

EGYPT ITSELF



ARCHAEOLOGICAL LIVES

EGYPT ITSELF

The Career of Robert Hay
of Linplum and Nunraw,
1799-1863

Selwyn Tillet

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Cover: Philae, Kiosk of Trajan, seen from an outcrop on the island's north-east. Painted by Francis Arundale March 1833. From the British Library Collection: Add. MS 29846 f.23.

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This book is dedicated with gratitude and respect
to the memory of

Léonie de Cosson 1896-1990

Vivien Betti 1904-2002

Lilian Hay Regano 1918-2014

without whose archives, passionate family interest, kindness and
sincere friendship it could not have been written

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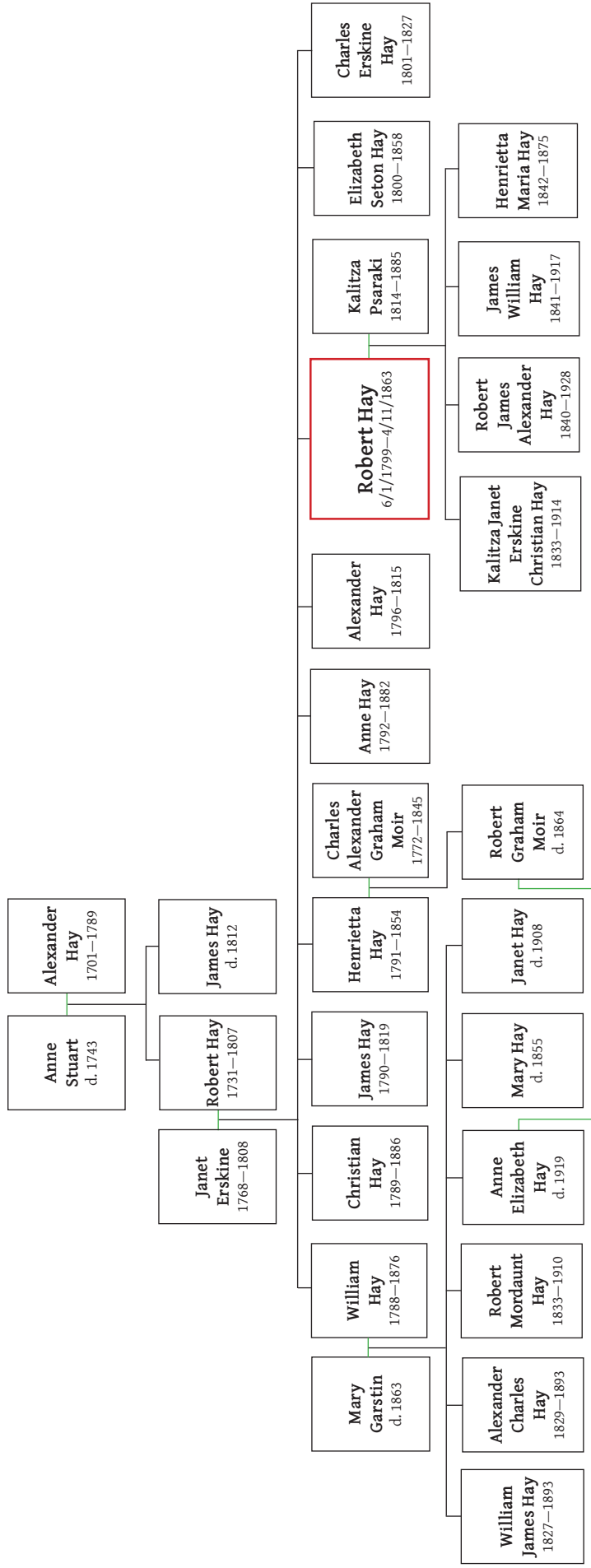
Family Trees

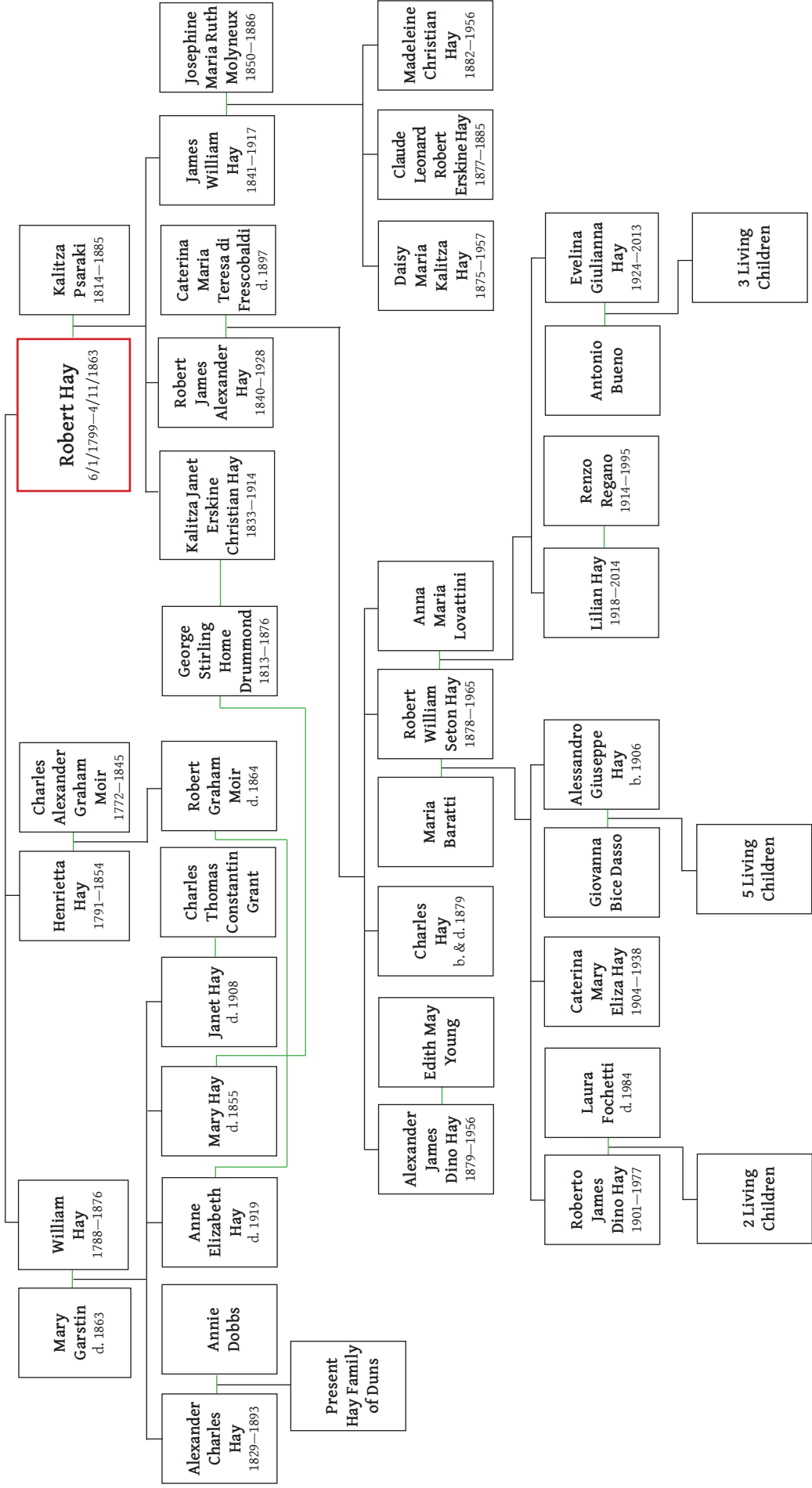
Robert Hay's family tree is large and complex. A reasonably complete exposition can be found online at <http://doi.org/10.32028/9781805833161-FamilyTree> (accessible via the QR code below). This shows mainly those of his ancestors, descendants, siblings and their families of whom mention is made in the text of the book. His forebears from John Hay, first Earl of Tweeddale (1595-1653) are briefly discussed on pages xxiii-xxiv and 1.



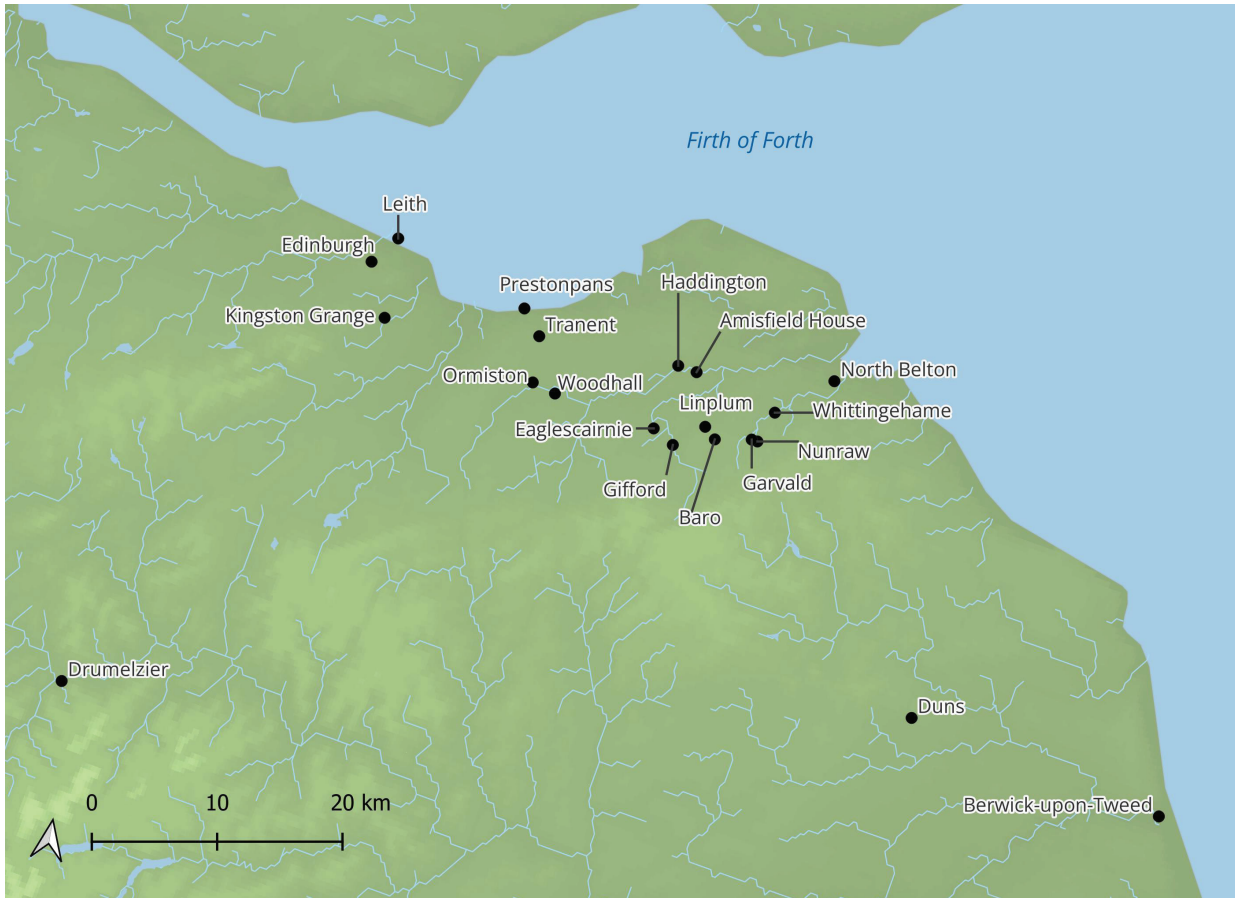
The severely pruned tree on page x overleaf begins with Robert's grandfather Alexander Hay of Drumelzier (1701-89) and shows the members of his family referred to elsewhere in the text, down to the generation of his own children and some of their cousins.

The new growth on the tree on page xi displays only Robert and his two older siblings whose marriages produced children; also those children whose marriages were either cousin marriages but without issue or successfully fruitful of further descendants who are shown down to the present day.





Maps



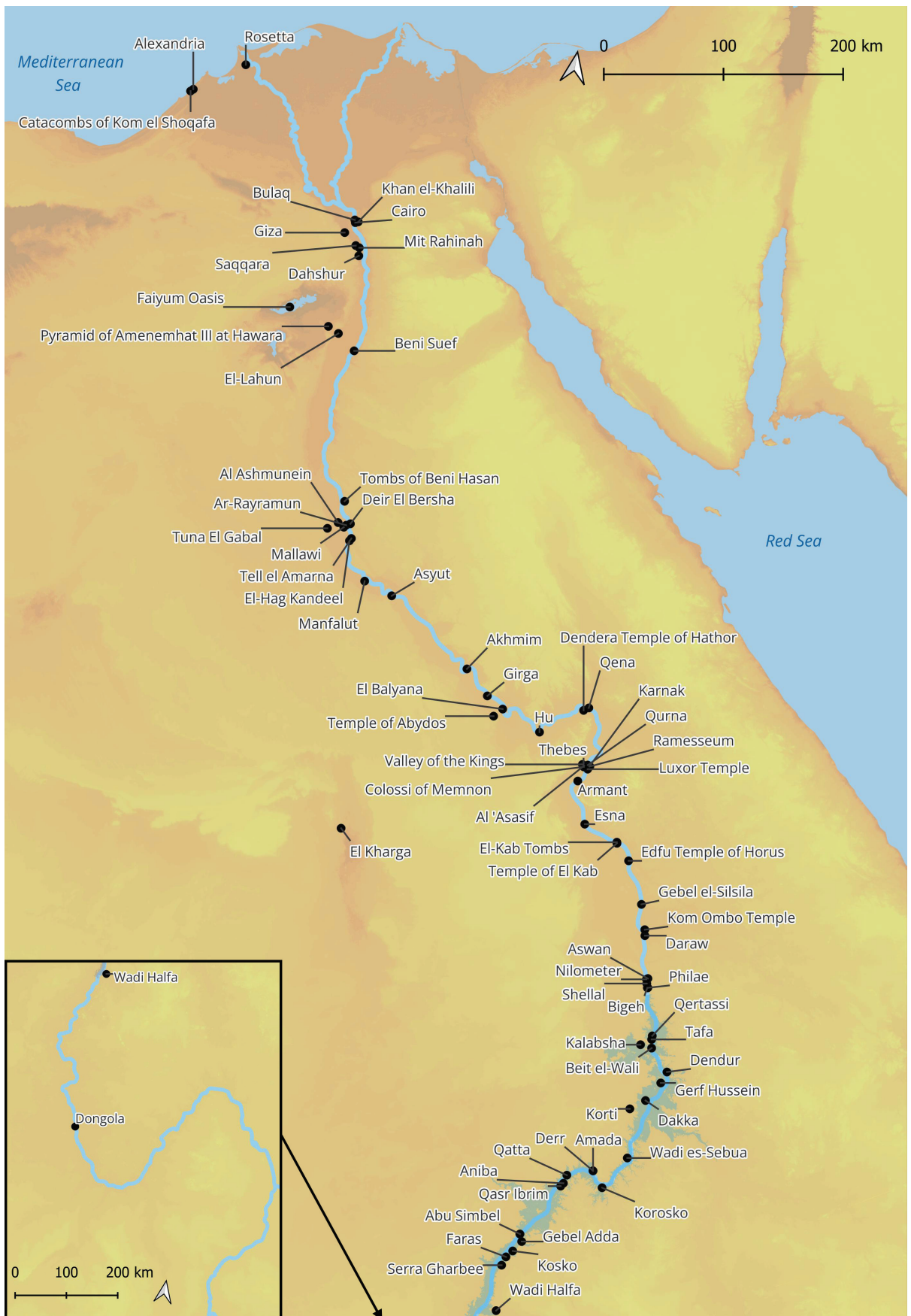
Locations in Scotland mentioned in the text.

Maps were made in QGIS, using the following datasets:

Elevation (single band pseudocolour): General Bathymetric Chart of the Oceans (GEBCO Compilation Group [2026] GEBCO 2026 Grid). Water data: HydroATLAS Project (RiverATLAS and LakeATLAS, CC-BY 4.0): <https://www.hydrosheds.org/hydroatlas>

RiverATLAS: Linke, S., Lehner, B., Ouellet Dallaire, C., Ariwi, J., Grill, G., Anand, M., Beames, P., Burchard-Levine, V., Maxwell, S., Moidu, H., Tan, F., Thieme, M. (2019). Global hydro-environmental sub-basin and river reach characteristics at high spatial resolution. *Scientific Data* 6: 283. doi: <https://doi.org/10.1038/s41597-019-0300-6>

LakeATLAS: Lehner, B., Messenger, M.L., Korver, M.C., Linke, S. (2022). Global hydro-environmental lake characteristics at high spatial resolution. *Scientific Data* 9: 351. doi: <https://doi.org/10.1038/s41597-022-01425-z>



Locations, places and sites in Egypt mentioned in the text.

Note on Transcriptions and Spelling

When quoting from published or manuscript sources I have taken care to reproduce their spellings precisely without constant use of the (*sic*) convention unless it is essential for understanding; devices such as ampersands have been retained as originally written.

Robert Hay for convenience in his diaries and correspondence always abbreviates commonly-occurring words (*wh.* for which, *shd.* for should, *yr.* for your and so on), placing the last letter over the full stop in superscript. His intention is clear enough but the repetition is maddening to the eye in long passages. All such abbreviations have been ironed out and words presented in full. His occasional less obvious shortenings have been filled out in the same way (received for *recd.*, hieroglyphics for *hgs.*, etc) unless it is important to retain the exact flavour of the original.

Joseph Bonomi is capricious in his use or rather lack of punctuation; in almost all cases his meaning is again clear despite this idiosyncrasy, which has been retained. If editorial punctuation has proved absolutely necessary it has been supplied in [*square brackets*].

Both men and all their contemporaries with the exception of Edward Lane are somewhat free-range in their spellings of Arabic words and Egyptian place-names, and frequently inconsistent even within their own writings. In every case a word or place-name is given as written on its first appearance, and thereafter silently corrected into accepted modern spelling.

It has occasionally been necessary to refer to information supplied in letters or e-mails to myself or in conversations. Those providing the information are introduced by 'personal communication' or 'pers. comm.', and I identify myself simply as 'ST'.

Abbreviations Used in the Notes

BL Add. MS: British Library, Department of Manuscripts, Additional Manuscript

BM Corr.: British Museum, Department of Oriental Antiquities, Correspondence

CUL MS Add.: Cambridge University Library, Department of Manuscripts and Rare Books, Additional Manuscript

Hay diary typescript: A typescript of parts of Robert Hay's diary not housed with the rest of the manuscript at the British Library but retained in private hands. Archives, Griffith Institute, Oxford

Neville-Rolfe: Private collection of Yvonne Neville-Rolfe

NRAS2720: National Register of Archives for Scotland; Hay Family, of Duns, Berwickshire 1300-1908

NRS: National Records of Scotland

TNA: The National Archives for England and Wales, Kew

Precise references to any other manuscript material are given as they arise



Figure 1. Robert Hay. Photograph courtesy of the late Roberto J.D. Hay

You think you have given up too much time to Egypt - but your work is invaluable. Your collection of drawings done with the exactitude of the camera will be Egypt itself: but to repay yourself by the éclat of the world you so justly merit you must publish this collection. Your labor will then not be lost either to yourself or to the world... Remember no one has your collection or anything like it - & why should the world be ignorant of this fact, so creditable to yourself and even to our nation at large? & how can they give you due credit without being witnesses of the fact?

John Gardner Wilkinson to Robert Hay, January 1832

Preface

Nineteenth-century Europe produced pioneers in all branches of research both scientific and historical. The growing discipline of archaeology was no exception. In many fields a number of such pioneers won themselves immortality while others served their immediate usefulness and were forgotten, unless their researches had been redeemed in the popular eye by some endearing eccentricity. Odd quirks of character and highly-coloured adventures inevitably forced less publicised but no less worthy colleagues into oblivion.

This is equally true in the case of Egyptology, where every European country that produced pioneers has now its heroes and its forgotten men. Generations ago, and in the 40 years since the present work was first published,¹ some attempts were made to bring a handful of these early workers into more general notice, particularly in France.² An MPhil dissertation was written at Liverpool University in an attempt to compile an historical list of all early British travellers in Egypt, but the author admitted that her work ended with the first years of the 19th century, and that Robert Hay ‘just gets in’.³

Among those pioneers Robert Hay is a special case. He published least - one book⁴ - and even that was intended to be a popular account; but letters and comments in print from friends and companions indicate in perfect unison that of all early nineteenth-century workers he was the most thorough and his copies were the most accurate.⁵

Work at numerous sites in Egypt over many decades from the 1880s to the present has shown consistently how valuable from an archaeological and historical standpoint the records of early surveyors can be, and how worthwhile the attention paid to their labours. Much archaeological material that they knew may remain *in situ*, sanded up and forgotten, or has been destroyed in the meantime.⁶ Even when a particular site is both well-known and well-documented, Robert Hay’s manuscripts are still of considerable importance.

Yet less than 30 years after his death he was sufficiently little-known for the Dictionary of National Biography to dismiss him in a half-column of half-truths,⁷ and through much of the 20th century a mystique of praise and error grew up around him.⁸ A fresh and detailed look at his life, work and manuscript archive was long necessary to correct factual errors and to determine the value of his records; to show, in short, whether his career lives up to its reputation or whether he too should be allowed to disappear into the clouds that surround so many other such workers.

Any line of research based almost entirely on manuscript sources presents both boons and disadvantages. Boons, because it limits sharply the areas to be investigated, and because there may be few published statements or opinions on which to comment; disadvantages, because a person’s own manuscript records are inevitably full of gaps, some occasioned by the dispersal, loan or deliberate destruction of parts of the archive over a period of time, others by the simple fact that personal notes and drawings must *per se* be selective and to an extent subjective in the information they supply.

A man as important in the history of Egyptology as Robert Hay is said to be, and at the same time as badly-documented for both his work and his life, must for Egyptology’s sake be researched both as

¹ Tillet 1984.

² E.g. Carré 1956; Rushdy 1966; Vandier d’Abbadie 1963; Wortham 1971.

³ Pickavance 1978; letter to ST from the author 25 July 1976.

⁴ Hay, R. 1840.

⁵ E.g. BL Add.MS. 38094, ff.53 *et seqq.* Cf. d’Athanasī 1836: 96-97; Vyse 1840 vol.1: 50; Wilkinson 1857: vi.

⁶ Multiple references to Hay MSS in Porter and Moss 1960 vol.i: 447 *et seqq.*

⁷ Stephens, L. and Lee (eds.) 1891 vol.25: 275.

⁸ E.g. Ceram 1958: 97 calls Hay’s expedition quite unjustifiably ‘a hitherto unrecorded disaster in the history of Egyptian archaeology’ spread over 15 years between 1820 and 1839 (actually ten years, 1824-34) that left over 100 volumes (actually 49) of unpublished manuscripts. But it was this reference many years ago that first brought Robert Hay to ST’s attention.

a copyist and as a man. It is hardly possible to assess his own attitude to his work without seeing it in the context of his whole life. Only then can one ascertain whether he should truly be considered as dilettante, antiquarian, mere traveller, undiscerning collector, serious archaeologist or some perplexing combination of them all. The present work was and is an attempt to fill most of the gaps and to supply the relevant background by presenting a detailed biography of Hay himself. In that sense it was not and is not an attempt to explain or justify his reputation, which rests on solid foundations; it is simply a greatly enlarged, expanded and corrected presentation of Hay together with much new information on the lives and careers of his employees, including Joseph Bonomi, Francis Arundale and Frederick Catherwood, allowing his story to be told so far as possible entirely in the words of his own letters and diaries and those of his friends, family, and colleagues, with a minimum of editorial comment and analysis. All this material has been carefully reviewed and quotations given in the first edition amended where necessary.

To compile such an outline it was necessary to consult not only manuscript sources that have long been in public ownership (the most obvious being the archive in the British Library, Additional Manuscripts 29812-29860 and 31054), but similar sources which at the time of this work's original publication were still in the private possession of members of the Hay and other families. Many of these records are naturally of a character not normally considered in purely Egyptological studies; none of them had been examined before although their information frequently proved to be vital.

Thus I am indebted to the late Very Revd Joseph O'Dea, OCR, Prior of Sancta Maria Abbey, Nunraw, and to the late Dr Jasper Scovil, former Deputy Librarian of Magdalen College, Oxford, for reference to the Hay and Bonomi family papers in their respective possession; also to the late Rodney Searight, FRGS, for his constant encouragement and the many leads drawn from his superb collection of nineteenth-century albums, drawings and water-colours of the Middle East (including the sketches of Parke and Catherwood from their Egyptian journey of 1824 and the original manuscript of Pascal Coste's *Architecture Arabe*, once the property of Robert Hay).

I wish to express my gratitude for the kindness and interest shown by the late Lilian Hay Regano, Robert Hay's great-granddaughter, and for her invitation many years ago to examine and quote from Hay's naval journal of 1816-18. I am also grateful to her husband, the late Dr Renzo Regano, for his assistance with the background to chapter four, in which I have allowed his delightful square-wheel English to stand unaltered.

Above all I sincerely acknowledge the enormous debt I owe to the assistance and hospitality shown over many years by the late Léonie de Cosson and the late Vivien Betti, respectively granddaughter-in-law and great-granddaughter of Joseph Bonomi, in granting me access to their immense archive of family papers (much of it now housed either in Cambridge University Library, Department of Manuscripts and Rare Books, or at the Griffith Institute in Oxford), without which this work would be infinitely the poorer. I thank Mrs de Cosson, and her daughter Yvonne Neville-Rolfe, particularly for their lasting permission to quote freely from letters and notebooks of Joseph Bonomi covering a period of nearly 60 years, and from transcriptions of parts of Robert Hay's own journal passed into his keeping by Hay's widow. I thank Mrs Betti for allowing me to examine and quote from the letters of Hay to Bonomi, over more than 30 years, which dovetail with all Bonomi's letters to Hay now in the British Library (Additional Manuscripts 38094 and 38510 (L)), and her institutional successors the Syndics of Cambridge University Library for allowing such permission to continue. In this context I owe equal thanks to Sophie Dupré for permission to quote liberally from the letters of Edward and Richard Lane to Robert Hay now deposited at the Department of Western Manuscripts, Bodleian Library, Oxford, as MS. Eng. Lett. d. 165.

I offer my most earnest gratitude to Alexander Hay of Duns for generous access to the vast family archive recently discovered at Duns Castle, including a significant collection of previously unknown papers relating to Robert Hay's childhood, early adult life and later estate management; also for his kind permission to quote extensively from many of these documents and from letters of Hay's son

amongst departmental correspondence of the British Museum, and to publish for the first time many of Hay's own drawings, and those of his artists, now in the British Library collection. I thank Prof. Paul and Dr Janet Starkey for their hospitality while I was able to consult Duns' new trove of biographical treasure.

For their practical help in aspects of my work approaching 50 years ago and since I owe much to the late Emeritus Professor Revd J. Martin (Jack) Plumley, my erstwhile supervisor, not least for his advice and advocacy on numerous occasions; to the British Museum, Department of Manuscripts, for their co-operation in allowing the entire Hay archive to be put on microfilm in the 1970s for my use; and to their successor the British Library Board for renewed permission to quote copiously from it.

Especial thanks are due to Prof. Jason Thompson for friendship, encouragement and frequent discussion since this work was first begun, and for the compendious work and huge capacity for research enshrined in his biographies of Sir William Gell, Edward Lane, Sir Gardner Wilkinson and others whose careers flowed significantly alongside that of Robert Hay.⁹ In several cases in more recent years he has been able to identify sources which I had overlooked long ago. Particularly I am thankful for the insights given in his biography of Lane into the career and character of Robert Hay from a viewpoint other than my own¹⁰ where in summarising the work of one he is obliged frequently to comment on the other, so that in a very real sense his narrative for a while becomes a biography of the two friends rather than just of Edward Lane himself.

I am beholden to Gemma Renshaw for our many conversations with reference to Robert Hay's MSS in connection with her forthcoming PhD dissertation,¹¹ and for her expert assistance in the choice of illustrations for this book. Detailed analysis of Hay's work has been kept to a minimum in its pages so as not to trespass into her areas of research. I extend further gratitude to Professor Aidan Dodson of the University of Bristol and the Committee of ASTENE (The Association for the Study of Travel in Egypt and the Near East) for their understanding and generosity in funding the whole cost of production of these illustrations.

The following, including other descendants of Robert Hay's immediate family or wider-spread members of the Hay clan, supplied individual pieces of information or suggested sources to whom application for such might be made. In several cases their suggestions proved invaluable, while some were instrumental in closing profitless lines of enquiry. Many of them have passed to their eternal rest in the years since this work was first written; others have introduced themselves and supplied help, comments, and in important places corrections, since it was first published. I am further indebted to them for their interest in Robert Hay and in this work, and for the assistance both it and I have been able to give them in return, kindly acknowledged in their publications.¹² Notice of all their assistance here should continue to remove the need for any future scholar to turn over many patches of barren ground:

David, 12th Marquess of Tweeddale; Charles, third Marquess of Linlithgow; Patrick, 17th Earl of Lauderdale; David, 12th Earl of Wemyss & March; Lady Maryoth Hay; Sir Arthur Hay, tenth Baronet of Park, Co. Wigton; Sir James Dalrymple-Hay, sixth Baronet of Park Place, Co. Wigton; Meriel, Lady Salt; Sir Frederick Catherwood; William Stirling-Home-Drummond-Moray, 22nd of Abercairny.

Prof. Robert Aguirre, Dean of the College of Arts and Letters, James Madison University; Michel Azim, Centre de Recherches Archeologiques, Sophia Antipolis; Donald Bailey, Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities, The British Museum; J.F. Bain, Registrar, East Lothian District Council; H.J. Ralph

⁹ Thompson 1992, 1994, 1995, 2010, 2019 and 'Purveyor-General to the Hieroglyphics': Sir William Gell and the Development of Egyptology, in D. Jeffreys (ed.) 2003: 77-85.

¹⁰ Thompson 2010.

¹¹ Renshaw, G. Bringing Egypt Home: An examination of Robert Hay's 1824-1834 expeditions to Egypt, their legacy and impact on the development of the discipline of Egyptology. PhD dissertation in preparation, University of Southampton.

¹² E.g. Bierbrier 1995; Cooke 2001; Grutz 2003; Kaczanowicz 2015; Violla 1983.

Bankes, Esq., JP, Kingston Lacy, Dorset; Ann Brown, Department of Antiquities, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford; Revd Dr J. Bulloch DD PhD MA, Broughton, Lanarkshire; A.W. Campbell, Esq.; J. Norman Cartwright, former Hon. Secretary, East Lothian Antiquarian & Field Naturalists' Society; Melvin Caruana, National Archives of Malta; Neil Cooke FRGS; Jacqueline Cox, archivist, Cambridge University; Revd R.C. Cunningham MA, Minister of Garvald; Katy Green, archivist, Magdalene College Cambridge; Dr R. Gross, Director, Staatsarchiv, Dresden; Jane Waldron Grutz, Saudi Aramco; Victor W. von Hagen, Boggioli, Italy; Harry Hopkins; Revd K.D. Hughes BD MA, Minister of Whittingehame; T.G.H. James MA FBA, former Keeper of Egyptian Antiquities, The British Museum; Miss C. Johnstone, Haddington County Library; Marta Kaczanowicz, University of Warsaw; Messrs Kay & Company, Marshall Street, Leeds; Rt Revd Mgr D. McRoberts DLitt FSA, Scottish Catholic Archives; Peter Meadows; Elizabeth Nisbet; John Aidan Packer; R. Petts, Esq. TD, Secretary, The New Club, Edinburgh; Mrs E. Perry Rathbone, Cambridge, Massachusetts; Verity Roat; Miss E.R. Russmann, Curator in the Department of Egyptian Art, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; R.S. Salvesen, Esq., Eaglescairn, Haddington; J.W.A. Shaw Stewart, Esq., Linplum House; Dr A.J. Spencer, former Assistant Keeper of Egyptian Antiquities, The British Museum; Helen Tegopoulou, Lecturer in Classical Archaeology, Athens University; Eric Throssell; Jean Violla, great-grandson of Francis Arundale; J. Ward, Photography and Cinematography Collection, Science Museum; Harriet Waterhouse, historical costumier; Dr Helen Whitehouse, Department of Antiquities, Ashmolean Museum; Revd R.G. Wickham MA, Chaplain to Twyford School.

Last but by no means least I am indebted to Mike Schurer, editor at *Archaeopress*, for his advice and perseverance in seeing this new edition through to publication; and I owe huge gratitude to my wife Cassie for her forbearance while it has been in its long preparation, and for her detailed and pitiless work in proof-reading the text and making suggestions for its clarification. She has saved me from the embarrassment of many a verbal or factual trap.

Significant errors in the first edition of *Egypt Itself* are now corrected. First, Robert Hay is there quoted¹³ as having angrily considered the British consul in Alexandria, Henry Salt, to be like 'a pig wrapped up in a burnoose'.¹⁴ I am grateful to Salt's more recent biographers for pointing out that this fine descriptive phrase refers in fact not to Salt himself but to his frequent assistant and agent Charles Sloane.¹⁵

Two errors annoyingly combine in a reference to a letter from one of Robert Hay's associates to his most regular artist Joseph Bonomi. This describes a meeting on the Nile in August 1829 with Jean-François Champollion and the opportunity that this provided to look over the vast collection of recent drawings and sketches compiled by the French scholar and his fellow-travellers. The offending passage reads: 'Burton met Champollion at Korosko and was then able to inspect the drawings for himself: "What they have done is incredible – All the battles – All the Arts – All Natural History – All the Portraits of all the Kings and Queens – All the Exercises, occupations, amusements and I know not what else of the Egyptians --- we began looking over his Folios at 9am and had not finished till midnight..."'¹⁶ Here a unique miscopying by my typist found its way unscathed through proof-reading stages and into print; possibly because the true author of the letter, Major Orlando Felix, was mentioned only once in the rest of the book whereas James Burton's name occurs with regularity. For Burton read Felix. The second annoyance is a simple but vital mistranscription of my own. They began looking over the drawings not at 9am but at Asr, the hour of afternoon prayer. Would that I could apologise particularly to the late Prof. Michel Azim and the late Neil Cooke for the hours of head-scratching and mutual correspondence involved, while the original letter was inaccessible, in attempting to reconcile my apparent early morning start with theirs in the late afternoon given in the papers of Champollion and Burton, reporting, or crucially not reporting, the same meeting. I

¹³ Tillett 1984: 18.

¹⁴ BL Add. MS 31054 f.82r.

¹⁵ Manley and Rée 2001: 295 note 21.

¹⁶ Tillett 1984: 47.

apologise freely and without reserve to any other scholars who have been equally puzzled and misled; both these faults are amended here on pages 128-29.

Two further errors also share in one reference and serve only to make confusion worse confounded. The report of Joseph Bonomi's role in Frederick Catherwood's court action against his wife and her lover (1841-44) was made unnecessarily complicated by another straightforward misreading by myself when young and by my inefficient inability then to decipher an illegible signature. Only after more than 40 years and with access to previously unknown documents has it been possible to read 'W.H. Bartlett' rather than 'P.M. Gaskell' in preparation of pages 228-30 below.

Finally it needs to be made clear that Robert Hay's artistic and architectural employee by the name of Arundale was Francis Arundale (1807-53, introduced here on page 138), and not Francis Vyvyan Jago Arundell (1780-1846), the English antiquary, Anglican priest and fellow oriental traveller, whose more fanciful Christian names were accidentally imposed on his unfortunate contemporary. This simple error has been repeated in countless publications since it was first made here. *Mea maxima culpa*.

Selwyn Tillet

All Saints' church, West Dulwich, August 1983

Revised, enlarged and corrected 2020-25

Re-published to mark the 200th anniversary of the commencement of
Robert Hay's first expedition, late summer and autumn 1824

Introduction

After the Act of Union in 1707 economic and religious conditions in Scotland were secure for the first time in nearly a century. Cultural and mercantile ties with England and so with the mainland of Europe were allowed to develop. Scottish communication with Europe until the late 17th century had been restricted to France and the Netherlands; now a young Scot of money or property was able to follow in the wake of his English cousins on the Grand Tour. Sometimes he went merely to experience European art treasures, though sometimes too to acquire them; if his talent lay in that direction he would draw them for his own amusement. Frequently he went as a potential political refugee whose Jacobite and probably Roman Catholic background made life in his native land politically and sometimes even physically dangerous.

The landed aristocracy of Scotland was in the forefront of such exploration of Europe, of Italy in particular; for much of the 18th century they outnumbered all other classes of British traveller. The second Marquess of Annandale in 1720 set the fashion for a century and more by bringing back to Scotland one of the weightiest conglomerations of *objets d'art* ever assembled by a single traveller - hundreds of paintings, portfolio after portfolio of drawings, and classical marbles by the ton.¹

Another motive for the Scot touring so far afield was the undoubted probability of self-improvement by contact with the society centring on the Italian capital. At one time the wives of the Italian nobility seemed to be chosen almost exclusively from among Scottish ladies of worth, who thus gave a continuing ready entry into the right circles for their families and friends.

A further attraction was the opportunity to see and draw for oneself the sites already known at second-hand through Horace, Virgil, Poussin and Claude. All the pioneering archaeological work on Etruscan remains was carried out by Scots; James Bruce, James Byres, Gavin Hamilton. Most of such explorers were young men fired by the new vogue for cultural package-tours, and willing to be further inspired by the wonders they saw. Not for them the resolute unimpressibility of the wife of Lord Justice Clerk Miller who commented that Rome 'had a look of Aberdeen'.²

As the Scottish nobility were most prominent among European travellers, so at the head of their ranks stood the families of the Lothians. Most bestowed considerable patronage on young Scottish artists exiled and working in Italy, enticed no doubt by the safer political climate in which the Jacobite court-in-exile could shelter them. The more academically-minded were accompanied by tutors ('bear-leaders') who led them gently around the towns and sites to a strict timetable by day but allowed them freer rein in the evenings and convivial socialising winters.

The result of such experiences was often not merely an enthusiastic pursuit of paintings and antiquities but an incongruous desire to Italianise or Classicise one's sixteenth-century peel-tower back home. Sometimes, as for example in the new Hopetoun palace, one could also include Egyptian motifs watered down through Piranesi.³

It became increasingly the responsibility of the bear-leaders to make first contacts for their noble colleagues with local families and with antiquarians and expatriate artists. It was common practice in Rome for students of painting to exhibit pieces of work in the audience-rooms of the rich and other prominent places, for inspection by visiting potential patrons. Many tutors accordingly developed as professional antiquaries in their own right, and a significant number of these came too from Jacobite and Roman Catholic families: Abbé Peter Grant, Roman Agent for the Scottish Catholic Mission; Andrew Lumsden, a long-serving member of the Jacobite court, Secretary to both Pretenders, and the most

¹ Hopetoun 1979: 1; Skinner 1966: 5-6.

² Skinner 1966: 8.

³ Hopetoun *op. cit.*

influential tutor of his time; Colin Morison, painter and colleague of Robert Adam; Gavin Hamilton, the doyen of Scottish archaeologists and patron of many young Scots, among them Henry Raeburn. He himself was the client of most touring British nobility.

The Hays had especially strong connections with Italy and were patrons of young artists. In their case the links were due almost entirely to Jacobite sympathies. Many branches of the family held high office at the court-in-exile over long periods; for example John Hay, created titular Earl of Inverness by James VIII & III, and Alexander Hay of Drumelzier (1701-89), Robert Hay's grandfather, whose services and those of his family to both Pretenders earned him portraits of James VIII, Clementina Sobieski, Charles Edward Stuart and Prince Henry, Cardinal York, by artists whom he had introduced to the court. A letter of as late as 1846 congratulates Robert Hay's sister Christian on her ownership of a fine medallion showing Clementina Sobieski as queen of Great Britain, France and Ireland.⁴

A brief reminder should perhaps be given of the position of Jacobites in Italy during the late 18th and early 19th centuries. When James Francis Edward Stuart (the 'Old Pretender') fled abroad following the rebellion of 1715 he eventually found his way to Italy after a carefully-engineered invitation from Pope Clement XI. He was greeted in Rome with royal honours and granted the palace of the Duke of Urbino as his residence. More than 50 loyal retainers accompanied him, including the Duke of Perth, the Earls of Linlithgow and of Southesk, and several Hays. After his marriage to Maria Sobieski, the court moved *en masse* to the Palazzo Muti. Here until his death in 1766 flourished all remaining Jacobite hopes.

Rome quickly became a breeding-ground for Jacobite espionage and counter-espionage. As the British Government had no official relations with the Vatican, a watch had to be kept on the activities of suspect travellers by those best placed to follow them - namely the tutors or antiquarians who accompanied them. Abbé Grant and his colleagues meanwhile fulfilled a parallel function on behalf of the court-in-exile. Under the patronage of Sir James Steuart, the artist Domenico Dupra painted the 'Society of young Gentlemen Travellers in Rome' — a thinly-disguised political cabal indirectly responsible for the 1745 uprising, which included amongst its members the Carnegies of Northesk and three Hays.

As serious Jacobite hopes dwindled, to end for all practical purposes with the death of 'Henry IX', Cardinal York, in 1809, the number of overt Jacobite sympathisers understandably grew less. Many returned to Scotland to transfer their allegiance to the Episcopal Church while retaining a distant longing for the future resurgence of Catholicism and the King over the water. (There is to this day a residual body of support currently for 92-year-old Franz, Duke of Bavaria, who but for the Act of Settlement would be monarch of the United Kingdom.)

Among those who returned and ostensibly submerged their Stuart reliance were the Hays of Drumelzier. Nevertheless two documents preserved at Duns castle confirm their original powerfully-retained loyalty, and hint at some of the precise services to the Stuarts which earned them their collection of royal portraits. One such is a handwritten 'Manifesto & Declaration'

...by the Noblemen, Gentlemen, and others, who dutifully appear at this time in effecting (?) the undoubted right of their lawfl. Sov: James the 8th, by the Grace of God King of Scotland, England, France & Ireland, Defender of the Faith etc: And for relieving this his own erent Kingdome of Scotland from the oppressions and Grievances it lyes under. His Majesty's Right of blood to the crown of these Realms is undoubted, and has never been disputed or arraigned...⁵

The same document, presumably compiled soon after the formal proclamation of James as king when his standard was raised at Glenfinnan on 19 August 1745, then piously invokes 'the Lamb of God', the 'auncient Constitution' and 'the positive unrepeal'd law of the land' in calling upon all to fulfil 'the Duty of faithfull subjects' in supporting their true monarch.

⁴ James Chrystal to Christian Hay, 25 June 1846. NRAS2720/Bundle 779.

⁵ NRAS2720/Bundle 779.

The other is a written request to Alexander Hay of Drumelzier himself from Lord George Murray, lieutenant general of the Young Pretender Prince Charles's army, in the form of a requisition for supplies.⁶ It asks for the 'loan' of 16 able draught horses and eight men, from eight named farms each furnishing a man and two horses, all on his Whittingehame estate. This is dated 2 November 1745, when the Jacobite army, flushed with the success of Prestonpans in September, was *en route* for England and heading for Carlisle, which was captured with or without the loan of Alexander's men and horses just a fortnight later on 14 and 15 November.

Against this dangerous background, the Drumelzier Hays learning to face in two directions, several English schools managed to maintain close Jacobite connections and to these the sons of Catholic or sympathetic nobility were sent. The school at Twyford in Hampshire was closed during the '45 for fear of disaffection or open rebellion, at which time Robert Hay's father may have been among its pupils. Family connections with such a school were long-lasting; at the time of Cardinal York's death Robert Hay himself and his elder brother Alexander were in residence,⁷ while on its staff were members of the Oliphant family and other Stuart sympathisers. A few years later, according to the earliest complete register,⁸ the school housed boys of the Carnegie, Grant, Hamilton, Stewart and Swinton families and another Hay, thought to be Charles Erskine, the youngest of Robert's brothers.⁹

This then explains the historical and family background against which the career of Robert Hay is to be set. His activities at the beginning of his Egyptian expedition are strongly reminiscent of those of the young rich Scot of some years before. In travelling where and as he did, it is likely that at first he was merely following well-established tradition. Influenced no doubt by what he had seen of the Middle East in his naval days (see pages 7, 13), he developed more ambitious and more lasting ideas. He will have been spurred on too by the increasing, if to our eyes sometimes patronising, interest in the culture of Egypt and further East, both ancient and modern, that struck all early nineteenth-century Europe. In Egypt's case this has been well summarised as fascination with the antiquities of a past mighty civilization set alongside an obsessive chase after stories and personal encounters with the exotic and bizarre world of 'the Oriental'.¹⁰ It threw up a body of men who hovered on the borders between tourism, dilettantism and science. Many of these were merely antiquity-hunters whose curiosity, desire to impress and downright greed proved, in the light of callous and wanton destruction on the part of Muhammad Ali Pasha¹¹ and others, to have been in fact the largest project of 'rescue archaeology' yet devised. Yet their work was haphazard, sporadic and more often inspired by nationalistic fervour than by any inkling of what they could preserve for future generations.

Beside these there existed a small band, who, while by no means scholars or scientists, were something more than antiquarians; men dedicated to the conscious and systematic preservation of monuments of the ancient world by gentler means than the inevitable destruction and dispersion caused by archaeology; men whose task was to copy and to draw, to increase European acquaintance with the East rather by word and picture than by the Museum gallery.

It is however the Museum gallery that draws most public attention. The other aims, noble indeed, failed in many cases through the difficulty of disseminating carefully-gleaned knowledge; that was to say, the difficulty of profitable publication. Some had the luck to be able to publish in full, and among these the

⁶ NRAS2720/Bundle 779.

⁷ Letters of Robert Hay to Lady Erskine (grandmother) 1 April 1809 and Alexander Hay to Miss Erskine (aunt) 1 March 1810. They are bread-and-butter letters on small-format ruled paper, written in careful identical copperplate; both boys say they are 'dutiful' and write as always on the first of the month. NRAS2720/Bundle 755.

⁸ Revd R.G. Wickham, chaplain to Twyford School 1937-1984, to ST 9 October 1976.

⁹ This thought does not altogether agree with the archive at Duns; NRAS2720/Bundles 816, 836 and 837 contain records of 'Receipts & disbursements' and other material on behalf of all three brothers progressively at school on dates between November 1811 and March 1814. In January 1814 Charles was certainly a pupil at Rugby: see pages 94-95

¹⁰ For many examples see Fahim, H.M. *European Travellers in Egypt: The Representation of the Host Culture*, in P.G. and J.C.M. Starkey (eds.) 2001: 7-12; and compare through Robert Hay's eyes his first description of the world of Alexandria (below, p.29).

¹¹ The Ottoman governor, *de facto* ruler of Egypt 1805-48, usually thought of as the founder of modern Egypt.

achievements of Lepsius, Rosellini and Champollion remain to this day as monuments to their skill and dedication.¹²

Others were content to publish principally those parts of their work which would be a sure sell, as witness the many editions of Sir Gardner Wilkinson's *Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians* and Edward Lane's *Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians* and *Arabian Nights*. Still others published little or nothing to show public and specialist alike the fruits of their labours, and not surprisingly these fell soonest from public and specialist memory. Such were James Burton, William Bankes, Lord Prudhoe, Émile Prisse d'Avennes, Nestor L'Hôte¹³ - and Robert Hay.

¹² Champollion 1834-35; Lepsius 1846-56; Rosellini 1832-44.

¹³ Bankes 1830; Bierbrier 1995: 325; Burton 1825-29; L'Hôte 1840, 1846; Prisse d'Avennes 1847. For L'Hôte see also Harlé, D.S. The Unknown Nestor L'Hôte, in Starkey *op. cit.* 121-129, and Naunton 2020: 104-109.