

From Parlor to Castle: The Egyptian Collection at Glencairn Museum

Ed Gyllenhaal

Glencairn Museum

It was Warren R. Dawson who, in 1951, first edited a concise biographical index of the philologists, archaeologists, collectors, missionaries and travelers who have advanced our knowledge of ancient Egypt. *Who Was Who in Egyptology*, published by the Egypt Exploration Society, is now in its third edition, and the scope of the book is impressive. However, such a volume can only scratch the surface, and little is known about many of the minor personalities in the history of the discipline.¹ Gathering information about these lesser luminaries of Egyptology can be a daunting task. Professional Egyptologists leave a legacy of publications bearing witness to their accomplishments, but the activities of many early travelers to Egypt and collectors of Egyptian art can be retraced only through the painstaking examination of unpublished letters, diaries, and other archival material. Sometimes these primary sources can be accessed only with great difficulty, and sometimes they cannot be accessed at all.

Nevertheless, in the case of the individuals whose names are associated with the formation of Egyptian collections now in museums, this research is well worth the effort. While some museums have assembled their Egyptian collections primarily through participation in excavations, many have also acquired objects on the antiquities market. In addition, since the advent of 'Egyptomania' in the 19th century, a large number of private collectors have donated individual objects, or even their entire collections, to museums. Detailed information about the provenance of these objects—regrettably often lacking in curatorial records—can sometimes be found only by combing through the records of private collectors. For the archaeologist or art historian, the benefits of obtaining information about the chain of provenance of Egyptian objects in museums, now removed from their original context, are obvious. For the cultural historian, provenance research can shed light on the motivating factors that lay behind the creation of the many Egyptian collections now in museums around the world, and broaden our understanding of the history of collecting and artistic taste in general.

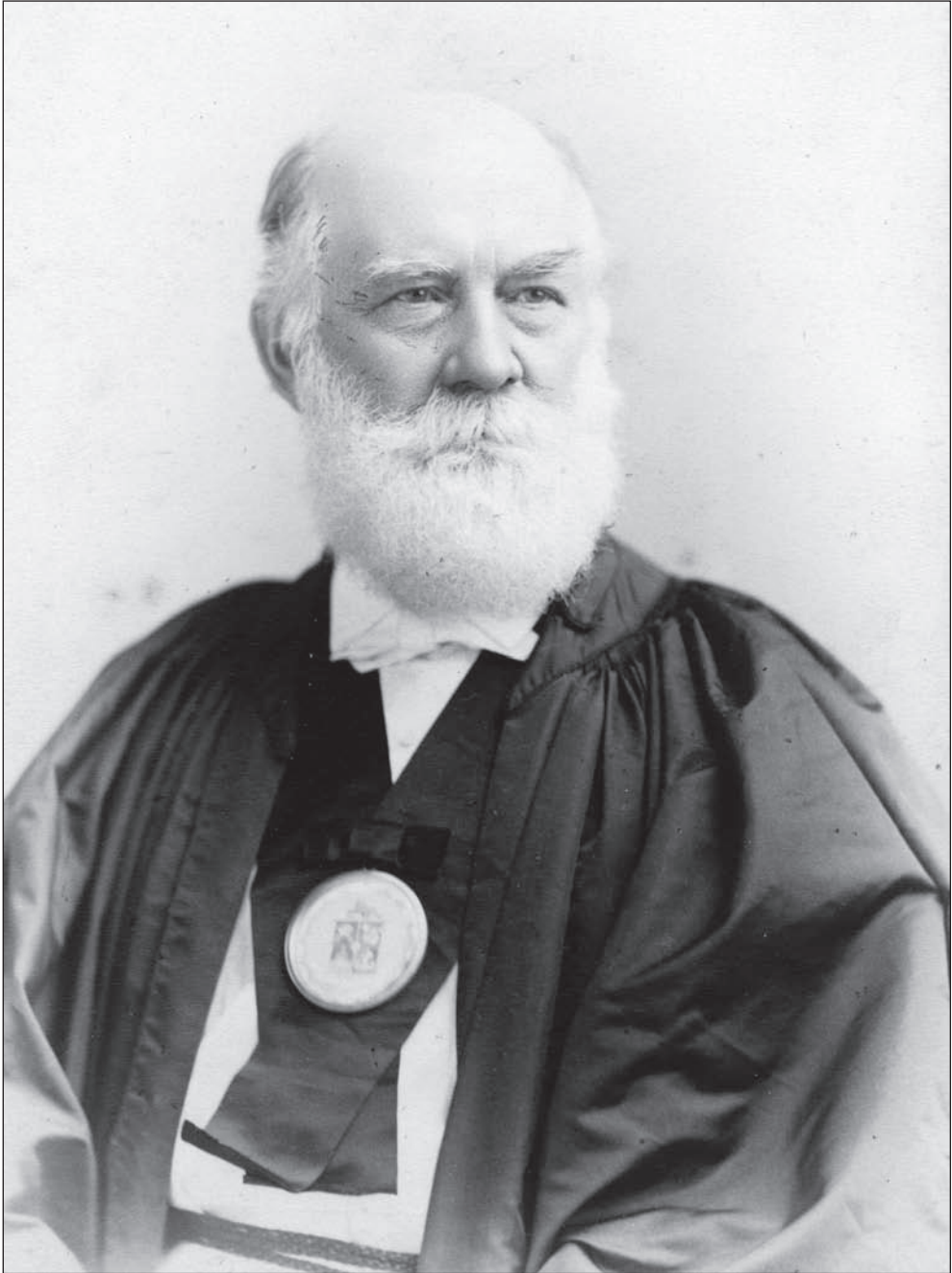


Fig. 1: William Henry Benade (1816-1905). Photograph courtesy of the Glencairn Museum Archives.

The Egyptian collection at Glencairn Museum,² founded in 1878, was assembled primarily by four men: the Rev. William Henry Benade (a Christian pastor, and later a bishop), John Pitcairn and his son Raymond (industrialists and philanthropists), and Rodolfo V. Lanzone (an Italian Egyptologist and collector of antiquities). Archival material documenting how the collection was formed—including the personal correspondence of Benade and the Pitcairns—has been preserved by the Academy of the New Church, and is now in the Glencairn Museum Archives. It is therefore possible to trace the provenance of many individual objects, and also to explain what motivated these individuals to establish the museum and its Egyptian collection.

Rev. William Henry Benade (1816-1905)

William Henry Benade (Fig. 1) was the founder of the museum of the Academy of the New Church (now Glencairn Museum). He was born in 1816 in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, to a family prominent in the Moravian Church. Andrew Benade, William's father, had left Europe in 1795 for the purpose of teaching at Nazareth Hall, a prominent boarding school in the Moravian community at Nazareth, Pennsylvania. At that time the Moravian Church was well known for its highly developed system of education for both boys and girls. The Moravians viewed education as an instrument of salvation, believing the schoolmaster's desk to be as essential as the church pulpit.³ Andrew Benade later became principal of the Moravian Seminary for Young Ladies in nearby Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, and he was consecrated a bishop in the Moravian Church in 1822. As the son of a Moravian teacher, school administrator, and bishop, William Benade was raised in a family that placed a high value on education—especially religious education.

In the late 18th and early 19th century it was common for Moravian missionaries to send artifacts collected during their travels home to their church centers. The Moravian tradition of using natural history and ethnology collections in their educational system began in Europe—a natural history collection is documented at the Moravian theological seminary in Barby, Germany, as early as 1758.⁴ In Pennsylvania, Nazareth Hall had a small museum by 1799, about which a visitor remarked, 'this in time will be large, as the missionaries are busy in collecting and sending everything that is rare from every quarter'.⁵ In 1840 the Young Men's Missionary Society opened a museum in Bethlehem to help raise funds to support the missions. William Benade grew up in the midst of this rich tradition of Moravian collecting.

Benade first enrolled as a student at Nazareth Hall in 1828. When he finished his schooling in 1835 he began teaching a variety of subjects at Nazareth Hall, and in 1839 he became a professor at the Moravian College and Theological Seminary in Bethlehem. After his ordination as a minister in 1841, Benade had every reason to look forward to a successful career in the Moravian Church. However, at about this time something happened that would change Benade's life forever: he began reading the theological works of Emanuel Swedenborg (1688-1772, Fig. 2), a Swedish scientist, philosopher, and Christian theologian who wrote about the need for a 'New Church.' Convinced of the truth of Swedenborg's writings, Benade resigned from the Moravian Church, and in 1845 he accepted an appointment as pastor of a Swedenborgian (New Church) congregation in Philadelphia. His enthusiasm for religious education, this time from a New Church point of view, was undiminished; Benade began publishing New Church magazines for children, and founded a day school for boys and girls in the church building on Cherry Street.

In 1867 Benade wrote to a New Church publisher in Boston of his long-term plan to publish a series of books, including volumes on Egyptian hieroglyphs and the mythology of Egypt and Assyria.⁶ In Benade's day it was not unusual for clergymen to indulge an interest in ancient

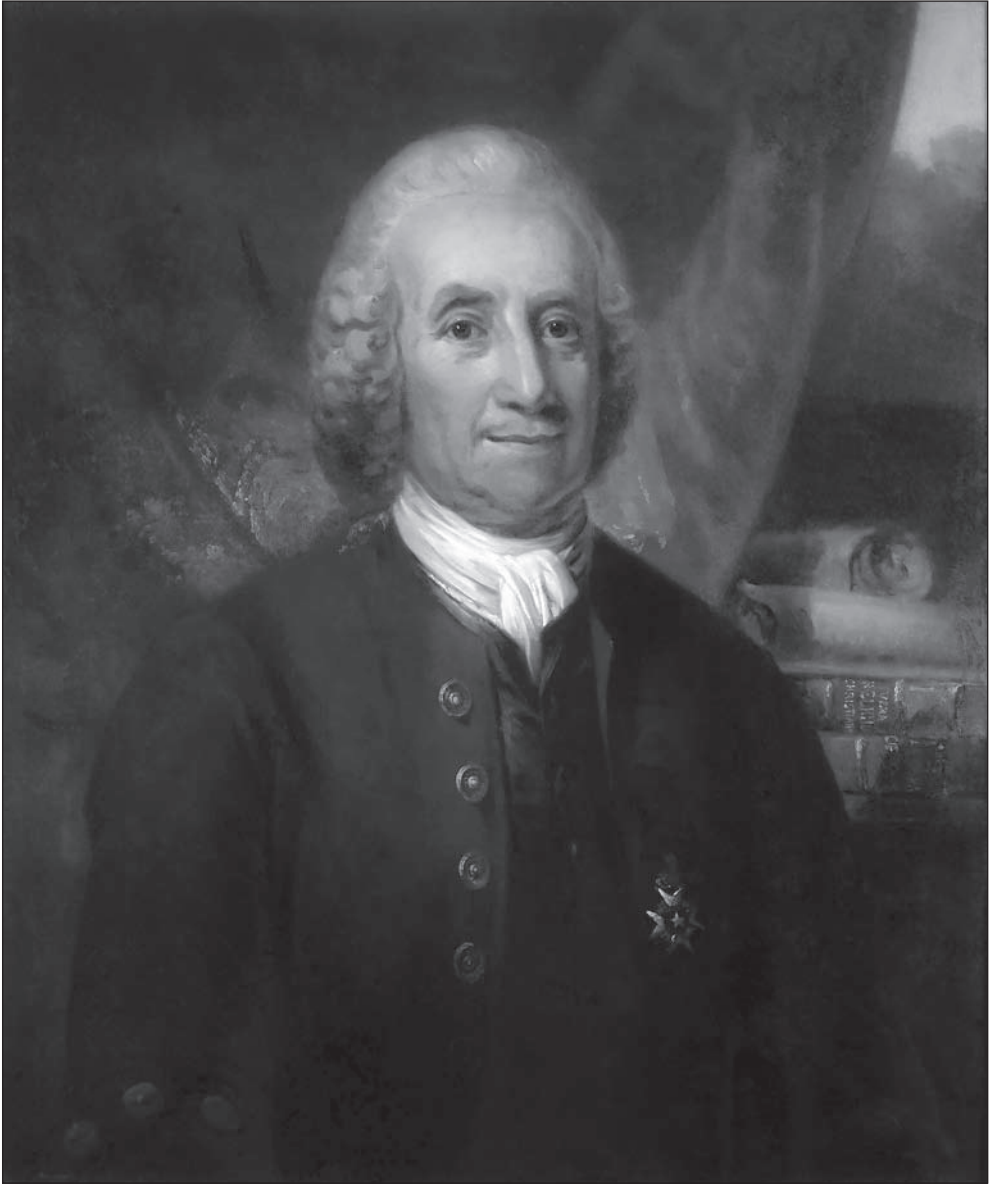


Fig. 2: Emanuel Swedenborg (1688-1772). Painted in 1817 by Carl Fredrik von Breda. Photograph by David Hershey, courtesy of Glencairn Museum.

Egypt. In the 19th century much of the early enthusiasm for Egyptology was motivated by a desire to provide evidence to support the Old Testament narrative, the historicity of which was being called into question by scholars. The Egypt Exploration Fund was established in London

in 1882 partially with this purpose in mind.⁷ In fact, the American branch of the fund was founded the following year by the Rev. William Copley Winslow, a clergyman who believed in the potential of Egyptian archaeology to illuminate the Bible.⁸ While the Rev. Benade was sympathetic to this approach, his own interest in Egyptology had primarily been stimulated by Swedenborg's ideas about Egypt and the rest of the ancient world, found scattered throughout the twenty-five volumes of theology he had published between the years 1749 and 1771. In order to explain Benade's passion for ancient Egypt, it is necessary to understand Swedenborg's unique concept of the history of religion.

During the 18th century, Christian scholars, poets, and clergy were struggling to make sense of the pagan deities that seemed to be confronting them at every turn.⁹ Classicism had long been fashionable in European literature and the visual arts, and more and more travelers were returning from Egypt with information about the perplexing variety of gods and goddesses apparent on the Egyptian monuments. How could an 18th-century Christian theologian like Emanuel Swedenborg interpret the strange religions that had resulted after Adam's Fall from paradise? The only church history resource known to have been in Swedenborg's personal library in Stockholm was Johann Lorenz von Mosheim's *Institutionum Historiae Ecclesiasticae antiquae et recentioris* (1726). It is typical of the period in its dismissal of ancient religions: 'The rites used in their worship were absurd and ridiculous, and frequently cruel and obscene... As to their prayers, they were void of piety and sense, both with respect to their matter and their form'.¹⁰

However, not all of Swedenborg's intellectual contemporaries were dismissive of pre-Christian religion; some longed for a distant past referred to as the 'Golden Age,' which they believed to have existed before the flood described in the biblical book of Genesis. This was conceived as a time before the known empires of the world, when there was a general unity of religion.¹¹ The concept of a prehistoric Golden Age was familiar to 18th-century readers from the accounts of certain Classical poets; Hesiod had described the Golden, Silver, Bronze and Iron ages in his *Works and Days*, and Ovid, in his *Metamorphoses*, had included vivid descriptions of the Four Ages. In Ovid's account there was a gradual moral decline from the Golden to the Iron Age, followed by a flood. Emanuel Swedenborg's descriptions of an idyllic Golden Age made up of 'the most ancient people who lived before the flood'¹² would have sounded familiar to many of his 18th-century readers. In fact, some of Swedenborg's more general statements about these people, whom he describes as having 'inward and at the same time outward peace, so that heaven dwelt with mankind'¹³, would likely have found general acceptance in his day.

Nevertheless, Swedenborg's version of the Four Ages differs radically from that of his predecessors in both the Classical and Christian traditions. Swedenborg describes each of the Four Ages as a separate *Ecclesia* (Church), an unusual choice of words for a Neo-Latin author.¹⁴ Most other Christian writers used the term *Ecclesia* to refer exclusively to the Christian Church, with non-Christian religions designated as *religiones* or *religiosa*. In other words, Swedenborg's contemporaries focused on the differences between ancient religions and Christianity, with Christianity being considered the only 'true church.' Swedenborg, on the other hand, presents the history of religion as a succession of five *Ecclesiae*: The Most Ancient Church, the Ancient Church, the Israelitish Church, the Christian Church and the New Church. Each of these spiritual epochs was a true *Ecclesia*—that is, each had a genuine relationship with God, some form of divine revelation, and (with the exception of the New Church) even its own Last Judgment. According to Swedenborg, the Ancient Church (*Antiqua Ecclesia*, always capitalized) was located in Egypt, and extended throughout the ancient world.¹⁵ He considered the texts and monuments of the ancient Egyptians to be a sincere and inspiring attempt to connect with the one true God.

William Benade accepted without reservation Emanuel Swedenborg's view that God had been accessible to all people throughout human history, and that an Ancient Church had once existed in Egypt. While he agreed with the use of Egyptian archaeology to confirm and illustrate the stories of the Bible, his own interest in ancient Egypt was fueled by his enthusiasm for Swedenborg's concept of the Ancient Church.

A Visit with Henri Édouard Naville (1877)

In 1876, together with a small group of supporters, William Benade and John Pitcairn (1841-1916), a Pennsylvania industrialist who was a member of Benade's congregation, established the Academy of the New Church in Philadelphia. Benade had long dreamed of a comprehensive system of religious education for the New Church, and Pitcairn, who had amassed a considerable personal fortune through his involvement in Pennsylvania railroads, oil and coal, provided him with the financial means. Over the next few years the Academy opened a divinity school for training ministers, a college, a boys' school and a girls' school. Ironically, Benade and Pitcairn were not present to witness the long-anticipated opening of the Academy in September of 1877—the previous June they had boarded the *White Star Liner Germanic*, bound for an extended tour of Europe, Egypt and the Holy Land. During this trip they took every opportunity to spread the word overseas about the New Church and the Academy. Benade's letters reveal that the Ancient Church was never far from his mind, and he would return to Philadelphia a year later with more than a thousand artifacts from ancient Egypt, the beginning of a museum for the Academy of the New Church.

Benade and Pitcairn began their trip by spending several months visiting New Church people in England and Paris, going to museums and galleries, and collecting books for the Academy's library in Philadelphia. By December Benade reports that plans for their Egyptian journey were nearly complete: 'We have an abundance of letters and recommendations, and as there are not many travellers in Egypt this winter, owing to the Turkish war and other causes, we hope to have a real good time among the mummies'.¹⁶ Before leaving, however, Benade made an excursion to Switzerland, 'for the purpose of visiting Mr Naville, a rising young Egyptologist, from whom I had received a pressing invitation to come and see him...' Henri Édouard Naville, who would eventually become one of the 'giants' of Egyptology, was at this time in his early thirties. Benade visited Naville and his wife at their country home outside of Geneva:

He lives about five miles from the city, on a beautiful place in the country, situated on the Lake, and having a splendid view of the Alps and Mont Blanc. In a large house, built in the old style, with large rooms, long passages, and strange, unexpected windings of stair-cases, I found a charming young couple, with two 'petits enfants.' They are both tall, handsome and elegant in form and manners, Mr N. a blond and Mrs N. a brunette, and to my surprise, both spoke English remarkably well. Their simple, refined and genial hospitality was really refreshing.¹⁷

Benade and Naville shared an interest in biblical studies, but during Benade's visit their conversations focused on ancient Egyptian religion. They discussed Naville's ambitious project to produce an edition of the *Book of the Dead* (which he published nearly ten years later in 1886, in four volumes).¹⁸ However, while Benade acknowledged Naville to be a scholar of 'great reputation,' he believed that Egyptologists could never properly interpret Egyptian religious beliefs without an understanding of Swedenborg's concept of the Ancient Church:

We then spoke of the mythology of the Egyptians, which has proved a matter of great difficulty to these savants, because of the large number of the deities, and the apparent confounding of the attributes of the one with those of the other. This led me to speak of the real clue to this labyrinth of statements, as found in the fact that the Egyptians were a part of the Ancient Church, and their deities, at first, were but objective presentations of true ideas concerning God. The idea was new to him, and of course brought our conversation to the New Church. He belongs to a religious family, and although unable to receive the Word, as literally true, is yet disposed to believe that it may have another meaning. On this subject we spoke a long time and both Mr N. and his wife seemed greatly interested in hearing of the Church. He wanted to know what books of Swedenborg he ought to read.¹⁹

When Benade returned to Paris, he sent a French copy of one of Swedenborg's books, *The Divine Love and Wisdom* (1763), to Naville. However, despite Benade's efforts, it seems that Naville was not favorably impressed with the idea of the Ancient Church. The next year Benade, having spent more time with Naville at the International Congress of Orientalists in Florence, wrote to John Pitcairn that he was among those Egyptologists who are 'locked up in their linguistic studies, and so devoted to words, that I found no open place in their minds for ideas of truth'.²⁰ Nothing more appears in Benade's letters about his friendship with the Swiss Egyptologist.

Up and Down the Nile (January–April, 1878)

William Benade and John Pitcairn arrived in Alexandria on January 3, 1878, aboard the Peninsular & Oriental Co. steamship *Deccan*. During their three months in Egypt Pitcairn kept a meticulous travel diary, without missing a single day (Fig. 3). On the first day they met Anthony J. Drexel (1826-1893), the 'man who made Wall Street,' who in later years became the founder of the Drexel Institute of Art, Science and Industry in Philadelphia (now Drexel University). Drexel was traveling the Nile in a *dahabiyah* with a group that included his wife, Ellen, and John D. Lankenau, the husband of his oldest sister. In the years to come the Drexel family would become associated with Egyptian collections in museums in New York and Philadelphia. Anthony J. Drexel was the brother of Joseph W. Drexel, a trustee of the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York City. The latter Drexel's donations of objects in the 1870s and 1880s marked the beginning of the Metropolitan's Egyptian collection.²¹ In Philadelphia, Colonel Anthony J. Drexel, Jr., the son of Anthony J. Drexel, donated an Egyptian collection to the Drexel Institute in 1895.²²

It was with the assistance of Anthony J. Drexel that Benade and Pitcairn hired a dragoman named Louis Mansour for their Nile excursion. After examining seven or eight *dahabiyahs*, they selected one named the *Sylvia*. The original contract with Mansour, written before the American Consul, has been preserved in the Glencairn Museum Archives. The contract specifies that the crew should consist of at least fourteen men, but Benade writes home, 'we are eighteen altogether in the Boat—two passenger Bashes, one Dragoman, Cook, and waiter, a Captain or Reis, Steersman, and eleven men. Apparently a large force to take two men up the Nile, but not too large'.²³

Before heading south, Benade and Pitcairn spent a week in Cairo sightseeing. On January 6th, together with the Drexel party, they visited the Giza pyramids, where Pitcairn climbed to

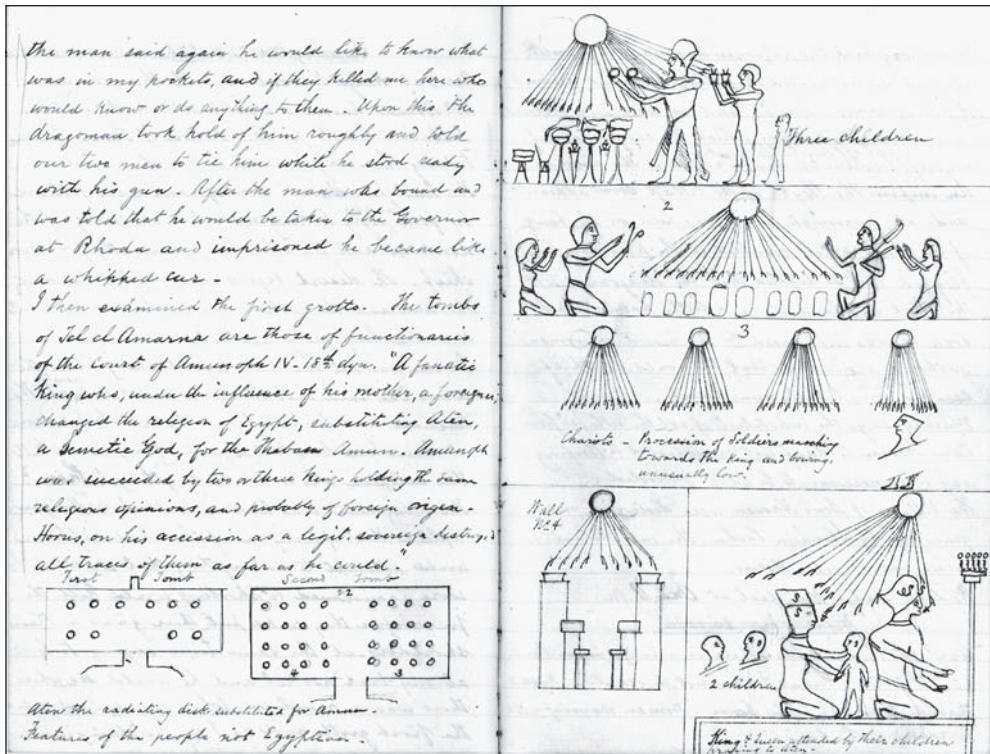


Fig. 3: Travel diary of John Pitcairn, 1878. Photograph courtesy of the Glencairn Museum Archives.

the top of the Great Pyramid. Pitcairn, 36 years old at the time of the climb, did so with the hired assistance of five locals: two to pull him up the pyramid, one to push, one to rub his joints, and the last, a boy, to carry his water bottle. Benade, then 61, did not attempt the climb. According to Pitcairn, 'I was the only one of our party that ascended, and I was amply repaid in the view that I had of the surrounding country'.²⁴

On the same day as the Giza visit, Pitcairn's diary includes his first mention of the antiquities trade in Egypt. The two men were warned from the very beginning to be wary of forgeries:

Every one had some curiosities to offer us, such as scarabaei, funerary images etc., which are found in large numbers in the old tombs and sarcophagi but the genuineness of most of the objects is extremely doubtful as an enterprising Yankee named Smith established a manufactory of them at Luxor a few years ago flooding the country.²⁵

The reference is to Edwin Smith (1822-1906), the American antiquities dealer, moneylender, and self-styled Egyptologist who lived in Egypt for many years. Smith is primarily remembered by Egyptologists for acquiring two important medical papyri—the so-called Edwin Smith Surgical Papyrus and the Ebers Papyrus. He had left Egypt two years before Benade and Pitcairn arrived in the country and, as Pitcairn's diary shows, by 1878 Smith's reputation for manufac-

turing forgeries was well established. The evidence against Smith has been set forth by John A. Wilson in his history of American Egyptology.²⁶ Statements have survived from a number of Smith's contemporaries, including Édouard Naville, who charged Smith with 'helping the locals to forge antiquities.' According to Wilson, 'the weight of testimony is heavy.' These reports are consistent with those heard by Pitcairn and Benade in 1878. Benade records his own version of the Edwin Smith story in a letter written home while aboard the *Sylvia* just above Luxor:

In bargaining they are very shrewd. Even children know the value of what they call 'anticas,' pieces of old pottery, fragments of scarabaei or other ancient articles, and will always begin by asking three or four times as much as they are willing to take for them. Unfortunately a 'cute' Yankee, by the universal name of Smith, some years ago, established a factory of these anticas at Luxor, and flooded the country with them. The people bought them up, to sell to travellers, and do not hesitate to offer them as genuine antiquities, now that a Christian has taught them how to cheat his fellow Christians. A very intelligent young man at Luxor, after persistently teasing me to buy his anticas, only laughed, when I told him they were all Smiths, and promised to show me some that were genuine on my return to the place. I shall expect him to meet me with a new lot of Smiths.²⁷

On January 9th, Benade and Pitcairn were shown through the Egyptian Museum at Bulaq by Émile Brugsch (1842-1930), the assistant curator. They also met his older brother, Heinrich Karl Brugsch (1827-1894), at that time the director of the School of Egyptology in Cairo. As Pitcairn would tell the story in later years²⁸, the latter Brugsch recognized Benade as being the first subscriber to his *Dictionnaire hiéroglyphique et démotique*.²⁹ (The first two volumes of Brugsch's great work, inscribed with Benade's signature, have been preserved in the rare book collection of the Swedenborg Library, in Bryn Athyn, Pennsylvania.) Pitcairn records that 'a most interesting discussion, which we continued until 2 o'clock in the morning, brought out much that was congenial in these two men—Bishop Benade, an ardent orientalist, surrounding his subject with an illuminating spiritual light, while Brugsch Bey truly represented the 'learning of the Egyptians'".³⁰ Pitcairn, who dictated this story as an old man, may have confused this January 9th meeting with a later visit to the Brugsch brothers on April 9th:

Herr Emil Brugsch Conservateur Musée de Boulaq called on us and took us to his house. His wife a young fine looking woman, an Armenian came in to see us smoking a cigarette. Her husband apologized and she put the cigarette down, but she soon had another lighted and was smoking again. Mr. Brugsch dined with us after which he took us to the house of his brother Brugsch-Bey where we spent a very pleasant evening. Brugsch-Bey is a large genial man 51 years of age, and we liked him very much. After we left his house we stopped a few minutes at his brother's and bought from him some plaster casts of Egyptian figures and some vases, or water bottles painted by himself.³¹

Émile Brugsch has been remembered as the first Westerner to view the cache of royal mummies at Deir el-Bahri. He has also been described as a mischief-maker, with 'an evil reputation for his clandestine transactions with native antiquity-dealers'.³² He would later be instrumental in assembling 'a collection of Egyptian antiquities, including six mummies' for Colonel Anthony J. Drexel, Jr.³³, who donated the collection to the Drexel Institute in Philadelphia.³⁴

However, while Brugsch was clearly a man with something to sell, Pitcairn and Benade recorded the purchase of no antiquities during their meetings with him. The plaster casts of Egyptian figures bought from him at his house were sent back to the Academy of the New Church in Philadelphia.³⁵

Benade and Pitcairn boarded the *Sylvia* in Cairo on January 10, 1878. They reached Abu Simbel on February 17th, and decided to go no further. However, it was not until March, during the return trip, that the two men began to purchase antiquities. On March 4th, Pitcairn's diary records the purchase of a single amulet for 20 francs in Edfu. A few days later he describes in detail encounters with several dealers in Luxor. He fails to note exactly what he purchased in Luxor, but paints a vivid description of the process:

Arrd. Luxor 9 O'c. this morning... Called and paid our respects to the Am. Consul an Egyptian named Ali Effendi Abu Murad. Long shebooks, coffee. Invited him to dine with us tomorrow evening. Purchased some Antiquities. This is the principal place for the manufacturing of antiquities. We are beginning to be able to judge between the genuine and the imitation [sic]... A great many vendors of Antiquities ply their avocation here. One of them took us to his house to show us a sitting figure, about a foot high for which he asked £30 Also a Roman head cut out of basalt. He wouldn't bring them to our Dah. as he was afraid the Govt would seize them. When we arrived at his house he gave a signal to the women who all disappeared, according to the custom. We were then ushered in to a house better than the average. The outside mud walls had no windows but we first came into a small court or yard where there were tame pigeons and two children playing. We were then conducted up stairs to a sort of portico or verandah where we were asked to be seated, a rug was placed on the mud floor and the Antiquities were placed before us.³⁶

Benade writes home from the Nile above Luxor, 'We have been surrounded by venders [sic] of antiques, and have obtained some really good ones from the American Consul. He gave me a fine Horus Hawk...'.³⁷ The activities of Ali Murad, the American Consul in Luxor, are described in the letters of Charles Edwin Wilbour (1833-1896), the American businessman who traveled extensively in Egypt.³⁸ When a boat flying the American flag arrived at Luxor, Ali Murad would greet it with considerable fanfare (including, sometimes, a twenty-one gun salute). Wilbour recorded an incident where he obtained a granite statue from Ali Murad by trading some bronzes and figurines. The latter were then 'distributed to his guests' after a *fantasiyeh* he held for them.³⁹ Due in part to his quasi-diplomatic status, Ali Murad was granted a license to conduct excavations. According to John A. Wilson, 'these authorized digs were mere plundering for salable antiquities, without control or recording... Wilbour was shown the antiquities for sale at Ali Murad's house, and his notebooks have extensive descriptions of the genuine and false pieces there. Nearly seventy-five years later some of the forgeries were on sale in New York'.⁴⁰

At the end of the trip, when they were back in Cairo, Pitcairn's purchasing seems to have increased:

Purchased this morning four bronze figures. An Osiris, a Pacht, a Ptah and Harpocrates or infant horus, holding a papyrus in his lap, sometimes represented with a horn on the right. Gave 6 francs each. Man said he got them at Gizeh. Also purchased from Mr.

Kauffman One Osiride bronze fig. 25 f. One Apis bronze fig. 25 f. One Apis bronze 100 f. One Anubis bronze 100 f. One Horus bronze 80 f. One Isis and Horus bronze 15 f. and one Pacht stone 10 f = 330 francs... On our way in stopped at Schoeft's a photographer, and purchased some fine photos.⁴¹

In addition to the 'fine photos' purchased at Schoeft's, one of the Brugsch brothers also obtained for them photographs of objects in the Bulaq Museum.⁴² Regarding the photographs sent home from Egypt, an early student at the Academy of the New Church remarked that during the trip the travelers 'procured the finest and largest photographs and pictures obtainable, a splendid collection which in later years enabled the Academy's professor of Archeology to take generation after generation of students on the journey up the Nile'.⁴³

It is not possible to identify with certainty any of the objects purchased during the Egyptian trip in later inventories of the Academy's Egyptian collection. It is clear that for a man of Pitcairn's means his purchases were modest. The official opening of the Academy of the New Church had taken place just a few months before their trip, and most likely the idea of a museum for the school had not yet been seriously considered.⁴⁴ However, it is documented that a shipment of antiquities and photographs purchased in Egypt arrived in Philadelphia in the fall of 1878. A temporary exhibition of the collection was assembled in the parlor of the home of Dr. F. E. Boericke:

I had the pleasure to open the cases just in [the] presence of Mr. Pitcairn. I am very glad to say that the articles arrived all in first class order. There were very few breakages and damages considering the long journey and such miscellaneous goods.

By permission of Mr. Pitcairn we had the boxes sent to 222 Franklin Street [Dr. F. E. Boericke's home]; there my girls unpacked them carefully and arranged the whole contents on tables in our parlour, where for a couple of weeks we have had them on exhibition for Academy and Society folks and friends generally... The exhibition is now closed, the goods boxed up again, stored safely in our house and awaiting your orders on return.⁴⁵

In 1878 there were apparently no institutions in Philadelphia with Egyptian collections, and it is likely that most of the visitors to the Academy's exhibition had never before seen genuine Egyptian antiquities. Two years earlier, at the Centennial Exhibition of 1876 in Philadelphia, the Brugsch brothers had overseen the construction of an Egyptian court, which included 'a small collection of plaster cast replicas of ancient Egyptian monuments'.⁴⁶ However, the Centennial Exhibition included no authentic antiquities (unlike the Chicago World's Fair seventeen years later in 1893, which included a number of excavated artifacts loaned by the University of Pennsylvania's recently-opened University Museum). The Academy's little exhibition, held in the parlor of a Victorian family's home in Philadelphia, must have made a considerable impression on its audience.

The Rev. Benade, more enthusiastic than ever about Swedenborg's concept of the Ancient Church, reflected on his three-month Egyptian excursion in a letter home to a member of the Academy:

Our voyage up and down the Nile has been a long, but a very delightful one. We have seen much, and I trust, have learnt something. This is a wonderful country, a country of



Fig. 4: John Pitcairn (left) William Henry Benade (right) camping near the Jaffa Gate in Jerusalem, April, 1878. Photograph courtesy of the Academy of the New Church Archives.

ruined Temples, Palaces and Tombs, which teaches more of truth in its ruins, than most other countries do in their beauty and glory... The pictures on the walls of some of the Temples, all of them religious, are lovely in the extreme, not so much as mere works of Art, but as expressions of the sentiment of profound reverence for the Divine Being, coupled with a deep, confiding love.⁴⁷

The travelers left Cairo on April 10th, intent on seeing the Holy Land. While no photographs have survived of Benade and Pitcairn in Egypt, a ‘magic lantern’ slide has recently been discovered of the two men camping near the Jaffa Gate in Jerusalem, taken in April of 1878 (Fig. 4). From Palestine they went on to Syria, Cyprus, and Greece, collecting a variety of antiquities along the way (especially pottery, lamps, and glassware)⁴⁸, before returning to Paris in May. In September of 1878 Pitcairn sailed back to America on business, while Benade traveled on to Florence for the International Congress of Orientalists. Benade ended up staying in Italy for nearly four months.

Purchase of the Lanzone Egyptian Collection (December 1878)

While in Florence for the Oriental Congress, Benade dined at the home of Robert Hay, the son and namesake of the well-known Scottish traveler and collector of Egyptian antiquities.⁴⁹ The younger Hay was married to a Florentine lady, and it may have been during his visit to their home that Benade first conceived the idea of establishing a museum for the Academy. Although Benade and Pitcairn had engaged in some casual collecting during their Egyptian trip earlier that year, the idea of a museum was never mentioned in Pitcairn’s detailed trip diary or in the letters they wrote home to members of the Academy. But now, after visiting the Italian home of

the Hay family, Benade makes the following remarks:

They reside on the third floor of a fine old palace, in large, airy rooms, beautifully frescoed, and have gathered around them many works of art; something which is easily done in Florence, at this time. At a comparatively small cost, one could collect a large cabinet of curious and beautiful things in bronze, marble and wood, which have become marketable, in consequence of the breaking up of the Monasteries, and of the decay of old families, who have been obliged to sell the collections of ages, in order to gain a livelihood.⁵⁰

Benade's observation that 'one could collect a large cabinet of curious and beautiful things' is a clear reference to the 19th-century practice of assembling a 'cabinet of curiosities,' a special room decorated with a wide range of artifacts, often the result of travels abroad. This forerunner to modern museum exhibitry, prevalent in both Europe and America, originated in the Italian 'cabinets' of the 16th and 17th centuries. Benade's comment about old Italian families being 'obliged to sell a collection of ages, in order to gain a livelihood' is especially interesting in light of what happened next: later that month Benade wrote to John Pitcairn to ask if he would be willing to purchase a collection of 'about 1300' Egyptian antiquities from Rodolfo Vittorio Lanzone (1834-1907, Fig. 5), an Italian from a stately family.

William Benade had met Lanzone while visiting the Turin Museum, where Lanzone was employed as an Egyptologist:

There is not much to interest one in the city, as such, but the Egyptian Museum is one of the best I have seen, in some respects, more interesting than any. The collection was formed by Signor Drovetti, French Consul in Egypt, at a time when there [were] but few collectors in the field, and he succeeded in obtaining many valuable things, especially in the way of Statues and Statuettes of the Divinities, and Papyri. In addition, I had the good fortune, immediately on my entrance into the Museum, to make the acquaintance of Professor Lanzone, the Assistant Conservateur, and from him I have gained a great amount of information, which he gathered during a twenty years' residence in Africa. He was an enthusiastic collector of Arabic MSS and Egyptian Antiquities, in fact, he spent his patrimony in that way, and is now in a subordinate office here, as a means of earning a livelihood. He speaks English very well, and as he has made a study of the Mythology of the Egyptians, with the view of publishing something on the subject, we were soon on excellent terms... Our long conversations on this and other subjects, fully opened the Professor's heart, and his closets. From the latter he brought forth a large and beautiful collection of Egyptian monuments, made during his long stay in Egypt; a collection rich in statuettes of the Divinities—clay and bronze—containing many things not to be found elsewhere. As he has made use of a greater part of this collection in the preparation of his work on the Egyptian Divinities, he offered to dispose of so much of it, as he did not require, and of the remainder, after he had published descriptions of certain things. The portion he offers for sale, consists of about 1300 pieces—larger and smaller—in bronze, clay and wood—besides a complete mummy dress of beads. For this collection he asks £300; a sum that seems large, but which is much less than they would cost if purchased by the piece, even in Egypt. It is a rare chance, if you think you can or ought to afford it. Possibly too, he might take £250. I am anxious to see these things



Fig. 5: Rodolfo Vittorio Lanzone (1834-1907). Photograph © Soprintendenza BAP e AE—used with permission.

go to America, and if our means will not admit of their purchase, I shall write to Mr. Drexel, who I am sure will buy them at once—and we can probably have the benefit of them, as he proposes to leave his collection for public uses. The Professor's offer is open to us—as long as we may wish to consider it, as he does not wish to leave what he has to the Museum here.⁵¹

Lanzone, who was an Arabist as well as an Egyptologist, was on the staff of the Turin Museum from 1872-1895. A minor—but by no means insignificant—figure in the history of Egyptology, little information has survived about him; however, in the 1970s Silvio Curto was able to gather enough material to write a brief biography to mark the occasion of the reprinting of Lanzone's *Dizionario di Mitologia Egizia*.⁵² According to Benade's letter to Pitcairn⁵³, Lanzone used objects from his personal Egyptian collection 'in the preparation of his work on the Egyptian Divinities'; however, it is clear that the Turin Museum's collection was his primary source.⁵⁴ Lanzone's *Dictionary* received favorable reviews and was used extensively by early Egyptologists; Budge, for example, called it 'one of the most valuable contributions to the study of Egyptian mythology ever made'.⁵⁵

Rodolfo Lanzone was born in 1834 in Cairo, the son of Luigi Lanzone, who had been forced to leave Italy for political reasons. The elder Lanzone worked as a medical doctor in Cairo for 40 years. By the time the family returned to Italy, Rodolfo had spent many years living, traveling, and collecting antiquities inside Egypt. Heinrich Brugsch, writing about 19th century Europeans who assembled Egyptian collections while living in Egypt, notes, 'the Italian Lanzone, at present one of the conservators of the Egyptian Museum in Turin, possessed true treasures in his cabinet of antiquities selected with great care'.⁵⁶ As to the question of how collections like Lanzone's were formed, Brugsch says, 'As sellers of the antiques there regularly appeared Bedouins, who wandered about the country in order to buy up, at cheap prices, finds accidentally made by the peasants working on their farms, or themselves to carry out secret excavations, usually at places lying hidden, and at night...'.⁵⁷ A photograph of one of the objects in Lanzone's collection—a 22nd Dynasty statuette of Osorkon I with gold inlay—was published in 1884, along with a lively account of how Lanzone witnessed its discovery at Shibin el-Qanatir. Attracted by the cries of local farmers, Lanzone 'found that they had unearthed a small terra-cotta vase, containing bronze coins mixed with fragments of statuettes, and close to them a somewhat large oxidized mass, of no particular form. When cleaned and the oxidation removed, it proved to be the statuette of Uasarkan I...'.⁵⁸ The Osorkon I statuette is now in the collection of the Brooklyn Museum (accession no. 57.92).⁵⁹

On receiving Benade's letter, Pitcairn writes back that he is 'favorably impressed' with the idea of purchasing the Lanzone collection, but wishes to 'consider the matter more fully'.⁶⁰ Benade responds by pointing out to Pitcairn that 'it is a very valuable collection, for the purposes of mythological study'.⁶¹ After an unsuccessful attempt to bring the price down, Pitcairn agrees to pay £300, but requests that Lanzone 'furnish us with an inventory, or a list of objects'.⁶² In December of 1878, Benade writes home to Dr. F. E. Boericke with evident excitement:

When John and I return, we hope to bring with us a fine collection of Egyptian Antiquities, which I found in Turin, and which John has generously purchased. These things will make the beginning of a Museum for the Academy. I hope that all our friends will bear in mind that we shall need a Museum, and will collect *whatever* they can find, that may be of use for such a purpose.⁶³

The Lanzone collection was sent to Philadelphia, but unfortunately the inventory of objects requested by Pitcairn has never been found.⁶⁴ With the idea of ‘a Museum for the Academy’ now firmly in mind, Benade continued collecting. Before leaving Italy, he shipped back to Philadelphia, among other things, two ‘not so small’ cases of Etruscan antiquities.⁶⁵ According to Benade, ‘you can buy much here, at almost your own prices. So many things have been sold by old families, that the market is overstocked’.⁶⁶

With Benade’s sponsorship and Pitcairn’s patronage, the Academy of the New Church also made possible the publication of an Amduat papyrus in the collection of the Turin Museum—one of the first publications of this genre. Benade writes to Pitcairn, ‘Professor Lanzone proposes to do the lithographing himself, to save expense, and also to secure accuracy’.⁶⁷ A comparison of his lithograph with modern photographs of the papyrus shows Lanzone to have been a skilled artist and accurate copyist (Figs. 6a,b). The 1879 lithograph, *Le Domicile des Esprits, Papyrus du Musée de Turin*, which includes introductory notes by Lanzone, remains the only published source for this copy of the Amduat.⁶⁸

A Museum for the Academy of the New Church (1879)

After returning from Europe in August of 1879, Benade moved the Egyptian collection into the parlor of his home at 110 Friedlander Street in Philadelphia, a small three-story house that would also serve as classroom space for the Academy’s College and Theological School. The quarters were cramped, and it was only possible to unpack a portion of the Lanzone collection,⁶⁹ but Benade writes to a friend, ‘Don’t laugh at the idea of a Museum—we must have a place for our Egyptian Pantheon, and Etruscan Pottery...’.⁷⁰ Benade’s lecture series in Philadelphia, ‘Conversational Lectures on Antiquities in the Light of the New Church,’ began on November 15, 1879, with the twelfth and last lecture taking place the following spring. The presentations were delivered in one of the Academy’s schoolrooms for an admission fee of ten cents per lecture.⁷¹ Benade illustrated his talks with the photographs he and Pitcairn had acquired in Egypt, together with a variety of diagrams and temple plans. He also showed his audience objects from the Academy’s Egyptian collection, including shabtis and statuettes. According to one reporter, ‘After giving us so much spiritual food, Mr. Benade showed us some material food in the form of Egyptian bread, probably thousands of years old. But nobody present seemed to care to taste it’.⁷²

Over the next several decades, as the school moved from place to place in Philadelphia, the Egyptian collection moved with it. Objects were always on exhibit and accessible to students, in accordance with Benade’s belief that ‘a good Museum is a necessary adjunct of a good School’.⁷³ In the 1880s at least one class was formed at the Academy ‘for the study of Hieroglyphics’.⁷⁴ In addition, Benade, now a bishop, paid the tuition fees ‘out of his small income’ for several Academy students to study Egyptology and Assyriology under Hermann Hilprecht at the University of Pennsylvania.⁷⁵ One of these students was Carl Theophilus Odhner, who would go on to teach archaeology at the Academy. In 1897 the Academy of the New Church moved from Philadelphia to a campus in nearby Bryn Athyn, and in 1902 the Egyptian collection and the rest of the museum’s holdings were given a special room in Benade Hall, the new school building. Within a few years Odhner had completed a catalog of the objects in the Egyptian collection, assisted by his students.⁷⁶ In 1912, the collection was moved into a large building financed by John Pitcairn to house the Academy’s museum and library.

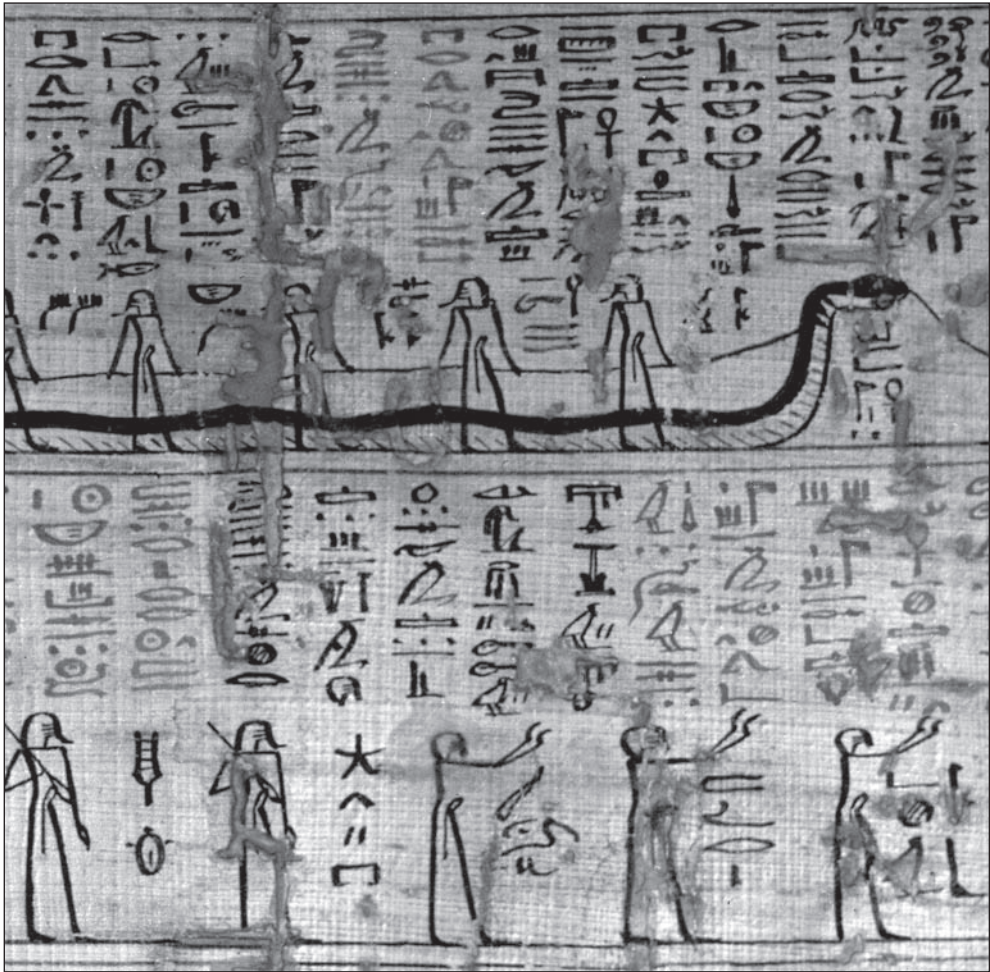


Fig. 6a: A portion of the twelfth hour of the Amduat, from a papyrus in the collection of the Egyptian Museum of Turin (accession no. 1776). Photograph © Fondazione Museo Antichità Egizie di Torino—used with permission.

Raymond Pitcairn (1885-1966)

One of Carl Theophilus Odhner's ancient history students at the Academy was Raymond Pitcairn, son of John. In the 1890s John and Gertrude Pitcairn had built Cairnwood, a stately home in Bryn Athyn. Raymond grew up on this estate, and continued living there after his 1910 marriage to Mildred Glenn. In 1913 Raymond began supervising the construction of Bryn Athyn Cathedral, a Gothic and Romanesque-style complex made possible by a substantial endowment from the Pitcairn family. His goal was to match the quality of the sculpture, stained glass, and metalwork he had seen in the medieval churches of Europe. Shortly after John's death in 1916, Raymond came into his inheritance and began purchasing medieval stained glass and



Fig. 6b: A portion of the twelfth hour of the Amduat in the collection of the Egyptian Museum of Turin as published by Rodolpho Vittorio Lanzone in his 1879 lithograph, *Le Domicile des Esprits*, *Papyrus du Musée de Turin*. Photograph courtesy of Glencairn Museum.

sculpture from New York art dealers. His initial purpose was to provide Bryn Athyn's stained glass artists and stone carvers with actual works of art from the medieval period, as a source of information and inspiration. In time the Pitcairn medieval collection would become one of the finest in the country, consisting of hundreds of examples of stained glass and sculpture from the Romanesque and Gothic periods.⁷⁷

As a Christian, Raymond Pitcairn felt a natural affinity for the biblical imagery depicted in many of the medieval works he owned. But as a member of the New Church, he also subscribed to Emanuel Swedenborg's teaching that God had been present in even the most ancient religions. This may have been the reason why his collecting interests quickly broadened to include

ancient art. In addition to Christian art, Pitcairn acquired art from ancient Egypt, the ancient near East, ancient Greece and Rome, and a few objects from Asian and Islamic cultures.

An extensive collection of letters, telegrams, and other communications between Raymond Pitcairn and a variety of art dealers—mostly based in New York City—has been preserved and is available to researchers in the Glencairn Museum Archives. In addition, Pitcairn compiled lists of his purchases, including descriptions of objects and prices paid, organized by dealer. These files paint a vivid portrait of Pitcairn as a wealthy American collector during the ‘Roaring Twenties.’ Ongoing research into Pitcairn’s files has identified five dealers from whom he purchased Egyptian art: six objects were purchased from Joseph Brummer (New York/Paris); five from George and Lucien Demotte (New York/Paris); nineteen from Dikran and Charles Kelekian (New York/Paris/Cairo); two from Hagop Kevorkian (New York); and forty-two from Azeez and Victor Khayat (New York/Haifa/Cairo). From the Khayats Pitcairn also purchased hundreds of ancient necklaces, rings, and other items of jewelry, most of which came from Palestine and Egypt.⁷⁸ Almost all of these purchases were made during the 1920s. Pitcairn curtailed his collecting after the stock market crash of 1929; while he continued to collect a limited amount of medieval art throughout the Great Depression, only a single Egyptian purchase is recorded after 1931.

Pitcairn was well known to the dealers listed above, and would often stop by their New York offices after receiving notification of shipments from overseas. During these visits he would either make purchases on the spot in the showroom, or go home with a list of objects he wanted to think about. Dealers often mailed him photographs, and sometimes they sent actual objects—including large stone sculptures—to Cairnwood, in the hope that the original artworks would prove more appealing than photos. On one occasion George Demotte sent a truck to Bryn Athyn with fifteen Egyptian, Assyrian, Greek, and Medieval stone sculptures on approval, worth a total of \$236,000.⁷⁹ Dealers regularly visited Pitcairn’s offices in Philadelphia, and sometimes were invited to his home in Bryn Athyn. Due to Pitcairn’s multiple business interests, ambitious building projects, and active involvement in church and Academy affairs, dealers had to accommodate to his busy schedule. One New York antiquities dealer, Victor A. Khayat, took Egyptian objects to Pitcairn’s vacation retreat in the Catskill Mountains.⁸⁰ On another occasion Khayat carried antiquities with him on the train from New York to Bryn Athyn, in order to show them to Pitcairn during his chauffeured commute from Bryn Athyn to Philadelphia.⁸¹

Negotiations about price were a normal part of the process. Once purchased, objects were generally shipped to Cairnwood, but on several occasions Pitcairn arranged for them to be sent directly to the Academy’s museum in Bryn Athyn. For large purchases he adopted the accepted practice of paying half the price at the time of sale, and the balance a year later. As Pitcairn advised his younger brother Theodore, also a budding art collector, ‘the large collectors make a habit of paying for objects after a lapse of a year’s time. J. P. Morgan often allowed more than a year to elapse before settling his accounts, and other collectors do the same.’⁸² Pitcairn was very aware of the danger of fakes in the antiquities market, and writes to his brother, ‘The more experience I have, the more I fear the fake antique.’⁸³ Raymond routinely asked dealers to provide whatever information was available on each piece, together with a guarantee of authenticity. His correspondence provides many examples of this practice:

Will you kindly send me the guarantees concerning the items purchased of you on January 2, together with as much information as possible regarding them, including statement as to restorations on the veil of the XIVth century Madonna, also of the 22nd



Fig. 7: Raymond Pitcairn (1885-1966), his wife Mildred, and their children in the parlor hall of Cairnwood, their home in Bryn Athyn, Pennsylvania. This 1923 photograph shows the life-size statue of Nehy in the background, now in the Matsuoka Museum of Art, Tokyo. Photograph courtesy of the Glencairn Museum Archives.

Dynasty Egyptian Bust setting forth that only portions of the nose are restored; and that the other objects are of a period mentioned in your bill and without restoration.⁸⁴

Theodore Pitcairn served as a New Church minister and spent much of his time in South Africa, so Raymond kept an eye out for objects that suited his brother's taste. Raymond had authorization to make purchases on Theodore's account, placed bids on his behalf, took care of paying the bills, and received shipments for him at Cairnwood. A 1923 family photograph taken in Cairnwood's parlor hall shows, in the background, a 19th Dynasty life-size statue of a woman named Nehy, purchased by Theodore in 1921 (Fig. 7).⁸⁵ The nature of their collaboration is perhaps best illustrated by the acquisition of a black granite libation bowl now in the collection of Glencairn Museum (E1178, Fig. 8). This belongs to a well-known class of New Kingdom libation bowls featuring a figure of a man or woman kneeling over the bowl's basin.

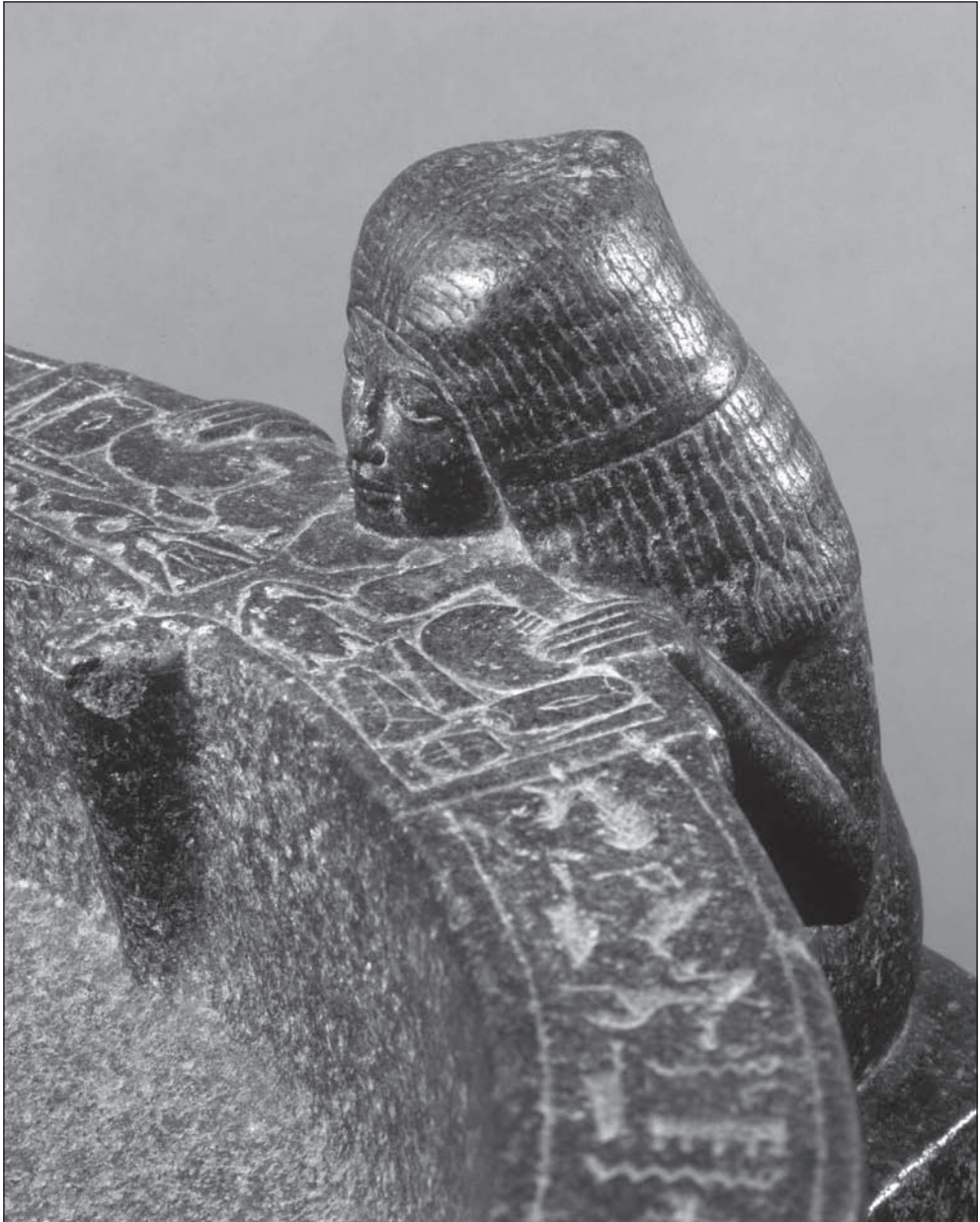


Fig. 8: Detail of black granite libation bowl in the collection of Glencairn Museum (E1178, late 18th or early 19th Dynasty). Photograph by Fred Schoch, courtesy of Glencairn Museum.



Fig. 9: Glencairn (left) and Cairnwood (right), Bryn Athyn, Pennsylvania. Photograph by Christopher Smith, courtesy of Glencairn Museum.

(In the Pitcairn example the woman's hands are resting on an intricately carved offering table.) In 1923 Raymond wrote to his brother that he had purchased the bowl, having made the first payment from Theodore's account: 'It is a very good and very rare piece in my estimation. I felt this on seeing it several times at Demotte's and this view was confirmed by a very good letter from the Director of the Egyptian Department at the Metropolitan, shown to me by Demotte'.⁸⁶ Raymond adds, 'I like it sufficiently well to be ready at any time to take it off your hands if you do not care to have it.'

The libation bowl was installed in the entrance hall of Cairnwood, where Mildred Pitcairn apparently took a liking to it. A year later the second and final payment on the bowl was made by Mildred⁸⁷, the first half having been presented to her by Theodore as a gift. In the years to come the Egyptian bowl at Cairnwood would become an unusual example of 'living with art.' Raymond writes to a friend, 'I shall try to remember to send your hat down by Preston [the chauffeur]. You deposited it in the Egyptian offering bowl last night, where the little black princess was still gazing at it this morning with apparent interest'.⁸⁸ Remarkably, on one occasion the Pitcairn children used the bowl to raise baby painted turtles.⁸⁹ In 1939 the bowl became the only Egyptian object permanently installed inside Glencairn, the medieval-style home built by Raymond and Mildred in Bryn Athyn. Now in the collection of Glencairn Museum, the bowl has not been moved to the Egyptian Gallery on the fourth floor, but remains in the first-floor



Fig. 10: The Egyptian Gallery at Glencairn Museum, located in a former bedroom on the fourth floor. Photograph by Chara Odhner, courtesy of Glencairn Museum.

niche Pitcairn designed for it, with a large glass mosaic of a white peacock decorating the wall behind.

Glencairn Museum

Raymond Pitcairn's plans for Glencairn, which served as both a home for his family and an impressive setting for his art collection, first began to take shape in the 1920s. Early in the planning process Pitcairn describes Glencairn as 'a Romanesque or early Gothic room or small building'⁹⁰; however, by 1928 he writes, 'I am working hard on my castle'.⁹¹ Glencairn was built between 1928 and 1939 in a style based on medieval Romanesque architecture (Fig. 9). The Pitcairns moved into Glencairn in 1939, and Raymond lived there until his death in 1966. Many examples of medieval stained glass and sculpture were on display at Glencairn—sometimes incorporated into the very fabric of the building—together with frescoes, paintings, tapestries, and rugs from a variety of periods. However, according to an inventory of the Pitcairns' personal property at the time of Raymond's death, only eight ancient Egyptian objects were on display in Glencairn in 1966 (although others were just across the street, on loan to the Academy's museum). Raymond's wife Mildred remained in the home until she passed away in 1979, and the following year the Pitcairn family gave the building and its contents, including the art collections, to the Academy of the New Church. The collections of the Academy's museum were then moved from their previous location in the library building to Glencairn, where they merged

with the Pitcairn collections to create what is now known as Glencairn Museum.

Glencairn Museum opened to the public in 1982. The museum's galleries, many of which are housed in former family bedrooms, include spaces devoted to Ancient Egypt, the Ancient Near East, Ancient Greece, Ancient Rome, Asia, American Indians, and several galleries for medieval stained glass, sculpture, and treasury items. The museum's mission to 'educate a diverse audience about the history of religion, using art and artifacts from a variety of cultures and time periods' has remained essentially unchanged since the Rev. William Benade and John Pitcairn purchased the Lanzone collection and founded the Academy's museum in the 1870s. To this purpose, in the 1990s the Egyptian Gallery was reinstalled to include special exhibits on mythology, the pantheon, and funerary magic, as well as miniaturized dioramas illustrating mummification and the judgment of the dead (Fig. 10). William Benade's observation in 1882 that 'a good Museum is a necessary adjunct of a good School'⁹² was prescient, as it would be difficult to imagine the campus of Bryn Athyn College and the Academy of the New Church's secondary schools without Glencairn Museum.

Although William Benade and the Pitcairns are relatively unknown as collectors of Egyptian art, their personal correspondence and dealer records have been carefully preserved, and their activities and motivations are well documented. Their interactions with Egyptologists and art dealers in the late 19th and early 20th centuries enhance our understanding of the history of collecting, and their unique New Church perspective on ancient Egypt highlights the diversity of motives that lie behind the formation of Egyptian collections now in museums. Research is now ongoing into the provenance of Egyptian objects purchased by Benade and the Pitcairns, and plans are being made for the full publication of the collection.

Notes:

- 1 As Dawson observed in the first edition of *Who Was Who in Egyptology*, 'Of the 'lions' of Egyptology, there are usually adequate biographies or obituary notices in existence (although it is surprising that some, even of these, have disappeared without record), but of the lesser-known names it is often very difficult to collect data' (W. R. Dawson, *Who was who in Egyptology. A biographical index of Egyptologists; of travellers, explorers and excavators in Egypt; of collectors of and dealers in Egyptian antiquities; of consuls, officials, authors and other whose names occur in the literature of Egyptology, from the year 1700 to the present day, but excluding persons now living* (London, 1951), preface). Eric P. Uphill edited an updated and greatly expanded second edition in 1972, and Morris L. Bierbrier edited the third edition in 1995. A fourth edition, also edited by Bierbrier, is currently in preparation.
- 2 David Silverman was my adviser when I was a graduate student at the University of Pennsylvania, but his influence on me began even earlier, as an undergraduate at Bryn Athyn College. During a visit to Bryn Athyn by Penn Egyptologists, a question arose from the audience about the best approach to learning ancient Egyptian. David answered the question with eloquence and characteristic wit. A year later I was studying Middle Egyptian at Penn under David's expert tutelage. David Silverman has offered me encouragement and sound advice from the beginning, and was very supportive of my work at Glencairn Museum. I hope this history of Glencairn's Egyptian collection will prove of interest to him. I would like to thank the Bryn Athyn College Research Program for the grant that allowed me to spend the better part of a summer trawling the archives in Bryn Athyn for relevant letters, diaries, and other primary sources. I would also like to thank the Egyptian Museum of Turin for their help with my research into the life and work of Rodolfo V. Lanzone, and Klare Scarborough for translating some of the Italian material. Finally, I would like to thank my wife, Kirsten Hansen Gyllenhaal, who spent long hours with me at Glencairn hunting down references to Egyptian objects in Raymond Pitcairn's personal correspondence and dealer files.
- 3 M. Haller, *Early Moravian Education in Pennsylvania* (Nazareth, Pennsylvania, 1953), 214.
- 4 S. Augustin, 'Vom Naturalienkabinett zum Völkerkundemuseum: Zur Geschichte ethnographischen Sammelns

- innerhalb der Evangelischen Brüder-Unität (Herrnhuter Mission),’ *Jahrbuch des Museums für Völkerkunde zu Leipzig* 41 (1997), 82.
- 5 Haller, *Early Moravian Education*, 71.
 - 6 Benade to H. P. Chandler, Pittsburgh, January 21, 1867.
 - 7 P. Spencer, *The Egypt Exploration Society: The Early Years* (London, 2007), ix.
 - 8 S. D’Auria, ‘The American Branch of the Egyptian Exploration Fundm,’ in Z. Hawass and J. Richards (eds.), *The Archaeology and Art of Ancient Egypt: Essays in Honor of David B. O’Connor* (Cairo, 2007), 185-199.
 - 9 E. Iversen, *The Myth of Egypt and Its Hieroglyphs in European Tradition* (Copenhagen, 1961); F. Manuel, *The Eighteenth Century Confronts the Gods* (Cambridge, 1959; New York, 1967).
 - 10 Swedenborg’s copy was Mosheim’s Neo-Latin edition. The quotation here is taken from the English translation by Archibald Maclaine, published in 1854 as *An Ecclesiastical History, Ancient and Modern* (Cincinnati, 1854).
 - 11 D. Pailin, *Attitudes to Other Religions: Comparative Religion in Seventeenth- and Eighteenth- Century Britain* (Manchester, 1984), 57.
 - 12 E. Swedenborg, *The New Jerusalem and Its Heavenly Doctrine*, in *Miscellaneous Works of Emanuel Swedenborg* (1758), Trans. John Whitehead, (New York, 1970), ¶255.
 - 13 E. Swedenborg, *Arcana Coelestia* (1749-1756), Trans. John Elliot, (London, 1983-1999), ¶10160.
 - 14 Preliminary research into the Neo-Latin terminology connected with *Antiquissima Ecclesia* and *Antiqua Ecclesia* was done in 1996 by Jonathan S. Rose, series editor of the *New Century Edition* of Emanuel Swedenborg’s theological works (Swedenborg Foundation Publishers, West Chester, PA). The present writer is grateful for his permission to summarize some of his conclusions here.
 - 15 Swedenborg, *Arcana Coelestia*, ¶1238.
 - 16 Benade to Eliza McCandless, Paris, December 22, 1877.
 - 17 Ibid.
 - 18 E. Naville, *Das Aegyptische Tottenbuch der XVIII. bis XX. Dynastie*, fol. 3 vols., 1 vol. text (Berlin, 1886).
 - 19 Benade to McCandless, Paris, December 22, 1877.
 - 20 Benade to Pitcairn, Venice, October 13, 1878.
 - 21 Metropolitan Museum of Art, ‘The New Egyptian Galleries,’ *The Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art* 6/11 (1911), 203-205.
 - 22 The Drexel Collection at Drexel University in Philadelphia no longer includes Egyptian objects. The Egyptian collection, assembled by Émile Brugsch at the request of Colonel Anthony J. Drexel, Jr., was donated to the Drexel Institute in 1895 (E. D. McDonald, *Drexel Institute of Technology 1891-1941: A Memorial History* (Philadelphia, 1942), 137; G. Scott, *Temple, Tomb and Dwelling: Egyptian Antiquities from the Harer Family Trust Collection* (San Bernardino, 1992) ix-x). In 1916 the Institute sold the entire collection to the newly formed Minneapolis Institute of Arts. Only a few of these remain in Minneapolis today—the rest were sold in the 1950s, by auction and through dealers. A number of Egyptian objects from the original museum of the Drexel Institute are now part of the Harer Family Trust collection. Some of these are on permanent exhibit at the Robert V. Fullerton Art Museum in San Bernardino, California (see Scott, *Temple, Tomb and Dwelling*, ix-x). See also W. Benson Harer, Jr., ‘The Drexel Collection: From Egypt to the Diaspora,’ in Sue H. D’Auria (ed.), *Servant of Mut: Studies in Honor of Richard H. Fazzini* (Leiden, 2007), 111-119.
 - 23 Benade to William F. Pendleton, Roda, January 19, 1878.
 - 24 Diary Entry, Cairo, January 6, 1878.
 - 25 Cairo, January 6, 1878.
 - 26 J. A. Wilson, *Signs & Wonders upon Pharaoh: A History of American Egyptology* (Chicago, 1964), 52-57.
 - 27 Benade to McCandless, Above Luxor, March 6, 1878.
 - 28 In addition to John Pitcairn’s travel diary, at one time there existed detailed notes about his Egyptian excursion, dictated to a secretary during his last illness when ‘he was urged by his physician to write his autobiography in order

- to have something to divert his mind' (C. T. Odhner, 'John Pitcairn: A Biography,' *New Church Life* 37 (1917), 2). According to Pitcairn's first biographer, 'Mr. Pitcairn's Notes on his oriental journey would fill quite a volume' (C. T. Odhner, 'John Pitcairn: A Biography,' *New Church Life* 37 (1917), 523). This unpublished record has apparently not survived, except for the portions quoted in Odhner's short biography.
- 29 H. Brugsch, *Dictionnaire hiéroglyphique et démotique* 7 vols., (Leipzig, 1867-1882).
 - 30 C. T. Odhner, 'John Pitcairn: A Biography,' *New Church Life* 37 (1917), 523.
 - 31 Diary Entry, Cairo, April 9, 1878.
 - 32 W. R. Dawson, 'Letters from Maspero to Amelia Edwards,' *JEA* 33 (1947), 70; see also C. Breasted, *Pioneer to the Past: The Story of James Henry Breasted, Archaeologist* (New York, 1943), 76-77; J.A. Wilson, *Signs & Wonders upon Pharaoh*, 133, 215.
 - 33 McDonald, *Drexel Institute of Technology*, 137.
 - 34 Scott, *Temple, Tomb and Dwelling*, ix-x; see also above, note 22.
 - 35 F. E. Boericke to Benade, Philadelphia, June 17, 1878.
 - 36 Diary Entry, Luxor, March 7, 1878.
 - 37 Benade to McCandless, March 6, 1878.
 - 38 See J. Capart (ed.), *Travels in Egypt: December 1880 to May 1891. Letters of Charles Edwin Wilbour* (New York, 1936).
 - 39 *Ibid.*, 138.
 - 40 Wilson, *Signs & Wonders upon Pharaoh*, 75.
 - 41 Diary Entry, Cairo, April 8, 1878.
 - 42 Benade to Pitcairn, Rome, November 2, 1878; E. Shreck, 'The Antiquities of the East in the Light of the New Church,' *Morning Light: A New-Church Weekly Journal* 3 (1880), 56.
 - 43 C. T. Odhner, 'John Pitcairn: A Biography,' *New Church Life* 37 (1917), 526.
 - 44 A museum for the Academy of the New Church was apparently first proposed in a letter written from the Rev. William Benade to Dr. F. E. Boericke on December 4, 1878.
 - 45 Boericke to Benade, Philadelphia, October 16, 1878.
 - 46 M-S. Delamaire, 'Searching for Egypt: Egypt in 19th Century American World Exhibitions,' in Jean-Marcel Humbert and Clifford Price (eds.), *Imhotep Today: Egyptianizing Architecture* (London, 2003), 125.
 - 47 Benade to Maria Hogan, Cairo, April 7, 1878.
 - 48 For more information about these objects see D. Romano and I. Romano, *Catalogue of the Classical Collections of the Glencairn Museum* (Bryn Athyn, Pennsylvania, 1999).
 - 49 After his death in 1863 the elder Robert Hay's collection was sold to the British Museum and the Boston Museum of Fine Arts.
 - 50 Benade to McCandless, Venice, October 10, 1878.
 - 51 Benade to Pitcairn, Turin, October 26, 1878.
 - 52 R. V. Lanzone's *Dizionario di Mitologia Egizia* (1975: 7-12). Lanzone published his dictionary of Egyptian mythology in six parts (1312 pages, 408 plates) from 1881-1886. *Dizionario di Mitologia Egizia* was reprinted in three volumes in 1974, with corrections and updates by Mario Tosi. A fourth volume, consisting of material previously left unpublished by Lanzone, appeared in 1975 (M. Tosi (ed.), *Dizionario di Mitologia Egizia*, 4 vols. (Amsterdam, 1974-1975); J. Johnson, 'Dizionario di Mitologia Egizia,' *JNES* 38 (1979), 70).
 - 53 Benade to Pitcairn, Turin, October 26, 1878.
 - 54 R. V. Lanzone, *Dizionario di Mitologia Egizia*. Mario Tosi (ed.). 4 vols. (Amsterdam, 1974-1975), Foreword.
 - 55 E. A. W. Budge, *The Gods of the Egyptians; or, Studies in Egyptian Mythology*. 2 vols. (London, 1904), xi.
 - 56 H. Brugsch, *My Life and My Travels*. Ruth Magurn (trans.), George Laughead Jr. and Sarah Panarity (eds.). <http://www.vlib.us/brugsch/> (1992).
 - 57 *Ibid.*

- 58 G. Gonino, Untitled. *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology* 6 (1884), 205.
- 59 The Osorkon I statuette at the Brooklyn Museum (57.92) and the 1,115 objects (mostly amulets, bronzes, and shab-tis) comprising the Lanzone collection at Glencairn Museum are the only objects extant from Lanzone's personal collection. He also acquired two fragments of a text from the Ptolemaic Period—a version of the Papyrus of Lake Moeris (R. V. Lanzone, *Le Papyrus du Lac Moeris* (Turin, 1896))—but according to Silvio Curto the location of these is unknown ('Rodolfo Vittorio Lanzone', in R.V. Lanzone, Mario Tosi (ed.), *Dizionario di Mitologia Egizia*. 4 vols. (Amsterdam, 1975), viii). For Brooklyn 57.92 see Richard Fazzini, 'King Osorkon I,' in Marsha Hill (ed.), *Gifts for the Gods: Images from Egyptian Temples* (New Haven, 2007), 82-83. For information about bronze objects of this type with figural surface decoration see John H. Taylor, 'Figural Surface Decoration on Bronze Statuary of the Third Intermediate Period,' in Marsha Hill (ed.), *Gifts for the Gods: Images from Egyptian Temples* (New Haven, 2007), 65-81.
- 60 Pitcairn to Benade, Paris, October 29, 1878.
- 61 Benade to Pitcairn, Rome, November 2, 1878.
- 62 Pitcairn to Benade, Paris, November 17, 1878.
- 63 Benade to Boericke, Rome, December 4, 1878.
- 64 Kate Benade, William Henry Benade's widow, wrote in response to a request from the Academy's librarian that no such list was found among his papers (Benade to Reginald Brown, London, February 14, 1924). According to one published source, in 1916 there were 1,125 objects in the Lanzone collection (C. Lj. Odhner, 'The Lanzone Collection,' *Journal of Education of the Academy of the New Church* 15:2 (1916), 103). An inventory taken by the museum in 1974 listed 1,115 objects in the collection.
- 65 Benade to Boericke, Rome, December 4, 1878; see also Romano and Romano, *Catalogue of the Classical Collections*.
- 66 Benade to Pitcairn, Rome, November 12, 1878.
- 67 Benade to Pitcairn, Turin, October 26, 1878.
- 68 A copy of F. Vieweg, *Le Domicile des Esprits, Papyrus du Musée de Turin* (Paris, 1879) is in the Glencairn Museum Archives. (Benade had worked with Vieweg previously and recommended Lanzone to him.) This Amduat papyrus carries Turin Museum accession no. 1776 and is described in A. Fabretti, F. Rossi, and R. V. Lanzone, *Catalogo Generale dei Musei di Antichità: Regio Museum di Torino* (Turin, 1882).
- 69 Odhner, *Journal of Education of the Academy of the New Church* 15:2, 103.
- 70 Benade to Walter Childs, Philadelphia, November 10, 1879.
- 71 J. Whitehead, 'From Philadelphia,' *New Jerusalem Messenger* 37:23 (1897), 316.
- 72 Shreck, *Morning Light: A New-Church Weekly Journal* 3, 98.
- 73 Benade to Childs, Philadelphia, April 17, 1882.
- 74 Benade to Childs, Philadelphia, April 18, 1884.
- 75 Kate Benade to H. P. Chandler, Bryn Athyn, December 1, 1913.
- 76 E. Sherman, 'Report of the Girls' Seminary,' *Journal of Education of the Academy of the New Church* 1906, 31.
- 77 In 1982 The Cloisters (Metropolitan Museum of Art) in New York, NY, held the exhibition, 'Radiance and Reflection: Medieval Art from the Raymond Pitcairn Collection.' The introduction to the exhibition catalog provides an account of Pitcairn as collector of medieval art; according to Philippe de Montebello, 'The Romanesque and Gothic art that was assembled by Raymond Pitcairn in the early part of this century represents the world's finest and most extensive collection of medieval sculpture and stained glass still in private hands' (J. Hayward and W. Cahn, *Radiance and Reflection: Medieval Art from the Raymond Pitcairn Collection* (New York, 1982), 4). See also E. B. Smith, *Medieval Art in America: Patterns of Collecting 1800-1940* (University Park, 1996), 185-188.
- 78 The Khayats provided ancient jewelry to a number of wealthy collectors and also to museums, including the Brooklyn Museum. For more information about the Khayats and the Pitcairn collection of ancient jewelry see Romano and Romano, *Catalogue of the Classical Collections*.

- 79 Demotte to Pitcairn, New York, January 22, 1923.
- 80 Khayat to Pitcairn, New York, July 18, 1925.
- 81 Pitcairn to Khayat, February 24, 1927.
- 82 Pitcairn to Pitcairn, February 27, 1922.
- 83 Pitcairn to Pitcairn, June 24, 1924.
- 84 Pitcairn to Dikran G. Kelekian, January 19, 1926.
- 85 This life-size statue of Nehy is now in the Matsuoka Museum of Art, Tokyo. A very similar companion statue of Nehy is in the collection of the Walters Art Museum, Baltimore (22.101). It is unclear how these statues were brought from Egypt to France in the 19th century, although several possibilities have been suggested (Champollion may have acquired them in 1828-1829 during his travels in Egypt; see G. Steindorff, 'Two Egyptian Statues of the Ramessid Period,' *Journal of the Walters Art Gallery* (1942), 11). At some point they came to the Château des Egalades in southern France. Information in the personal papers of Raymond and Theodore Pitcairn completes the chain of provenance from this point on. They were brought from France to New York by the dealer Joseph Brummer, who owned them together with Henri Daguerre (Raymond Pitcairn to Theodore Pitcairn, May 1, 1922). In 1921 Theodore Pitcairn bought one of the statues from Brummer for \$32,000 (Theodore Pitcairn ledger account, May 17, 1921 and June 14, 1921). Pitcairn eventually gifted it to the Lord's New Church in Bryn Athyn, PA, which sold it to the Matsuoka Museum of Art at a Christie's auction in London on July 6, 1976 (see Christopher Burge to Feodor Pitcairn, March 24, 1976). The companion statue was purchased from Brummer by Judge Samuel Untermeyer, who sold it to Henry Walters in 1925.
- 86 Pitcairn to Pitcairn, February 2, 1923.
- 87 Raymond Pitcairn to Lucien Demotte, February 14, 1924.
- 88 Pitcairn to Donald P. Rose, March 7, 1927.
- 89 Lachlan Pitcairn, son of Raymond. Interview. March 28, 2006.
- 90 Pitcairn to Theodore Pitcairn, January 12, 1922.
- 91 Pitcairn to Attilio Marchiori, May 8, 1928.
- 92 Benade to Childs, Philadelphia, April 17, 1882.

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