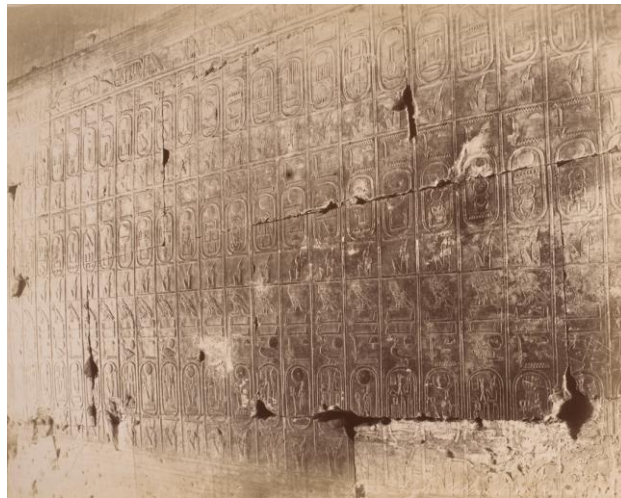
### **Mrs. Phil Porter Albums**

In 1986 the family of Mrs. Phil Porter, for whom there is as yet no biographical information, donated four albums from her travels to Europe and the Levant. PPCM graduate (2008) Nadia Kousari wrote her thesis on one of these four albums.<sup>57</sup> Kousari's emphasis was on Porter's embellishment of her album with captions and descriptions taken directly from *Baedeker's Guidebook* of the place pictured. Two of the albums contain Zangaki photographs: *Berlin to Cairo* (1986:0309) and *Palestine* (1986:0310).

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<sup>57</sup> Nadia Louise Kousari, *Constant Companion: An Analysis of the Use of Baedeker's Guidebooks in Creating a Victorian Photograph Album* (Toronto: Ryerson University, 2008).

Both maroon-colored leather albums exhibit severe red rot. The titles are embossed in gold on a simple cover. *Berlin to Cairo* and *Palestine* each have four Zangaki photographs of Cairo and the Nile. There are a few images of Cairo by P. Sébah that appear before the Zangaki's, and are equally non-descript. Porter's selections couldn't be more, "by the book". She has two selections of hieroglyphs, two of palms along the Nile, one fallen statue of Ramses, two unremarkable views of the Suez Canal and finally, the interesting street scene *Rue du Commerce a [sic] Port Said* described above.



(Figure 21) Zangaki brothers, *Abydos Tableau des 76 Rois d' Egypte*, ca. 1880, albumen print, GEH (1986:0309:0084).

Particularly well done is the hieroglyph image in figure 21, which is typical of their best work. Shot at an angle, the image would not be especially useful to an Egyptologist attempting to discern the marks. Instead, this view offers a strong design-focused approach, emphasizing the repetition and seemingly infinite pattern that recedes in space. Shooting from an angle instead of straight on is also an intelligent way to use light. The light hitting the inscriptions from an angle emphasizes contrast in shadow and highlight, the most effective way to see the topographic of the wall.

## **Edward Lennert Lantern Slides**

The final group of Zangaki images to be found at George Eastman House is in a group of lantern slides donated by Edward Lennert of Rochester. I was unable to find any biographical information on Lennert other than his Rochester address.

In 1987 Lennert donated 5,095 lantern slides to the Museum. Seven of the 5,095 lantern slides are ones by the Zangaki brothers. Lantern slides are positive images on 3.25" x 4" glass plates. They are intended to be projected onto a screen, lit from behind by a light source and were the precursor to the modern 35mm slide and today's PowerPoint images: used for entertaining, educating or lecturing groups of people.

These slides may have been made from a University's collection of Near East photographs to be used in lectures. I do not know enough about the provenance to speculate further on their original use. They are of Zangaki views that I have seen in other collections and a few represented in the GEH collection. Overall they are fine representations of three different ancient monuments, three scenes *dal vero* and one elegant portrait of a Turkish woman.

## **Conclusion**

The Zangaki brothers were photographers very much rooted in the commercial tradition. They also, however, demonstrate sensitivity to the medium and a more sophisticated approach to the trade than has generally been credited to them. A strong artistic sentiment and dedication to photography is required to consistently create the aesthetically successful compositions they have made.

The answer to why Maison Bonfils is the decided "Master" of Near East photography may be because of their French heritage, the sheer quantity of their work

and their earlier arrival time on the scene. The current third-tier status of the Zangakis is also partly explained by the pernicious effect Nissan Perez had after his dismissal of them in *Focus East*, repeated in subsequent publications on the brothers. These factors combined with scant records left of their business, offer little for researchers to discuss and publish regarding the brothers. The end results are collections management decisions like those made plain at George Eastman House: placement in miscellany *Views: Egypt* box surrounded by an archive of Masters.

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## APPENDIX A

Negative Number	Object Number	Title on Print or Descriptive Title	Location	Provenance
1161	1973:0230:0001	Jaffa, Vue d'Ensemble	Album: The Mediterranean-Jaffa-Algiers 1895	Charles Wilder Gorton
1157	1973:0230:0002	Bazar de Jaffa	" "	" "
1032	1973:0230:0003	Panorama de Jerusalem	" "	" "
illeg.	1973:0230:0004	Jerusalem, prix de l'Hotel Hovarts	" "	" "
1093	1973:0230:0008	(Jerusalem) Prison de Jesus Christ	" "	" "
1095	1973:0230:0009	(Jerusalem) Interieur de la Sainte-Croix	" "	" "
1040	1973:0230:0012	(Jerusalem) Porte de Saint-Etienne	" "	" "
illeg.	1973:0230:0013	Jerusalem, Via Dolorosa and House of Divas	" "	" "
illeg.	1973:0230:0014	Jerusalem, The tomb of the Virgin	" "	" "
illeg.	1973:0230:0015	Jerusalem, From the Mount of Olives (Panorama de Jerusalem No. 3)	" "	" "
1215	1973:0230:0016	(Mosquee d'Omar interieur (le rocher) Jerusalem, Interior of mosque of Omar, "The Rock of Abraham."	" "	" "
1058	1973:0230:0017	Jerusalem, The Mosque of Omar (Mosquee d'Omar et Tribunal de [illeg.])	" "	" "
illeg.	1973:0230:0019	Jerusalem-Mosque of Omar - "The Stables of Soloman."	" "	" "
1069	1973:0230:0021	(Jerusalem) Mosquee El-Aksa vue generale	" "	" "
1066	1973:0230:0023	(Jerusalem) Maison de Pilate Temple enclosure, The House of Pilate	" "	" "
1038	1973:0230:0024	(Jerusalem) Porte de Damas The Damascus State	" "	" "
1022	1973:0230:0025	Jerusalem, "The Grotto of Jeremiah"	" "	" "
1011	1973:0230:0026	Jerusalem, Valley of Jehoshaphat, Tombs of St. James and Prophet Zacharias	" "	" "
1146	1973:0230:0027	(Jerusalem) - "The Tombs of the Kings." Tombeau des Rois	" "	" "
1132	1973:0230:0029	Road to Bethlehem from Jerusalem	" "	" "
1117	1973:0230:0033	(Bethleem) Interieur de la Grotte de la Nativitie	" "	" "
1121	1973:0230:0034	Environs of Bethlehem, "The Pool of Soloman"	" "	" "
1101	1973:0230:0035	Tombeaux de Rachel pris Bethlehem	" "	" "
1012	1973:0230:0036	(Jerusalem) Village de Siloam	" "	" "
1149	1973:0230:0037	On the road to Jaffa, the Village of Emmans	" "	" "
1153	1973:0230:0038	On the Road to Jaffa, The town of Ramleh	" "	" "
1130	1973:0230:0039	On the Edge of the Jordan	" "	" "
1128	1973:0230:0040	Le bain a la Mer Morte: The Shore of the Dead Sea	" "	" "
no number	1978:1297:0015	Philae Vue prise de l'ile Bique	unbound portfolio of prints	James Sibley Watson, Jr.
688	1978:1297:0016	Karnak Interieur du temple de K	" "	" "

740	1978:1297:0017	Phylae Temple d'Isis Interieur du premier pylons	"	"	"	"
671	1978:1297:0018	Louqsor Le pylone les statues de Ramses	"	"	"	"
661	1978:1297:0019	Thebes Ramsseon Vue panoramique avec tombeaux des Rois	"	"	"	"
646	1978:1297:0020	Statue de Ramses a Louqsor	"	"	"	"
660	1978:1297:0021	Thebes colosses de Memnon	"	"	"	"
385	1978:1297:0022	Palmieres sur les bords du Nil	"	"	"	"
252	1978:1297:0023	Marchand des tapis	"	"	"	"
637	1978:1297:0024	Edfou Pylone du temple de Horus	"	"	"	"
628	1978:1297:0025	Edfu Le [illegible]	"	"	"	"
766	1978:1297:0026	Assouan Cataracte seconde porte	"	"	"	"
illeg.	1978:1297:0027	[illegible] Egyptian columns	"	"	"	"
608	1978:1297:0028	Nubee Bicharins	"	"	"	"
581	1978:1297:0029	Epicurie Arab	"	"	"	"
695	1978:1297:0030	Karnak Salle hypostyle interieur	"	"	"	"
262	1978:1297:0031	Jardin de l'Egypte	"	"	"	"
639	1981:2125:0001	Dahabie montant le Nil	Views: Egypt		Unknown	
638	1981:2125:0002	Les boeufs dans le Nil	"	"	"	"
825	1981:2125:0003	Mosquee Saida - Zeynab Caire	"	"	"	"
180	1981:2125:0004	Mosquee de Mohamet Ali Caire	"	"	"	"
618	1981:2125:0005	Exportation dans le Nil	"	"	"	"
772	1981:2125:0006	Passage au Pont de Kasr el Nil	"	"	"	"
775	1981:2125:0007	Inondation au Pyramides	"	"	"	"
787	1981:2125:0008	Bord du Nil a Boulaq	"	"	"	"
396	1981:2125:0009	(Caire) Interieur de la Mosquee Hambro	"	"	"	"
illeg.	1981:2125:0010	Workers drawing water from the Nile: Not sure if Zangaki	"	"	"	"
illeg.	1981:2125:0011	Boat on the Nile: Not sure if Zangaki	"	"	"	"
855	1981:2125:0012	Panorama du Vieux Caire et Pyramides	"	"	"	"
192	1981:2125:0013	Panorama du Caire pris de la citadelle	"	"	"	"
153	1981:2125:0014	Partie del Caire el Mosquee Hassan	Middle East "Types"		"	"
852	1981:2126:0001	La Mosquee Sultan Bebars Caire	Views: Egypt		Alden Scott Boyer	
849	1981:2126:0002	Arivee du M[illeg.ible]el Caire	"	"	"	"
829	1981:2126:0003	Mosquee El- Husseni Caire	"	"	"	"
371	1981:2126:0004	(Caire) Ville Arab	"	"	"	"
770	1981:2126:0005	Tombeaux des Mamelouks Caire	"	"	"	"
illeg.	1981:2126:0006	men smoking hookah at a café: no title, not sure if Zangaki	"	"	"	"
201	1981:2126:0007	Mosquee de Mohamet Ali	"	"	"	"
239	1983:1317:0001	Caire Vue Panoramique	"	"	Pirkle Jones	
233	1983:1317:0002	Palmiers [illegible]	"	"	"	"
576	1983:1317:0003	Femmes arabes sur Baudets	"	"	"	"
373	1983:1345:0001	Bord du Nil et Palmiers	"	"	"	"

630	2000:0817:0002	Chadoufs de la Haute Egypte	“	”	Christina Oddleifson
540	2000:0814:0015	Laggeh Egyptiene	Handmade Album	“	”
725	1986:0309:0084	Abydos Tableau des 76 Rois d' Egypte	BERLIN to CAIRO.		Mrs. Phil Porter
360	1986:0309:0086	Palmiers sur les bords du Nil	“	”	“
no number	1986:0309:0089	Pont du Kasr-el-nil-caire	“	”	“
643	1986:0309:0102	Statue de Memphis a Sakkara	“	”	“
702	1986:0310:0001	Karnak Temple le Khons Interieur	PALESTINE.	“	”
30	1986:0310:0002	Print is light and faded too much at bottom to read title	“	”	“
461	1986:0310:0003	Drague a longue couloire	“	”	“
456	1986:0310:0005	Rue du comerce a Port-Said	“	”	“
662	1988:0355:0001	Dinar arabe	Lantern Slides		Edward Lennert
673	1988:0355:0002	Marchand d'eau	“	”	“
919	1988:0355:0003	Ensemble du Ramseum Thebes	“	”	“
969	1988:0355:0004	Statue de Ramses a Louqsor	“	”	“
1015	1988:0355:0005	Karnak Grande porte de [illeg..]olomee	“	”	“
578	1988:0355:0006	[illeg..] de mariage arabe	“	”	“
no number	1988:0355:0007	Femme Turque Voilee	“	”	“
no number	2001:1522:0001	Quai du Port-Said	Carolyn and Edmund Lyons Collection		Eugene Van Voorhis
669	2001:1522:0002	Loucsor Jardin de Loucsor Hotel	“	”	“
753	2001:1522:0003	Ile. de rocher Konosso	“	”	“
674	2001:1522:0004	Louqsor propylone du temple de...et les statues de...[ellipses in negative]	“	”	“
152	2001:1522:0005	Bain des...[illegible text]	“	”	“
711	2001:1522:0006	Colonade a Louqsar	“	”	“
458	2001:1522:0007	Rue du comerce a Port-Said	“	”	“
646	2001:1522:0008	Assiout	“	”	“
763	2001:1522:0009	Assouan Tombeau d' Amenhotep 1466 a. J.C.	“	”	“
765	2001:1522:0010	Assouan vue panoramique	“	”	“
642	2001:1522:0011	Haute Egypte Bateau postale	“	”	“
196	2001:1522:0012	Promenade de [illegible] Caire	“	”	“
767	2001:1522:0013	Assouan Bains de Cleopatra et ile Elephantine	“	”	“
647	2001:1522:0014	Panoram [edge of print trimmed here]	“	”	“
206	2001:1522:0015	Le Sphynx Caire	“	”	“
376	2001:1522:0016	Vue des trois Pyramides	“	”	“

## APPENDIX B

Negative Number	Title on Print or Descriptive Title	Institution
3	Courbe d'El guirs	New York Public Library (NYPL)
4	Seuil d' El guirs	NYPL
10	Kantara	NYPL
14	Drague 'Derocheuse'	Harvard Fine Arts Library (FAL)
14	Chalet de Vice Roi	NYPL
18	Port-Said rue de la Poste	Harvard FAL
22	Rue du Commerce [sic] a Port-Said (same as porter album, different number; print is blurry!? Did they wash off the # and re-paint it?)	Harvard FAL
26	Place de Lesseps a Port-Said	Harvard FAL
29	Port-Said Village arabe	Harvard FAL
29	Pont des caravannes de la Syrie Kantara	Harvard FAL
30	Print is light and faded too much at bottom to read title	George Eastman House (GEH)
32	Gare de Deversour	NYPL
37	Eclouse aval a Ismailia	Harvard FAL
48	Croisement de l'Orient Toussoum	NYPL
54	Une rue de Suez	Harvard FAL
85	Groupe des datties a Fontane de Moise	NYPL
117	General view of the pyramids	An den süßen Ufern Asiens: ( <i>On the Sweet Banks of Asia: Egypt, Palestine, the Ottoman Empire: Travel destinations of the 19th century in early photographs.</i> )
118	Hunters and their bounty after a crocodile hunt on the Nile	An den süßen Ufern Asiens.
118	Embouchure du Canal a lac Timsah	Harvard FAL
125	Suez Maree basse	Harvard FAL
146	Port Tewfik a Suez	Harvard FAL
152	Bain des...(illegible text)	GEH
153	Partie del Caire el Mosquee Hassan	GEH
154	Suez Maree basse	Harvard FAL
159	Dahabieh et pont de Kasr-el-Nil	NYPL
161	Sphinx	Jacobson, Ken. <i>Odaliques &amp; arabesques: Orientalist photography 1839- 1925</i> . London: Quaritch, 2007.
161	Le Sphinx (with darkroom wagon on left)	Simoën, Jean-Claude. <i>L'Egypte éternelle: les voyageurs photographes au siècle dernier</i> . Paris: J.-C. Lattès, c1993.
161	Pont des caravannes de la meque	NYPL
166	Sphynx et le Grande Pyramide Cheops	NYPL
166	Sphynx et le Grande Pyramide Cheops	NYPL
170	Bord du Nil	Miclewright, Nancy. <i>A Victorian traveler in the Middle East: the photography and travel writing of Annie Lady Brassey</i> . Aldershot, England; Burlington, VT: Ashgate, c2003.
170	Bord du Nile (Scenes de la vie quotidienne)	Simoën, Jean-Claude. <i>L'Egypte éternelle</i> .
176	Palais de Gezirah	Harvard FAL
180	Mosquee de Mohamet Ali Caire	GEH
180	Mosquee de Mohamet Ali Caire	Harvard FAL
181	Vue generale d' Alexandrie prise du Phare	NYPL
182	Port d'Alexandria	NYPL
192	Panorama du Caire pris de la citadelle	GEH
196	Promenade de [Illegible] Caire	GEH
199	Le Muezz[...] Caire	Harvard FAL
201	Mosquee de Mohamet Ali	GEH

206	Le Sphinx Caire	GEH
210	Alexandrie Colone de Pompee	NYPL
218	Les catacombes d'Alexandria	NYPL
227	Untitled (Alexandria, Midan Tahrir [originally Place des Consuls; at that time Place Muhammad Ali], general view looking NW from on top of the rubble down its length after the infamous British Naval bombardment of July 11, 1882.	Harvard FAL
233	Palmiers [Illegible]	GEH
235	Vue generale de la citadelle	NYPL
237	Vue de Caire et mosque Sultan Hassan	NYPL
239	Caire Vue Panoramique	GEH
240	Caire vue d'ensemble	Harvard FAL
252	Marchand des tapis	GEH
253	Changeur egyptien	Harvard FAL
262	Jardin de l'Egypte	GEH
263	Chech Arab (Sheik)	Simoën, Jean-Claude. <i>L'Egypte éternelle</i> .
263	Chech Arab	NYPL
295	Caire, Panorama de la Citadelle [Cairo, view of the eastern side of the Citadel taken from the Maqattam Hills]	Chevedden, Paul. "The Photographic Heritage of the Middle East: an exhibition of early photographs of Egypt, Palestine, Syria, Turkey, Greece & Iran, 1849-1893". Malibu, Calif.: Undena Publications, c1981.
296	Panorama de vieux Caire et Pyramides [Panorama of Cairo and the Pyramids taken from the Citadel]	Chevedden, Paul. "The Photographic Heritage of the Middle East"
302	Interieur de l'eglise Cophte Caire	Harvard FAL
319	Porte de la Mosquee Hasan	Harvard FAL
321	Grand bazar au Kasr-el-Nil Caire	NYPL
342	Mosquee Saida Zeynab Caire	Harvard FAL
357	Vue generale de Pyramides	Simoën, Jean-Claude. <i>L'Egypte éternelle</i> .
360	Palmiers sur les bords du Nil	GEH
371	(Caire) Ville Arab	GEH
373	Bord du Nil et Palmiers	GEH
375	Avenur des Pyramides	Harvard FAL
376	Vue des trois Pyramides	GEH
381	Vue generale des pyramides	NYPL
385	Palmieres sur les bords du Nil	GEH
390	Grand Bazar au Kasr el Nile Caire	LoC
392	Pyramide de Cheops le sphinx et le temple de Chefren	NYPL
394	Caire New Hotel	NYPL
394	Caire New Hotel	NYPL
396	(Caire) Interieur de la Mosquee Hambro	GEH
396	(Caire) Interieur de la Mosquee Ha[...]	Harvard FAL
409	Statue de Memphis a [illeg]	NYPL
410	Caire Obelisque d' Heliopolis	Harvard FAL
410	Obelisque d'Heliopolis	NYPL
411	L'Arabe de la vierge	NYPL
417	passage au pont de kasr el nil	NYPL
435	Ascending pyramid	D'Hooghe, Alain and Marie-Cecile Bruwier. <i>The Great Pyramids of Giza</i> . Paris, ViloPublilshers, 2000.
438	Inondation du Nil [cut off]	NYPL
452	Sphinx decouvert	D'Hooghe, Alain <i>The Great Pyramids of Giza</i> .
453	Abyssinian Soldier at Dogal	Vaczek, Louis Charles. <i>Travelers in Ancient Lands: A Portrait of the Middle East, 1839-1919</i> . Boston: New York Graphic Society, 1981.
453	Sphinx arruaches	D'Hooghe, Alain <i>The Great Pyramids of Giza</i> .

456	Rue du commerce a Port-Said	GEH
457	Pyramide de S(P)akkara	AGO
457	(Man in studio posing with huge calf-skin water bottle; studio head-stand visible in background)	Harvard FAL
458	Rue du commerce a Port-Said	GEH
461	Drague a longue couloire	GEH
472	Chamaux de mariage arabe	Harvard FAL
472	[illeg] de mariage arabe	NYPL
480	Palais de Ras el tin a Alexandria	Harvard FAL
486	Sakkieh dans la Haute Egypte	NYPL
493	Palmieres vis a vis du Kasr -el-Nil	AGO
521	Soldat Alyssin a Degate	AGO
540	Laggeh Egyptiene (Guy at well with cow turning weheel)	GEH
545	Ecole arabe	NYPL
548	Almee arabe [cut off]	NYPL
555	Le someille profond	NYPL
559	Visit [illeg] (man next to donkey pulling cart with 5 women)	NYPL
562	Invitation d'un mariage arab	NYPL
564	Porteurs d'eau sur les bords du Nil	Simoën, Jean-Claude. <i>L'Egypte éternelle</i> .
565	Voiture arab	Simoën, Jean-Claude. <i>L'Egypte éternelle</i> .
576	Femmes arabes sur Baudets	GEH
578	(illeg.) de mariage arabe.	GEH
578	Charmeur des [cut off]	NYPL
581	Epicurie Arab	GEH
582	Charmeur des Serpen[cut off]	NYPL
585	Repos d'un chameau	Aubenas, Sylvie and Jacques Lacarrière. <i>Voyage en Orient</i> . Paris: Hazan: Bibliothèque Nationale de France, 1999.
598	Diner arab	Harvard FAL
602	Group of Bedouins	Jacobson, Ken. <i>Odaliques &amp; Arabesques: Orientalist Photography 1839- 1925</i> . London: Quaritch, 2007.
603	Panorama d'Assiout	NYPL
607	Sakkieh Haute Egypte (Beliane)	Harvard FAL
608	Nubee Bicharins	GEH
608	Epicure Arabe	Aubenas, <i>Voyage en Orient</i> .
608	Epicerie arabe	AGO
609	Habitation des fellahs Haute Egypte	Harvard FAL
614	The Flea Hunt	Perez
618	Exportation dans le Nil	GEH
628	Edfu Le (Illegible)	GEH
630	Chadoufs de la Haute Egypte	GEH
630	Chadoufs de la Haute Egypte	LoC

637	Edfou Pylone du temple de Horus	GEH
638	Les boeufs dans le Nil	GEH
638	Le Boeufs d [cut off]	NYPL
639	Dahabie montant le Nil	GEH
641	Kom Ombo temple de Sebek et Horus [illeg]	NYPL
642	Haute Egypte Bateau postale	GEH
643	Statue de Memphis a Sakkara	GEH
643	Arabe prenant son caffe	AGO
644	Sakkara Tombeau Titi	NYPL
644	Sakkara Tombeau Titi	NYPL
646	Statue de Ramses a Louqsor (NOT in TMS as Z)	GEH
646	Assiout	GEH
646	Station Hotel at Assiut	Bull, Deborah. <i>Up the Nile: A photographic excursion, egypt 1839-1898</i> . New York: C. N. Potter, 1979.
647	Panoram [edge of print trimmed here]	GEH
652	Thibes Tombeau de Roi Entrée du Caveau	NYPL
655	Thebes Medinet Habou Memnonium de Ramses III	Harvard FAL
655	Thebes Gorge du montagne dans vallee des tombeaux des Rois	Harvard FAL
660	Thebes colosses de Memnon	GEH
661	Thebes Ramsseon Vue panoramique avec tombeaux des Rois	GEH
662	Dinar arabe.	GEH
664	Epicure Arabe	LoC
669	Louqsor Jardin de Louqsor Hotel	GEH
671	Louqsor Le pylone les statues de Ramses	GEH
673	Marchand d'eau.	GEH
674	Louqsor propylone du temple de...et les statues de...[both times the ellipses are in the negative].	GEH
678	Temple de Louqsor	NYPL
682	Karnak Grand Temple	NYPL
685	Karnak Ruines obelisque de Thothmes 1 et de sa fille Hatasou	NYPL
686	Karnak - Tableau de Victoire sur [...]	Harvard FAL
688	Karnak Interieur du temple de K	GEH
689	Karnak Ruinee	NYPL
695	Karnak Salle hypostyle interieur	GEH
698	View of temple with obelisks of Thothmes + his daughter Hatasu (sic)	Harvard FAL
702	Karnak Temple le Khons Interieur	GEH
708	Karnak...Thothmes...	Harvard FAL
709	Karnak porte du grand temple de Khons avec l'avenue de B[illeg]	NYPL
711	Colonnade a Louqsar	GEH
718	E...[illeg] Colonnade souterraine	NYPL
723	Offrande Doli	NYPL
725	Abydos Tableau des 76 Rois d' Egypte	GEH
729	Pylon du temple d'Athor a Denderak	NYPL
740	Phylae Temple d'Isis Interieur du premier pylons	GEH
750	Portrait of Two Arab Women	Bull, Deborah, <i>Up the Nile</i> .



753	Ile. de rocher Konosso	GEH
754	A View of the Train Station at Aswan	Bull, Deborah, <i>Up the Nile.</i>
758	No Z signature (Greek Bishop)	Harvard FAL
760	Vue generale de Louqsor	NYPL
761	Caire Maison arabe et Mouchrabieh	Harvard FAL
762	Caire Interieur de la mosquee el Kallarvooom	Harvard FAL
763	Assouan Tombeau d' Amenhotep 1466 a. J.C.	GEH
765	Assouan vue panoramique	GEH
766	Assouan Cataracte seconde porte	GEH
766	Edfou Façade du temple	Simoën, Jean-Claude. <i>L'Egypte éternelle.</i>
767	Assouan Bains de Cleopatra et ile Elephantine	GEH
767	Chadoufs a [...]	Harvard FAL
768	Laggieh Egypte	NYPL
770	Tombeaux des Mamelouks Caire	GEH
771	Moulet-el-Neby Fete arabe	NYPL
772	Passage au Pont de Kasr el Nil	GEH
773	Abydos off[illeg]	NYPL
775	Inondation au Pyramides (I did not catalogue)	GEH
777	Pyramide et Cheops	NYPL
781	Bas relief du temple Edfou (Horus and Isis)	Harvard FAL
784	Kom-Ombo temple de Sebek et Horus	Harvard FAL
784	Laggieh	NYPL
787	Bord du Nil a Boulaq (Cairo)	GEH
792	Inondation du nil et palmiers	NYPL
793	Palmiers et Pyramides	Simoën, Jean-Claude. <i>L'Egypte éternelle.</i>
800	Vue generale de Philae	Harvard FAL
808	Phylae cote Nrod	NYPL
814	Groupe des Minarets Mosquee El-A [...]	Harvard FAL
817	Phylae panorama du Nord	NYPL
825	Mosquee Saida - Zeynab Caire	GEH
825	Groupe de femmes de harem	Aubenas, <i>Voyage en Orient.</i>
829	Mosquee El- Husseni Caire	GEH
849	Arivee du M[illegible]el Caire	GEH
852	La Mosquee Sultan Bebars Caire	GEH
855	Panorama du Vieux Caire et Pyramides	GEH
880	Abydos Interieur	AGO
890	Ferme d' Autruches (ostriches)	Harvard FAL
895	Abydos Ramses II	AGO
900	Denderah temple	AGO
901	Denderah Entrée d antinaos	AGO
902	Denderah Colonnade	Harvard FAL
907	Femmes arabes sur Baudets	NYPL
910	Temple Athor Denderah	Harvard FAL
919	Ensemble du Ramseum Thebes.	GEH
926	Statue de Ramses III Thebes	AGO
934	Thebes Interieur de tombe de roi N.6	AGO
946	Thebes tombe de roi	AGO
953	Vue generale de Louxor	AGO
954	Statues decorati...[illeg] a Louqsor	NYPL
959	Luksor Colonnade du temple	Harvard FAL
961	Statue de Ramses a Karnak	NYPL
969	Statue de Ramses a Louxsor.	GEH

970	Luxor, Colonnade of small temple	Jacobson, Ken. <i>Odaliques &amp; Arabesques: Orientalist Photography</i> .
975	Louxor ensemble des colonnades	AGO
980	Turkish Dancers	Vaczek, Louis Charles. <i>Travelers in Ancient Lands</i> .
997	Ruins at Karnak	Harvard FAL
1003	Karmak Ruine obelisque de Touthmes 1st et de sa fille Katasese	AGO
1005	Garden of Gethsemane in Jerusalem.	Palestinian Exploration Fund (PEF)
1005	Garden of Gethsemane c. 1880	Osman, Colin. <i>Jerusalem: caught in time</i> . New York: New York University Press, 2000.
1009	Karnak Grand tenle avec Obelisque de Touthmes	AGO
1011	Jerusalem, Valley of Jehoshaphat, Tombs of St. James and Prophet Zacharias	GEH
1011	Karnak colonnade de la salle hypostyle	Harvard FAL
1012	(Jerusalem) Village de Siloam	GEH
1015	Karnak Grande porte de (illeg.)olomee.	GEH
1022	Jerusalem, "The Grotto of Jeremiah"	GEH
1024	Edfou Interieur du temple	AGO
1025	Edfou Vue generale du temple	AGO
1025	Edfou Vue generale du temple	Harvard FAL
1026	Edfou Pylon du temple de Horus	Harvard FAL
1032	Panorama de Jerusalem	GEH
1032	Edfou Interieur	AGO
1037	Edfou Bas-relief du temple de Horus	AGO
1038	(Jerusalem) Porte de Damas The Damascus State	GEH
1039	Jaffa Gate in Jerusalem	PEF
1040	(Jerusalem) Porte de Saint-Etienne	GEH
1043	Edfou Bas-relief du temple de Horous	AGO
1044	Edfou Interieur, Barque [...]	Harvard FAL
1056	Assouan premier caracte	AGO
1058	Jerusalem, The Mosque of Omar (Mosquee d'Omar et Tribunal de [illeg])	GEH
1059	Nile, Cataracte, Seconde (from HSM card catalog)	Harvard FAL
1063	Entrance to the cave in the Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem.	PEF
1066	(Jerusalem) Maison de Pilate Temple enclosure, The House of Pilate	GEH
1069	(Jerusalem) Mosque El-Aksa vue generale NOT in TMS as Z	GEH
1075	Phylae, Colonnade de Temple d'Isis	Harvard FAL
1077	Philae Vue d'ensemble de colonnade temple d'Isis	AGO
1082	Philae Le Kiosque d'Isis	AGO

1083	Dome of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, Jerusalem.	PEF
1093	(Jerusalem) Prison de Jesus Christ	GEH
1095	(Jerusalem) Interieur de la Sainte-Croix (Not in TMS as Z)	GEH
1101	Tombeaux de Rachel pris Bethlehem (NOT in TMS as Z)	GEH
1109	Railway to Jerusalem	PEF
1110	Bridge of the railway line from Jaffa to Jerusalem.	PEF
1111	View of Bethlehem.	PEF
1113	Tower at Ramleh	PEF
1117	(Bethleem) Interieur de la Grotte de la Nativitie	GEH
1121	Environs of Bethlehem, "The Pool of Soloman"	GEH
1125	Vue generale de Jerusalem	Harvard FAL
1128	Le bain a la Mer Morte: The Shore of the Dead Sea	GEH
1128	View of the Old City of Jerusalem	PEF
1129	General view of the Old City of Jerusalem from the Mount of Olives towards the W.	PEF
1129	General view of the Old City of Jerusalem from the Mount of Olives towards the W.	PEF
1129	Where the Jordan meets the Dead Sea	<i>Images of the Orient: photography and tourism, 1860-1900.</i> Eds. Paul Faber, Anneke Groeneveld, Hein Reedijk. Amsterdam: Fragment in samenwerking met Museum voor Volkenkunde, Rotterdam, c1986.
1130	On the Edge of the Jordan	GEH
1132	Road to Bethlehem from Jerusalem (NOT in TMS as Z)	GEH
1136	View of Jerusalem with the Church of St Anne and the Dome of the Rock in the background.	PEF
1137	General view of the northern city wall of Jerusalem and the Damascus Gate (centre) with the Holy Sepulchre in the background.	PEF
1137	General view of the northern city wall of Jerusalem and the Damascus Gate (centre) with the Holy Sepulchre in the background.	PEF
1143	Jaffa Street leading to the Old City of Jerusalem.	PEF
1143	Street View From the Hotel Hovarts c. 1900	Osman, Colin. <i>Jerusalem: Caught in Time.</i>

1144	View of the Jaffa Gate from inside the walls looking west.	PEF
1144	The Jaffa Gate c. 1900	Osman, Colin. <i>Jerusalem: Caught in Time</i> .
1146	(Jerusalem) - "The Tombs of the Kings." Tombeau des Rois	GEH
1149	On the road to Jaffa, the Village of Emmans (NOT in TMS as Z)	GEH
1149	Jaffa Gate, Jerusalem.	PEF
1153	On the Road to Jaffa, The town of Ramleh	1973:0230:0038
1154	El Wad Street, Vaulted street in the old city of Jerusalem	PEF
1157	Bazar de Jaffa	PEF
1158	Jaffa, House of Simon the Tanner	Onne, Eyal. <i>Photographic Heritage of the Holy Land, 1839-1914</i> . Manchester, England: Institute of Advanced Studies, Manchester Polytechnic, 1980.
1161	Jaffa, Vue d'Ensemble	GEH
1163	The Via Dolorosa in Jerusalem.	PEF
1175	The interior of the Edicule in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre.	PEF
1175	The Chapel of the Angel c. 1885	Osman, Colin. <i>Jerusalem: Caught in Time</i> .
1177	Dome of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, Jerusalem.	PEF
1177	View of the Dome of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem.	PEF
1184	The Edicule in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre.	PEF
1185	The Edicule of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, Jerusalem.	PEF
1187	Jerusalem Cathedrale Greque dans la basilique	Harvard FAL
1191	A detail of one of the entrances to the Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem	PEF
1192	Mosquee d'Omar	Harvard FAL
1194	(Jerusalem) Mosquee d'Omar et Tribunal de David	Harvard FAL
1195	The Dome of the Chain or Mahkamat Da'ud (David's Tribunal) east of the Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem.	PEF
1197	Interior of the Mosque of Omar Jerusalem.	PEF

1199	(Jerusalem) Mosque d'Omar interieur le rocher	Harvard FAL
1201	Interior of the Church of St Anne in Jerusalem.	PEF
1201	Interior of the Church of St. Anne. C. 1885	Osman, Colin. <i>Jerusalem: Caught in Time.</i>
1213	Interior of the Mosque El Aqsa, Jerusalem.	PEF
1213	Interior of the Mosque of El Aqsa, Jerusalem.	PEF
1213	Interior of El Aksa Mosque C. 1885	Osman, Colin. <i>Jerusalem: Caught in Time.</i>
1213	(Jerusalem) Mosque El-Aksa interieur	Harvard FAL
1215	(Mosque d'Omar interieur (le rocher)) Jerusalem, Interior of mosque of Omar, "The Rock of Abraham."	GEH
1219	The northern end of the Haram al-Sharif, looking NW.	PEF
1230	View of the so-called Hezekiah's Pool, in Jerusalem.	PEF
1230	The Pool of Hezekiah looking NE, Jerusalem	PEF
1236	Interior of the Chapel of St Helena in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem.	PEF
1236	The Fifteenth Station of the Cross: the Chapel of Saint Helena c.1885	Osman, Colin. <i>Jerusalem: Caught in Time.</i>
1238	The Ecce Homo Arch (in the distance) in Jerusalem	PEF
1241	View of the building associated with the Tomb of David on Mount Zion, Jerusalem.	PEF
1257	The road to Bethlehem outside the Jaffa Gate in Jerusalem.	PEF
1257	The Road to Bethlehem. C. 1890	Osman, Colin. <i>Jerusalem: Caught in Time.</i>
1260	A general view of the Tomb of Rachel, Bethlehem	PEF
1264	General view of Bethlehem.	PEF
1268	General view of Bethlehem	PEF
1269	View of Bethlehem	PEF
1269	Bethleem Panorama	Harvard FAL
1270	Church of the Nativity in Bethlehem	PEF
1273	Interior of the cave in the Church of the Nativity, Bethlehem	PEF
1282	The monastery of Mar Saba	PEF

1287	Bethlehem, pools of Solomon, General View	Harvard FAL
1288	Interior of the Church of the Virgin's Tomb.	PEF
1292	Olive tree in the Garden of Gethsemane, Jerusalem	PEF
1297	The Church of the Paternoster on the Mount of Olives, Jerusalem	PEF
1297	Church of the Pater Noster c. 1885	Osman, Colin. <i>Jerusalem: Caught in Time</i> .
1299	Interior of the Chapel of the Ascension.	PEF
1307	(Jerusalem) Tombs in the Valley of the Kidron (from HSM card catalog)	Harvard FAL
1308	Bethleem Panorama	Harvard FAL
1334	The Dead Sea, (Voyage dan la mer Morte)	Onne, Eyal. <i>Photographic Heritage of the Holy Land</i> .
1356	Ruins on the summit of Mount Tabor.	PEF
1373	Ayn al-Mraysseh, vue prise de la pointe de Ras-Beyrouth	Debbas, Fouad. <i>Des photographes à Beyrouth, 1840-1918</i> . Paris: Marval, 2001.