

19<sup>TH</sup> CENTURY OTTOMAN LYCIA, BRITISH TRAVELLERS' RECORD OF THE  
CINGANS-ZINCANI, THE YUROOK-YOUROOKS AND TURCOMEN NOMADS: ON  
LEECHES ERRONEOUS TITLES AND DATES

19. YÜZYIL OSMANLI LİKYASI'NDA İNGİLİZ SEYYAHLARIN ÇİNGENE, YÖRÜK VE  
TÜRKMEN GÖÇERLERE İLİŞKİN KAYITLARI: SÜLÜKLER, HATALI BAŞLIKLAR VE  
TARİHLER ÜZERİNE

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**Abstract:** 19th century British travellers to Lycia, largely drawn by an interest in the remains of antiquity also made observations of the inhabitants, Yürük, Turcomen and gypsy-Roma populations of Lycia. Ottoman official record of the gypsy population in Lycia in the first half of the 19th century seems almost non-existent, but these travellers provide a reason for gypsy settlement in certain areas of this region at the start of the 19th century - to enable the collection all year round of medicinal freshwater leeches, an important export from Ottoman territory. They record the gypsies collected the leeches, with a leech depot at Xanthus in 1843-44, from where they were transported to the port of Smyrna-Izmir by Greek and Italian merchants. They also worked metal, made coffee mills, musical instruments, spoons inlaid with mirror glass, firearms and gunpowder flasks, had numerous horses, wrestled, danced and played music. The Bristol artist William James Müller (1812-45) provided a remarkable visual record of these populations and their dwellings in Lycia 1843-44 in numerous watercolour sketches. This article notes that some of the titles given to his works have altered since his death, with some of his paintings of the gypsies of Lycia now recorded as depicting: Arabs, Turks, Orientals or Syrians, rather than gypsies-Roma and some of his paintings of the Xanthus valley are now mis-described as depicting a "desert".

**Keywords:** Lycia • Nomads • Gypsy • Medicinal Leech • William James Müller

**Öz:** Büyük oranda antik eserlere duydukları ilgi ile 19. yüzyılda Likya'ya gelen İngiliz seyyahlar, Likya'nın Yörük, Türkmen ve Çingene-Roman nüfusuna ilişkin gözlemlerde de bulunmuşlardır. 19. yüzyıl Osmanlı resmi kayıtlarında çingene nüfusuna ilişkin veriler mevcut değildir. Ancak bu seyyahlar çingenelerin, 19. yüzyıl başlangıcında bu bölgenin belli bölgelerindeki yerleşimleri için makul bir sebep sunmaktadırlar: Osmanlı toprakları için önemli bir ihracat emtiası olan tıbbi temiz su sülüklerinin yıl boyunca toplanması. Sülük toplayan çingenelere ve Rum ve İtalyan tüccarlar tarafından Smyrna-Izmir'e taşındıkları 1843-44 yılına ait Ksantos'taki bir sülük deposuna ilişkin kayıtlara yer verirler. Çingeneler metal işlerinde de çalışmış; kahve değirmenleri, müzik aletleri, aynalı kaşıklar, ateşli silahlar, barut şişeleri yapmışlar; çok sayıda ata sahip olmuşlar; dans etmişler ve müzik yapmışlardır. Bristol'lü sanatçı William James Müller (1812-1845) bu topluluklara ve onların Likya'daki yerleşimlerine ilişkin 1843-1844 yıllarına ait çok sayıda kayda değer suluboya çizimler sunmaktadır. Bu makale ölümünden bu yana Müller'in eserlerine verilen başlıklara dikkat çekmektedir zira Likya çingenelerine ilişkin resimleri günümüzde çingene-roman topluluklarından ziyade Arap, Türk, Doğulu veya Suriyelilere ilişkin eserler olarak anılmakta ve Ksantos vadisine ilişkin resimleri yanlış bir fadeyle "çölü" tasvir eden eserler olarak tanımlanmaktadır.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** Likya • Göçerler • Çingene • Tıbbi Sülük • William James Müller

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The English words Gypsy and Gypo are derived, as is the Bulgarian *Gupti*, Italian, *Gitani*, and the Spanish *Gitano*, from the word Egyptian. Egypt was the suggested ancestral home of the Roma/Dom people, as related by Nicephorus Gregoras who wrote of the group of Egyptian-Roma acrobats that appeared in Constantinople during the reign of Andronicus II (1282-1328)<sup>1</sup>. However the `Cingans' of the title, the *Chingunees-Chinganees-Cinganeese* - *Chinginee, Chinghiane, Chingene, Chingane, Cingani*,<sup>2</sup> *Chigan, Çigân, Cingari, Chingené, Chingâne, Çingene, Çingân* or *Çingâne*, variant transcriptions of the Ottoman Turkish word meaning Gypsies/Gipsies-gypsy is derived from the Greek<sup>3</sup>. Variants of this same word *Çingâne* are found in the Russian *Ciganki*, Hungarian, *cigány*, Czech, *Cikan/cikan*, Portugese, *cigano*, French, *Tchinghiane, gitan* and Albanian, *cigan*. According to a legend explaining this name, the Chingene come from the marriage of Chin (or Chen), their ancestor, to a sorcerer's daughter called Guin<sup>4</sup>. They were also called in addition to *Chingene*, in Persian and Ottoman Turkish *Zengî*<sup>5</sup>, and at times, were also recorded as *Kibtî*<sup>6</sup> and *Mutrub*<sup>7</sup>. The Ottoman official the *Chingani Ağa* collected taxes yearly from the Roma-Dom for the Ottoman Sultan<sup>8</sup>.

In Russian the Roma are termed, *Zigari, Zigani*, in German and Dutch, *Zigeuner*, in Italian: *Zingari, zigani, zingani, etc.* those names beginning with a Z<sup>9</sup> rather than a Ç-ch/C or J, probably deriving from the Arabic form of the Greek Ἀτσίγγανοι or Ἀτζίγγανοι, the *Atcingani*<sup>10</sup> - *Adcingani, Athinganoi-*

<sup>1</sup> Soulis 1961, 148-149.

<sup>2</sup> As recorded by Sir Paul Rycout, in the present State of the Ottoman Empire, (1668) 1995, 180, concerning the Ottoman Militia of Rumelia (Rumili), "*In Tchirmen 351 houses of Cingani, which are the same as amongst us the Race of the Gypsies*". Ottoman Gypsies were skilled musicians, dancers, acrobats, ironworkers, tinkers, leather workers, horse traders, blacksmiths, basket and sieve makers and were involved in ship building, see for examples Altinöz 2013, 268-281.

<sup>3</sup> Soulis 1961, 145-146. "*which are the same as amongst us the Race of the Gypsies*".

<sup>4</sup> Phillips 2001, 254.

<sup>5</sup> Paspatēs 1861, 46.

<sup>6</sup> Marushiakova – Popov 1997, 19.

<sup>7</sup> Related to Ar. musician, minstrel, singer, Pers. musician-singer/a place where things are thrown, a clown. Other names in addition to *Çingene* used to designate Gypsy people in the Middle East include: Barake, Nawar, Kaloro, Koli, Kurbat, Ghorbati, Jat/Zott, Mitrip, Qurbert, Gevende, Abdal, Zargari and Karaçi, while these people call themselves Dom, Domi, rather than the Roma-Romany of Western Europe. For further on this see: <http://www.domresearchcenter.com/journal/11/index.html>

<sup>8</sup> Pococke 1745, 208.

<sup>9</sup> It seems that the Zingari are not to be associated directly, as was formerly thought, with arrival of the Jats-gypsies in Cilicia and Thrace, "*This reign is remarkable for the appearance of the the Jats on the banks of the Tigris, of the Indian tribe of Jats, called by the Arab historians Zatt. How they came there we are not told, but it is said they numbered seventeen thousand souls. Their depredations caused (the Caliph) Mutasim (al-Mu 'taşim bi'llah, eighth Abbasid caliph, r. 833-842) to send a small force against them, and they were brought in boats as prisoners to Bagdad for the Caliph to see the costume of their women. They were then settled on the frontiers of Cilicia. Here, without any cause whatsoever, they were attacked by the Greeks (East Romans-Byzantines); the bulk were massacred, the survivors were taken away as captives and dispersed in Thrace (The Bohemians, the Zingaries, the gypsies, all seem to be the descendants of these poor captives, the remnants of the Zatt)*". Ali 1916, 283; Soulis 1961, 143-144.

<sup>10</sup> Richard Chandler describes them in 1763 thus: "*During our stay at the village (Giaur-Kelibesh by Priene), some of the vagrant people, called Atzincari or Zingari, the gypsies of the east, came thither with a couple of large apes, which, their masters singing to them, performed a great variety of feats with extraordinary alertness, and a dexterity*

meaning Gypsies-Roma-Dom. They are recorded in the 14<sup>th</sup> c. in southern Greece, the Peloponnese, prior to the Ottoman conquest and were probably already in Anatolia before 1050 as, “we have references to the presence of Gypsies in Constantinople in the middle of the eleventh century”<sup>11</sup>. In 1911 in Anatolia there were thought to be in total, “about 30,000 gypsies and their kin. They are pure nomads, wandering in winter in the plains, in summer in the mountains. They speak Turkish in Asia Minor, and keep their own language secret. They do not mix with other tribes, and are held in disesteem. They are found in isolated groups all over the country”<sup>12</sup>. Today there are thought to be 70,000 Chingene-Roma in Turkey<sup>13</sup>, while the Dom Kurbet, speaking both Kurbetcha and Turkish, the *Tsigani* have been recorded on Cyprus for 500 years<sup>14</sup>.

In Britain in the 18<sup>th</sup> c., with the start of the Industrial revolution and the rapid growth of cities, there grew in compensation an increasing interest in the countryside and British painters became increasingly attracted to the subject of landscape and to its nomadic inhabitants, the gypsies. Drawn to this subject were painters such as Sir Joshua Reynolds (1723-1792), Thomas Gainsborough (1727-1788), *Landscape with Gypsies* c.1753-4; George Morland (1763-1804), *A wooded landscape with a gypsy encampment*, *Gypsy encampment, sunset*, c. 1788; *Gypsies around a camp fire*, 1792; Julius Caesar Ibbetson (1759-1817), *A Gypsy Family*; William Webb (1780-1846), *Gypsy encampment near Tannworth, Staffordshire*; and, over the course of the 19<sup>th</sup> and into the 20<sup>th</sup> century, a considerable interest was maintained on the part of British authors, travellers and painters in recording the Romani-gypsies and the gypsy population of Britain, both as individuals, as vibrant colourful, romantic characters, and, as a people not conforming to the complex construct of modernity but retaining their traditions, vibrancy and their own language. This interest in, and desire to record the Roma-gypsies was, in part, a consequence of the increasing social conformity brought about through industrialisation and modernisation; with the associated loss of individuality, tradition, a sense of freedom and proximity to nature; which, at times, was combined with an interest in the Biblical associations between travellers-nomads-tribes and the Almighty, and a sustained interest in “the Other”, at times employed as a foil, at times regarded as a real alternative, not least by those of a romantic disposition. Although this 19<sup>th</sup> century interest could be grouped together with that followed by the mainstream of 19<sup>th</sup> c. Orientalists, there was perhaps a closer affinity between artist and subject in the depiction of the gypsy, of the archetypal, ‘Other’ at home, than the often fashionable and sometimes somewhat superficial view of difference represented through the depiction of the ‘Other’, taken by some Orientalist

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*not to be imagined, such as raised highly our opinion of the docility and capacity of that sagacious animal*”. Chandler 1817, 183. After 1707 Jean Baptiste van Mour had painted for his patron the Marquis de Ferriol a painting of a gypsy dancer in Istanbul, one from the series of 100 paintings of different officials and races in their costumes. It was published as an engraving, Pl. 84 entitled, “*Tchinguis ou Danseuse Turque*” in Le Hay- C. de Ferriol, *Recueil de cent estampes représentant différentes nations du Levant*. [Part two:] *Explication des cent estampes qui représentent les costumes des différentes nations du Levant. Avec de nouvelles estampes de ceremonies turques qui ont aussi leurs explications*, Le Hay and Duchange, Paris, 1714.

<sup>11</sup> Soulis 1961, 145 citing from the Life of Saint George the Anthonite.

<sup>12</sup> Anon 1911, 282. It was suggested that there was a population of between 150,000 and 214,000 gypsies within Ottoman territory in the first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, before the territorial losses in the Balkans in the latter part of the 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> c., McCulloch 1856, 8-9. These figures clearly indicate the majority of the Roma-Dom population inhabited territory taken from the Ottoman state in the latter part of the 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century.

<sup>13</sup> Phillips 2001, 254.

<sup>14</sup> The Ottoman census of 1572 records 207 adult male *Kibtiyan*-gypsies, Jennings 1993, 264-265.

painters.

Examples of the 19<sup>th</sup> c. British interest in the Roma<sup>15</sup> include: John Hoyland, whose volume entitled “*Historical survey of the Customs, habits and present state of the Gypsies: Designed to Develop the Origins of this singular People and to Promote the Amelioration of their condition*”, was published in London in 1816; Col. J. Staples Harriot, who in his paper presented to the Royal Asiatic Society in 1830 entitled “*Observations on the Oriental Origin of the Romnichal, or tribe, misnamed Gypsey and Bohemian*”, drew attention to the Sanskrit element in the language of the Roma; George Henry Borrow (1803-1881) of the British and Foreign Bible Society when in Badajoz, Portugal, who, in January 1836 began translating the Gospel of St. Luke into the Romany dialect of the Spanish Gypsies, known as Caló, and in January 1838 the first copies of “The Gypsy Luke”, *Embeo e Majaro Lucas El Evangelio segun S. Lucas, traducido al Romaní, ó dialecto de los Gitanos de España*<sup>16</sup>, were published in Madrid. It was the first book to be published in any form of the Romany language. In 1841 came his book entitled, *The Zincali*, followed by, *Lavengro: The Scholar-The Gypsy-the Priest*, published by John Murray in 1851 and its sequel *The Romany Rye*, in 1857, and his, *Romano Lavo-Lil*, a wordbook of the Anglo-Romany dialect in 1874<sup>17</sup>; Sir Richard Francis Burton (1821-1890), who had an affair as an undergraduate at Trinity College, Oxford, with Selina<sup>18</sup> a young Roma (Gypsy) woman and learned in the course of this relationship the rudiments of Romani and who subsequently wrote, *The Jew, the Gypsy and El-Islam*<sup>19</sup>, c. 1853, published posthumously in 1898<sup>20</sup>; Francis H. Groome (1851-1902) who read George Borrow and wrote, *Gypsy Tents* (1880) and, *Gypsy Folk Tales* (1899). This together with the increased interest in the visual record, provided by painters such as David Cox (1783-1856) and William James Müller (1812-1845), Edmund Bristow (1787-1876) *Gypsies striking camp*; William Shayer Snr. (1788-1879) who repeatedly painted and exhibited subjects such as: *The Gypsy Family*, *Gypsy tent*, *A Rest On The Highway*, *The Gypsy Encampment*, indicating the public demand for such subjects and Alfred Goodall (1822-1904) in works such as the *Gypsy Encampment* of 1848; William Mainwaring Palin (1862 - 1947) in works such as, *The Tinker's Camp - The Gypsy Encampment*. While from the latter part of the 19<sup>th</sup> century into the mid-20<sup>th</sup> century there was the painter Dame Laura Knight (1877-1970) with her numerous paintings and prints of gypsies and of Roma life, and her contemporaries, Sir Alfred Munnings P.R.A. (1878 – 1959) who painted many scenes of gypsy life and horses, and Augustus Edwin John (1878 - 1961) long associated with the Romani people<sup>21</sup>, who painted many pictures with this subject, and who, shortly after his marriage, travelled in a caravan, in gypsy fashion<sup>22</sup>.

<sup>15</sup> For further on the gypsies and the British imagination in the 19<sup>th</sup> c. see, Nord 2008. Not least, idem 55, where the author remarks on the itinerant leecher compared with the gypsy by the poet Wordsworth. However the link between leecher and gypsy, as being at times, one and the same person, see below, passes unremarked upon.

<sup>16</sup> Source: <http://www.gutenberg.org/files/29470/29470-h/29470-h.htm>

<sup>17</sup> The British and Foreign Bible Society had forbidden the publication of the vocabulary of the Gypsy Luke.

<sup>18</sup> McLynn 1990, 18.

<sup>19</sup> Having perhaps some relationship in its title to George Borrow's *Lavengro: The Scholar-The Gypsy-the Priest*, published three years earlier.

<sup>20</sup> Concerning the gypsies, ‘*chinganology*’, *Tsiganologie*, *Jats*, *Zagaie*, *Ghajar* or *Ghagar*, *Gzane*, etc. Burton 1898, 136-288.

<sup>21</sup> President of the Gypsy Lore Society, from 1937 until his death in 1961.

<sup>22</sup> For further on this see his biography, John 1952, *passim*.

This British interest in the Roma, an interest in William Wordsworth's "*Wild outcasts of society!*"<sup>23</sup>, the "Other" at home, in part, was also reflected in, and influenced the interest expressed by the educated in the world's nomad and bedouin populations, acknowledging both the perceived freedom brought about by a travelling-nomadic way of life, being a way of life that expresses the traditional alternative to the complexities, contradictions, conformities and conventions of a different social life inherent in both modernity and in city dwelling and also the harshness and the difficulty of maintaining this way of life. This was combined with the widely felt desire through travel to escape from the confines of modernity, to go "on the road", exemplified not only by the growth of Thomas Cook's "tourism" for the middle classes from the mid-19<sup>th</sup> c. onwards, but also characterised by the desire expressed by Mr Toad in Kenneth Grahame's 1908 novel, *The Wind in the Willows*<sup>24</sup>, to break out of the confines of settled life, to escape, to get on the road, initially in a gaily painted gypsy caravan, "*There you are!*" cried the Toad, *straddling and expanding himself. "There's real life for you, embodied in that little cart. The open road, the dusty highway, the heath, the common, the hedgerows, the rolling downs! Camps, villages, towns and cities! Here to-day, up and off to somewhere else to-morrow! Travel, change, interest, excitement! The whole world before you, and a horizon that's always changing!"*<sup>25</sup>.

### Published Description of the Varied Nomadic and Semi-Nomadic Populations in 19<sup>th</sup> Century Lycia

Although British travellers in Lycia were primarily interested in investigating and recording the remains of antiquity, to Ottoman officials a somewhat odd, if not inexplicably strange activity, associating the foreigner-Frank both with the remains of pagan antiquity and with the hunt for buried treasure, as William James Müller related in May 1844 in a letter to S. C. Hall concerning his conversation with the Ağa at Tlos, Mehmet Ayan, in the context of the removal of the marbles from Xanthus by the Franks at this time, "*I have been thinking,*" said he (the Ağa), *'that you Franks must be extraordinary people: your riches must be great, and your curiosity much greater, if, as you assert, you have been influenced merely to gratify it to leave your country, your women, and your children, to travel for months, and all for what? For a few bits of marble. Is that an object worthy your making such a sacrifice for? Now be candid. Are you not seeking to discover immense treasure, which, as everybody knows, may be found here, provided they possessed the charm?' I protested against the idea, but in vain*"<sup>26</sup>. These travellers also made significant remarks, observations and record of the various nomadic, semi-nomadic and settled yürük, turkoman and gypsy populations inhabiting Ottoman Lycia in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Concerning

<sup>23</sup> William Wordsworth, the last line of the poem *Gypsy* of 1807. As the years of the 19<sup>th</sup> c. passed it became at times unclear if the wild outcasts were the gypsy and nomads, or were to be understood as the roaming armed forces of the various imperial powers in their various 'civilising missions' as indicated, amongst others, by Rudyard Kipling 1865-1936 in his poetry.

<sup>24</sup> It maybe the title of *The Wind in the Willows*, derived from a phrase from Borrow's *Lavengo*, "*There's night and day, brother, both sweet things; sun, moon and stars, brother, all sweet things; there's likewise the wind on the heath*", as clearly later with the title, *The Wind on the Heath. A Gypsy Anthology, etc.* in *Prose and Verse*, forming the title of John Samson's 1930 anthology of gypsy references.

<sup>25</sup> Grahame 1908, 30-31. An attitude perhaps also expressed by the Beat Generation's Jack Kerouac in, *On the Road*, of 1957 and varied but present in Hunter S. Thompson's, *Fear and Loathing in Las Vegas: A Savage Journey to the Heart of the American Dream*, *Rolling Stone Magazine*, 1971.

<sup>26</sup> Solly 1875, 357.

the gypsy population in the 19<sup>th</sup> c., although a total of 35,975 *Kıbtî* forming 0.01% of the total population of the Ottoman state was recorded in the 1831 census results<sup>27</sup>, this census contained no figures concerning the gypsy population of Karaman Eyalet, as is also the case for Trabzon and Kars, and records a total of only 910 in Cezayir-i Bahr-i Sefid<sup>28</sup>. There are 5,865 recorded in the Eyalet of Adana in 1831<sup>29</sup> and it seems probable that the number inhabiting the region to its west in the Karaman Eyalet would have been similar. The recorded non-Muslim *Kıbtî* population of the Ottoman state in 1897 is recorded as 9,241<sup>30</sup>, indicating a drop of more than 75% in the recorded non-Muslim *Kıbtî* population of the Ottoman state in the course of 60 years, indicating the course of conversion from non-Muslim *Kıbtî* to *Müslim Kıbtî* was, doubtless for a variety of reasons, very rapid in this period, with these converts being recorded within the total Muslim population of 14,111,945 within a total population of 19,050,307.

### Deliniating in Words the Chingunees-Cingans-Cingari-Zingari-Zingries

Edward Daniel Clarke in his Travels, records at Telmessus (Fethiye) in 1801 that there were, “*Gipsies, who were encamped in great numbers among the ruins, had used some of the vaults, or lower receptacles (of the tombs), as sheds for their goats*”<sup>31</sup>. This is the first record in English by a traveller to Lycia in the 19<sup>th</sup> c. to mention gipsies, although it is uncertain if gypsies are in fact recorded, or if the word ‘Gipsies’ was here employed to describe nomads per se, rather than gypsies-Dom, this because gipsies “*are often confounded with the Yuruks under the general designation of Turkomans*”<sup>32</sup>.

Charles Fellows in April 1838 in Tlos, Lycia, wrote: “*In this part of the country I have seen, to my surprise, many women with uncovered faces; they are of a peculiar and fine looking race, the Chingunees, and appear to have none of the shyness so general among Turkish women. Today some girls of this tribe sat down by us and sang very prettily; these singing-girls in appearance and occupation resemble the gipsies of Europe; their music has some of the character of the Tyrolean mountain airs, but softened by the Eastern language, and would be very pretty were it not for a nasal twang, which perhaps may only belong to the rural musicians. The men are itinerant tinkers...*”<sup>33</sup>.

On April the 26<sup>th</sup> 1838 by Koogez-Köyceğiz in adjacent Caria Charles Fellows recorded:

“*Five mares, each with its foal, were brought a seven o'clock to carry us to Hoola, forty miles distant. They had been fetched eight or ten miles from their owners, the Chingunees or gipsies, who are here the principal inhabitants of the mountains. We halted at one of their tents as we passed to arrange our baggage; and the women, who were unveiled, displayed a strength as great as, and an activity far greater than, would be found in the tents of the Turks. During our short pause a number of women and their children assembled round us. What a study for a Rembrandt or a Murillo in the singular but extreme beauty of some of the group! There was a mother with her child, perhaps five years old, dark as a negro, but of a far healthier and richer colour, almost veiled by its wild hair, which had never been cut, and*

<sup>27</sup> Altinöz 2013, Tablo 32, 222.

<sup>28</sup> Altinöz 2013, Tablo 33, 223.

<sup>29</sup> Altinöz 2013, Tablo 33, 223.

<sup>30</sup> Altinöz 2013, Tablo 16, 166.

<sup>31</sup> Clarke 1814, 148.

<sup>32</sup> Reclus 1891, 286.

<sup>33</sup> Fellows 1839, 240.

*perhaps never combed. Its neck was hung with beads, coins, and various chains; its very few clothes hung loosely, leaving the arms and legs bare. The mother was young and of a peculiar beauty; with much elegance and softness, yet with the dignity of a Meg Merrilies<sup>34</sup>; she had somewhat of the Graeco-Egyptian style of face<sup>35</sup>, which was formed into a band round her head and partly plaited, flowed with a long handkerchief down her back. Her clothes were loose and few; the breast was open, and the legs bare from the knee; the arms were also exposed. With this appearance even of poverty in the dress, there was at the same time a considerable display of wealth; on one of her wrists I saw three broad gold bracelets, or bands of plain gold, about three quarters of an inch wide, and on her neck other gold ornaments. A bunch of fresh flowers was stuck into the hair, a very common ornament among the people throughout Turkey; it is placed so carelessly, and still with so much taste both as to position and selection of colours, that a stranger cannot but be struck with it; and this is done without the aid of a glass, for there can scarcely be one in the whole country: I have seen none in the houses of either rich or poor, both Greeks and Turks having religious scruples against their use<sup>36</sup>.*

Fellows records in his April 1840 diary entry written at Minare-Pinare, Lycia: “*The people had never before seen a Frank, an old man told me that none had ever been up to his village, ... We made signs to our officious cicerones (at Minare-Pinare) that we wished to climb to the upper part of the city, but they opposed this, and we were compelled to understand that we must follow them to their huts close by. We did so, and were received by three women, the wives of our guides, at the doors of their huts, and a*

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<sup>34</sup> “*Meg Merrilies*” is the name of a famous female gypsy, also described as “*our Egyptian sybil*”, who gave soup to Dominic Sampson in Chapter XLVI of Walter Scott’s novel, *Guy Mannering* published in 1815 and who is also a character in Daniel Terry’s play entitled “*Guy Mannering; or, The gipsy’s prophecy: a musical play, in three acts*,” performed in the Theatre Royal, Covent Garden in 1816 and published the same year in London by John Millar. This name was given to a game soup, *Meg Merrilie’s soup*, recorded in, Eliza Leslie’s work, *Miss Leslie’s Directions for Cookery: In its various Branches, of 1837*, “*Take four pounds of venison, or if you cannot procure venison you may substitute the lean of fresh beef or mutton. Season it with pepper and salt, put it into a large pot (break the bones and lay them on the meat) pour in 4 quarts of water, and boil it for three hours, skimming it well. Then strain it, and put it in another pot. Cut up a hare or a rabbit, a pair of partridges, and a pair of grouse; or one of each, with a pheasant, a woodcock, or any other game that you can most easily obtain. Season them and put them into the soup. Add a dozen small onions, a couple of heads of celery cut small, and half a dozen sliced potatoes. Let the soup simmer till the game is sufficiently done, and all the vegetables tender*” (Leslie 1837, 27-28) but missing are the leeks mentioned by Walter Scott in *Guy Mannering*: “*It was, in fact, the savour of a goodly stew, composed of fowls, hares, partridges, and moor-game, boiled into a large mess with potatoes, onions, and leeks, and, from the size of the cauldron, appeared to be prepared for half a dozen people at least*” (Scott 1819, 334).

The name *Meg Merrilie* was later employed as the title of a poem of 6 stanza by John Keats published in 1844 in *Hood’s Magazine*:

*Meg Merrilie*

*“Old Meg she was a Gipsy,*

*And liv’d upon the Moors:*

*Her bed it was the brown heath turf,*

*And her house was out of doors”.*

<sup>35</sup> ‘*Egyptian*’ presumably suggested by Charles Fellows from the supposed origin of gypsies in Egypt.

<sup>36</sup> Fellows 1839, 251-252.

carpet was soon spread on the ground in front, on which we reclined, while each woman brought out her present; one, a large bowl of kymac, another, one of youghoort, and the third a supply of fresh-baked bread of the country; two wooden spoons were placed for our use, and the eyes of a dozen peasants assembled around were riveted upon us. The dogs, which always assail the stranger most fiercely with their barking, lay asleep by our side, acknowledging us as the guests of their kind masters. The cow, which here is but little larger than the dogs, was being milked; and on the broken columns and stones piled around sat our hostesses, while their husbands were on the ground still nearer. Among them were five or six children, each most picturesquely and classically dressed. I cannot help again noticing the close resemblance of the costume of the women to the ancient statues: the hair is worn long and braided round the head; one old woman of the party had it tied in a knot at the top of the forehead, exactly as I have seen represented in the antique. Their arms had each the simple armlet or bracelet of gold; sometimes two or three on one wrist, and always a fibula of silver or gold to hold together the loose tunic or shirt; the upper jacket is embroidered most richly; the trowsers, extremely loose, and confined at the ankle, are generally red, blue, or white, and often ornamented with silver embroidery or spangles; those before us were only worked with coloured silks.

The people here are Chinganees, or gipsies, as I noticed when in this district before; they therefore show their faces, and are not so secluded as the Turkish women generally. A child presenting me with a flower, gave me an opportunity of substantially acknowledging my obligation for this true hospitality: the whole scene to me was most pleasing. It is delightful to meet with so simple and naturally kind a people, and apparently devoid of any prejudice against those thought to be so opposed to them in every opinion<sup>37,38</sup>.

While Fellows in 1840 in his diary entry written by Limyra of the 30<sup>th</sup> of April wrote: “We passed the scattered village of Demergeecooe (Demirciköy meaning, the Village of the Iron-Workers), inhabited chiefly by Chinganees, who are employed in rearing cattle: we had to send for them to the village to shoe our horses<sup>39</sup>. These gipsies are generally a people possessing considerable property in stock and are possibly induced to form here a larger colony than usual by the extreme luxuriance of the climate: their huts are almost buried amid fruit-trees<sup>40</sup>. A further reason for the gypsy settlements established by marshy areas is given below.

Spratt and Forbes on Wednesday the 26<sup>th</sup> of January 1842 at Pinara-Minare record a village

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<sup>37</sup> “A people proscribed by opinion, and doomed by the laws to opprobrium and ignominy; a race which, driven from all liberal professions, has been for ages, and still is, robbed of its right to hold landed property; which, subjected to special and severe regulations, has learned at once to obey and yet to preserve a manner of independence; which, despite the contempt that it inspires and the hate that it awakes and the prejudices wherewith it is received and judged, still resists this contempt, this hatred, and finally all those causes which sought to disunite, loosen, and annihilate the family, the race, the nation; — such a people, I say, deserves the observer’s attention, if only from the fact of its existence”. Burton 1898, 131”; while Felix von Luschan related, “Mohammedans hardly ever curse; but one of their rare abusive phrases is tchingene=gypsy” Luschan 1915, 560.

<sup>38</sup> Fellows 1841, 149-150.

<sup>39</sup> Anon 1911, 234, records in the section on Trade and Industry that throughout Anatolia the “The shoeing-smiths are frequently gipsies”; Faroqhi 1995, 154, fn. 18, “Among the blacksmiths, several were described as gypsies (çingen)”, in respect to the Roma of Ottoman Syria and it appears some of the farriers of Arabia also, see Dougherty 1990, I, 324-7, re. *Solubba*, including the tinning of brass vessels, *idem*. 199; 301.

<sup>40</sup> Fellows 1841, 205-206.



wedding, which was probably led by a gypsy drum and zurna band, and they write that due to the heavy rainfall, “we were forced to content ourselves with observing the proceedings of the wedding-party in the village. Among their amusements were music and dancing. The band consisted of a grotesque-looking little burly Turk, with a bushy black beard and twinkling cunning eye, as if he had a cross of the Gipsy in him, beating a monotonous air with admirable precision on a lage but short drum. He had a second drum in reserve in case of accident. His drumstick was of carved wood. He was accompanied by two boys, each playing a sort of wooden trumpet (zurna), resembling a penny trumpet in form, but infinitely larger, the tones produced, and the air played being for all the world like a Scotch strathspey on a bagpipe. The villagers, one at a time, would dance, moving their feet and hands as the women do theirs in a highland reel; the arms, however, being put into more active and graceful motion. Occasionally the old drummer raised his drum in the air, tambourine fashion, and danced for a moment or two himself, and now and then the extempore dancers put in a touch of the burlesque. They seemed never to tire, and kept up their noise and capers day and night. When it became dark the group around the dancers assembled with lighted torches of pine wood, and the effect of the scene was singularly wild and picturesque”<sup>41</sup>.

In late January 1842 they record that: “A day was devoted to an excursion to Patara, which lies on the coast at some distance from the left bank of the river, about ten miles from Xanthus. We rode along the river-side, passing large straw-thatched villages of Chingunees (Gipsies) on the way, and then crossed the sand-hills to the sea-side”<sup>42</sup>.

They record on March the 26<sup>th</sup> 1842, on foot on the way from Phineka-Finike to Limyra that:

“We shortly afterwards passed Demergee Keui, or the Chingunee blacksmith’s village, and then the Aryanodus river...At this spot the principle ruins of the city are concealed by a piece of swelling ground, near the end of which were the thatched huts of three or four Chingunee families. On crossing it we found ourselves close to a large fortress, a well preserved theatre, and other ruins...”<sup>43</sup>. The same Chingunee settlement of Demirci Köy that was noted by Fellows on the 30<sup>th</sup> of April 1840 above, but they also recorded those settled by Limyra.

While in their March the 27<sup>th</sup> 1842 Limyra entry Spratt and Forbes record both the names *Chingunee* and *Zingari*, and state that:

“The gipsies abound in this neighbourhood, and plagued us when working among the tombs; the women unceasingly asking for money. Some of the girls were pretty, and there is a grace and air about the Chingunee women, which the Turkish and Urook females cannot boast of. Some had tambourines, and others sang the wild airs of their tribe. They dress in the fashion of Turkish women, but do not veil the face. A white scarf is twisted round the head, and partly covers the chin; and the body-shawl is usually particoloured, bright green, and bright red. The men are cattle-dealers, and tinkers; and though dressed as Turks, are easily distinguished by their countenances and lively manner, - not the busy liveliness of the Greek, but the wild gaiety of the zingari”<sup>44</sup> (Fig. 1).

<sup>41</sup> Spratt – Forbes 1847, I, 25-26.

<sup>42</sup> Spratt – Forbes 1847, I, 29; cited Conybeare – Howson 1874, 225.

<sup>43</sup> Spratt – Forbes 1847, I, 146-147.

<sup>44</sup> Spratt – Forbes 1847, I, 152-153 and, Plate V, Portrait of a Chingunee woman at Limyra, 153.



Fig. 1. Portrait of a Chingunee Woman at Limyra, From *Spratt – Forbes 1847, I, Plate V, 153*. Presumably the Woodcut for This Print Was Made from a Drawing Made at Limyra by the Draughtsman, Etcher and Scholar, The Rev. E. T. Daniell

And Spratt and Forbes record in the Finike plain on the 1<sup>st</sup> of April 1842:

*“Crossing the bridge (over the Allagheer Tchy-), a party of Chingunee women, returning from a wedding, attempted to block the way, demanding money, and on our refusal deafened us with a volley of their Lycian billingsgate<sup>45</sup>. About a mile from the bridge, we came to Armootlee, a small village on the plain, consisting of about a dozen mud-huts adjoining an old konak, the Agha’s residence, a small mosque with a minaret and a dilapidated tower of defense”<sup>46</sup>.*

While on their way to *Aktash-Aktaş* on the 11<sup>th</sup> of April they write, *“We passed close to Haskey (Hasköy), a Chingunee village, buried amongst fruit-trees and gardens. An hour brought us to the water’s edge, about the centre of the bay, and a mile further on we crossed the Gyoke Soo (Gök Su) at its mouth,...”<sup>47</sup>.*

On May the 14<sup>th</sup> 1842 they relate that *“A few hundred feet above Seydeleer, our course lay over a flat elevated plain called*

*Moondan, where we found a family of gypsies erecting their tents for the night, in consequence of the threatening appearance of the weather. This did not induce us to delay, and we pushed on in spite of the storm over the mountain pass, nearly seven thousand feet above the level of the sea, and covered in places by snow”<sup>48</sup>.*

The artist William James Müller’s biographer Nathaniel Neal Solly wrote of the artist<sup>49</sup> who arrived at Xanthus on the 22<sup>nd</sup> of October 1843 by boat from İzmir, that:

*“His tent-life in Lycia led to much hardship: the rain often soaked through, and they had no fire; but, as Johnson has remarked, it led also to his becoming acquainted with many of*

<sup>45</sup> The London fishmarket at Billingsgate noted for the use of vituperative language, often rich in descriptive expletives, and abuse.

<sup>46</sup> Spratt – Forbes 1847, I, 162.

<sup>47</sup> Spratt – Forbes 1847, I, 183.

<sup>48</sup> Spratt – Forbes 1847, I, 276-277.

<sup>49</sup> William James Müller (1812-1845). Müller/Muller/Mueller, was born in Bristol the second son of John Samuel Müller and his wife, a Miss James of Bristol. His father, a native of Danzig, took refuge in England during the French occupation of Prussia in 1807-8, and settled at Bristol, where he married, was curator of the Bristol Museum and published ‘A Natural History of the Crinoidea,’ in 1821. He also left a manuscript, which was lost, on ‘Corals and Coralines,’ and contributed to the ‘Transactions of the Royal Society’ before he died in 1830. His son William usually signed his name Müller. The DNB VI, 1886, 228, entry written by the Irish barrister-at-Law, Judge of the Queens’ Bench (1881-1901) who established the Commercial Court, later Lord Justice of Appeal (1901-1906), James Charles Mathew, managed to mistakenly record his name as, William John Müller, although Müller was christened William James, and although he was not the first to make this error, his entry was perhaps the most influential. For other examples that repeat this error, see below fn. 203. Solly 1875, 4, properly records his second name was not John but James.

*the Yurooks and Turcomans-wandering tribes who led a sort of gipsy life. After his return home he used to talk of an Eastern Chief of the Cingaries or Yurooks<sup>50</sup>, named Oiel, with whom he struck up a great friendship-a bold and remarkably handsome fellow, who gave Müller a pass to go among the Cingari tribes, and sealed it with the butt-end of his pistol. This Oiel was reported at one time to have been a captain of brigands.”<sup>51</sup> And he remarks, “With reference to his sketches of interiors in Lycia, I should remark that the wild and lawless Yurooks and Cingaries welcomed Müller into their **dens** as perhaps no Englishman had ever been welcomed before; and there, of an evening, whilst music, smoking, disputing, and gambling were going on by the light of a single lamp, Müller would take out his sketch book and colours and make rapid studies of his wild friends, whilst young Johnson held a candle close to his work to enable him to see what he was doing”<sup>52</sup>. In part doubtless his appearance and his personality were important factors in the welcome given him by the Lycian Cingaries, “One of his eyes was brown, and the other grey. The portrait of him gave the impression of a very resolute character, perhaps somewhat aggressive, yet he was certainly a man for whom his friends entertained a profound admiration and esteem. As an artist he may be described as the best of English modern sketchers as regards the skill with which he selected his subjects, the correctness with which he drew, and the strength and richness of his colouring”<sup>53</sup>. “Muller was short-sighted, and he painted with his left hand although he wrote with the right, and that he worked all his life with great rapidity, even when he painted some of his best pictures”<sup>54</sup>.*

On January 16<sup>th</sup> 1844 William Müller in a letter to Thomas Morson from Xanthus wrote:

*“The Cingari, a sort of gipsy, forming encampments amongst the myrtle groves, are to me much more attractive than any other natives I have seen, inasmuch as they are better mechanics and musicians. Specimens of the latter, as regards their instruments, I have collected; and in their mechanisms I shall, I hope, have the pleasure of showing you my coffee-mill and spoons”<sup>55</sup>.*

In a January 1844 letter to S. C. Hall of Bristol, William Müller wrote:

*“The other night they gave a grand entertainment in consequence of a marriage: wrestling by torch-light formed the principal amusement. The head of these men dined with me to-day-a sort of wild savage. Allow me to say, I keep the very best of Xanthian society, which to me is highly interesting, both in a professional point and one of general observation”<sup>56</sup>.*

In another letter to J. C. Gooden of the same date, after the January night time burning pine torch-lit wrestling match, he remarks:

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<sup>50</sup> It seems evident that Müller in casually writing “*as also the Torkomans (the Cingaries),*” resulted in N. N. Solly becoming confused between the Cingari-gypsy and the Turkish nomad-Yürük, but it is evident from Müller’s letters that Oiel was a gypsy-Roma chief.

<sup>51</sup> Solly 1875, 187-188.

<sup>52</sup> Solly 1875, 234. Emphasis in original in italics, here in bold.

<sup>53</sup> James II 1897, 270.

<sup>54</sup> James II 1897, 273.

<sup>55</sup> Solly 1875, 192-193.

<sup>56</sup> Solly 1875, 193-194. Emphasis in original in italics, here in bold.

*"I am sure I have worked with a good will, and I have some fine subjects, principally amongst the people. The Yurooks live in tents, as also the Torkomans (the Cingaries), who form another curious link in Turkish society. They, like our gypsies in England, wander about; but they work, and here the resemblance is not the same. I wish you could have seen the grand wresting-match by torchlight. I am a great friend of the principal wrestler. He is a glorious creature. Oh, Clipstone Street<sup>57</sup>! Oh, ye little water-colour imps<sup>58</sup> of great water-colour drawings! Oh, ye admirers of rags as costume! How your eyes would have opened to see the wonders of that scene, and many, many others in which I have been!"<sup>59</sup>.*

In a letter to Jos. Satterfield of the 12<sup>th</sup> of February 1844 from Macry<sup>60</sup> (Fethiye), he wrote:

*"True, I have not done all I could have wished to do, and never did; yet I have not been idle, and my folio contains one or two hundred drawings; many more could have been there, but sketching has been attended with more than ordinary difficulties. Firstly, with the people you have religious scruples to get the better of; secondly, the climate is various, from extreme heat to cold, requiring much caution-for the plain on which Xanthus is situated furnishes us with wild boars, fever and leeches, the first of which is very good, the second of a most serious and deadly nature, and the third forms a considerable article of commerce with Smyrna (İzmir). Greeks brave the fever, and live a sort of life in the marshes, employing the*

<sup>57</sup> In reference to the informal group of artists termed the Clipstone Street Life Academy (Clipstone Street, (studio in Fitzroy Square, Fitzrovia) St. Mary-le-bone, London W1W) formed in 1824 to draw "*sturdy beggars, ballad singers, gypsies, pifferari-Italian boys, street musicians, tramps of every cast, travel stained, worn and often picturesque in rags who thronged our public way*" (Solly 1875, 92, citing a letter from Joseph J. Jenkins), in the attempt to record through realism subjects from the streets of London, rather than dressing up an artist's model to represent the subject. Müller was introduced to the group by its Hon. Sec. Joseph John Jenkins in 1840, Solly 1875, 93.

<sup>58</sup> "*ye little water-colour imps*", meaning small water-colour sketches.

<sup>59</sup> Solly 1875, 196-197. Emphasis in original in italics, here in bold. He also remarked vehemently concerning Charles Fellows and the removal of the Xanthus marbles by the '*marvel hunters*' (Müller letter to J. C. Gooden, 16<sup>th</sup> Jan. 1844, Solly 1875, 196), describing it as "*the evil they have done*" in a letter to Joseph Satterfield of Bristol, dated 22<sup>nd</sup> September 1844, "*I need hardly add how much pleasure it will give me to show you some of the spoil I have had from Xanthus (that is his sketches and paintings). I have truly taken away much, but not, like those armed with authority, torn from earth the monuments of the past, and made spots dear to us from historical associations a wilderness, that but records the evil they have done. Their sins be upon their own heads*" Solly 1875, 226. Müller was emphatic in publicly recording that he was not a member of Fellows expedition as in his letter written to the Art Union from the Malta Lazaretto in May 1844, "*I would beg to remark, that in using the words "our sailors" it may be imagined I was connected with the Xanthian expedition: the words are used by the Aga. I had nothing whatever to do with the expedition, except receiving occasional kindnesses from some of the officers of H. M. S. Medea, and in particular from Lieutenant Massie-whose mild and gentlemanly conduct must endear him to all who have the pleasure of his acquaintance. I, as on former excursions, went on my own resources, taking as my motto that independence is better than dependence*" Müller 1844b, 210. Emphasis in original in italics, here in bold. Contra G. Reynolds, *English Watercolors* New Amsterdam Books, 1998, 98, who writes, "*and in 1843 he (Müller) became the official draughtsman to the Expeditionary Force in Lycia*".

<sup>60</sup> Solly 1875, 198, reads '*Mairy*' rather than Macry=Macri=Telmessus=Fethiye, a variant transcription of the toponym.

*Zingries*<sup>61</sup> (a sort of Turkish gipsy) *to procure the little sanguinary animal*<sup>62</sup>.

In 1844 at Xanthus Müller writes in a letter to S. C. Hall of the gypsies: "Now the Cingaries were located a mile or two in this plain and to find their whereabouts was not of the easiest things. Their abodes are in the myrtle groves; they cut paths through them which wind and twist about, and at every corner you come upon some tent, whose occupant is a worker in brass, making spoons ornamented with beads of glass, or firearms, powder flasks, etc. They are a clever and industrious people, of no professed religion; disliked by the regular Turks, yet partly Turks. Their costume is not the same; their features more marked - a wildness in the eye, a fiery expression, and often a deep, low cunning, which is fully exhibited in any dealings with them. Of this I could give many instances, for I found many; yet on the whole I like the Cingari: he is a gipsy, and I always had a sneaking partiality for that independent, vagabond tribe. Their home is on the mountain or on the plain, their wants few, and in this country (Asia) these wants are easily supplied. They wander from place to place, as necessity or fancy suggests.

The noise in the distance, of the drums, soon told my nautical companions that we must 'shape another course,' or that we had made most serious 'leeway.' So about ship, and after various tacks, holding off and on, it was evident we neared our desired port, and should have done so direct, had it not been for an unfortunate ditch which brought us up. Those who tried to cross, furnished us with much amusement by floundering in the mud; they cleared themselves, amidst their own execrations on the bad roads of Turkey and our laughter. We now went 'right ahead,' and soon found a more favourable spot to cross at; and there a council was held if it would not be more correct to forward a messenger to the chiefs. This was of service in two ways, as it cleared the road of nasty barking dogs, and did the civil thing to our neighbours. A few moments elapsed, when out issued from the groves, several figures (some of whom I knew) waving their torches in the air, who plainly gave us to understand that if we were in want of anything it was not a welcome. They conducted us through a labyrinth of green bushes, and all of a sudden a spectacle broke upon my sight which, from its novelty, I shall never forget. I stood to contemplate it for a second or two, and should have done so much longer, but unfortunately the groups that composed the scene broke up, and so destroyed the curious picture. Seated round fires (in the myrtle groves) sat in circle several hundred persons...I have mentioned my friend Oiel as being chief of the Xanthus wrestlers, and I hoped to have seen him matched with a trusty opponent. My servant intimated this to him, but he regretted there was no one present who may be termed his equal; yet, with a good nature only equaled by his general conduct, he said he would show us his method, and he prepared immediately. Piece by piece he laid aside his garments, and at length what a splendid figure stood before us! How grand is the form of man!-his majesty or god-like figure stands alone unrivalled. Oiel's opponent was, as might have been expected, by no means a match for him, and it was too evident that he could do just what he pleased with him, and, as regarded the wrestling, I was not sorry when this one-sided exhibition concluded. We found the hour late, and, after a small present, we rose. We had our retinue of torch-bearers to the confines of the grove, after which we lost our path, and amidst much fun we stumbled our way home; and the next morning I found, when too late, that we lost the best of the sport, for just after our departure a stranger, jealous of the fame of Oiel, had made an especial visit from the mountains of Adalia (Antalya) to try a fall with him, and I well remember the account Oiel gave of it to me, and his smile of self-satisfaction when he said (with a

<sup>61</sup> Should read Zingaries, rather than Zingries.

<sup>62</sup> Letter Jos. Satterfield, Solly 1875, 200. Emphasis in original in italics, here in bold.



Fig. 2. *An Unidentified Portrait by William Müller, Perhaps to Be Identified as a Portrait of the Head of the Gypsies of the Xanthus Valley, Oil, Probably Painted in 1845*

slight stamp of his foot), *I threw him once, twice, thrice; and I can throw him when I please*<sup>63</sup>.

It seems possible that an unidentified portrait (Fig. 2) that has been attributed to the hand of William Müller and described as, “*Portrait of a man, bust-length, in Moorish costume*<sup>64</sup>” can be identified as being a portrait of Oiel, “*an Eastern Chief of the Cingaries*” and “*chief of the Xanthus wrestlers*”, who is recorded by Nathaniel Neal Solly as being a “*one time captain of brigands*”<sup>65</sup>, described as “*bold and remarkably handsome*”<sup>66</sup> the latter comment presumably made after seeing the sketches or this portrait of him, a portrait in oils that would have been painted from watercolour sketches after Müller’s return to London in 1844<sup>67</sup>, and most probably after January 1845, given that Solly does not mention this work in his list of important oil paintings completed between 1844 and the end of January 1845 but he does mention the painting of the *Head of a Cingari, Xanthus*, which was exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1845<sup>68</sup> (No. 5 in

the list below, Fig. 43).

There is also an oil sketch on cardboard, 25.5 x 30.5 cm (10 x 12 in.) of an encampment at night<sup>69</sup> by William Müller (Fig. 3), today entitled, *campement, oriental sketch*, which seems to depict these *Cingari-Roma* encampments ‘*in the myrtle groves*<sup>70</sup>’ on the plain, a mile or two from the Xanthus acropolis. This sketch is perhaps based upon the nightscene that was described by the artist in 1844 in his letter to S. C. Hall, “*a spectacle broke upon my sight which, from its novelty, I shall never forget. I stood to contemplate it for a second or two, and should have done so much longer, but unfortunately the groups that composed the scene broke up, and so destroyed the curious picture. Seated round fires* (in the



Fig. 3. *Oil Sketch by William Müller Painted After His Return to England, of the Cingari-Roma Encampments ‘In the Myrtle Groves’ Below Xanthus*

<sup>63</sup> Solly 1875, 362-365.

<sup>64</sup> Christie’s New York, 27<sup>th</sup> January 2009, *The Scholar’s Eye: Property from the Julius Held Collection*, Lot 61, description. portrait of oiel, Provenance: E. Ungar, New York, 1962.

<sup>65</sup> Solly 1875, 188.

<sup>66</sup> Solly 1875, 188.

<sup>67</sup> Source: <http://www.artnet.com/artists/william-james-m%C3%BCller/portrait-of-a-man-VPmsSDTktCI3UOT-WjyLHA2>

<sup>68</sup> Solly 1875, 334.

<sup>69</sup> Sold, 26<sup>th</sup> of January 2009, *Kahn-Dumoussset Paris Tableaux, Mobilier, Objets d’Art*, Lot 30, “*Campement oriental*”. Source: [http://www.artnet.com/artists/william-james-m%C3%BCller/campement-oriental-sketch-yA6v\\_2b5jlWEpJ9EYoTa5g2](http://www.artnet.com/artists/william-james-m%C3%BCller/campement-oriental-sketch-yA6v_2b5jlWEpJ9EYoTa5g2)

<sup>70</sup> Solly 1875, 363.

myrtle groves) *sat in circle several hundred persons...*<sup>71</sup>.

William Allen relates on the 12<sup>th</sup> of April, 1850 that, “*We made our way with difficulty (from the east side of Kalamaki (Kalkan) bay), by a faintly indicated path, through prickly shrubs, to a commanding eminence, where we found some tents of gypsies and shepherd boys and girls. They immediately shouted for bakshish! Especially one bold and sturdy boy, of no more than twelve years of age, who seemed resolutely prepared to cover the retreat of the frightened girls. On our advancing to the crest of the hill to obtain the best view, he made a flank movement, which enabled him on our return to salute us with stones*”<sup>72</sup>.

The geographer Jean Jaques Elisee Reclus remarked at the end of the century that, “*Even the Chingani, or Gipsies, tramps, horsedealers, tinkers, who are very numerous in Anatolia, and who usually camp on the outskirts of the towns, are often confounded with the Yuruks under the general designation of Turkomans. In Lycia where they reside in permanent villages the gipsies are chiefly stock-breeders*”<sup>73</sup>, as was noted by Charles Fellows on May the 10<sup>th</sup> 1840 (above).

### **Descriptions of the Yurook<sup>74</sup>-Yourooks<sup>75</sup>-Urook<sup>76</sup>- Yoorouk<sup>77</sup>-Yuruk<sup>78</sup>**

Charles Boileau Elliott relates that at Patara in February 1836, “*A few Turcomans were tending their*

<sup>71</sup> Solly 1875, 363.

<sup>72</sup> Allen 1855, 126-127.

<sup>73</sup> Reclus 1891, 286.

<sup>74</sup> eg. Solly 1875, Cat. Nos. 302, 304, 334. It is noteworthy that Müller draws the distinction between Turcoman and Yurook huts in the titles of his paintings, No. 302 being a Yurook hut and No. 303 being a Turcoman's hut. Anon 1911, 177, relates on this distinction, “*Generally speaking, the Yürüks are more truly nomadic than the Turkmen, whose winter and summer settlements are usually close together, while the Yürüks travel over a wider area. The real difference is that the Turkmen practise agriculture, which binds them to a particular locality, to a greater extent than the Yürüks. Whatever original tribal difference may have existed between Turkmen and Yürük, they represent to-day respectively the semi-nomad and the nomad, and their habits illustrate the manner in which the Turks as a whole, originally nomads, have gradually settled down and merged in the old sedentary population*”. And concerning the Yürük population: “*In the last half century they have largely been forced to settle down in most parts of Anatolia, especially in or near mountain districts, where they move regularly from kishla to yaila. Nothing is known of their descent. Their language has died out, and they now speak Turkish. Marriage with settled Türks is practically unknown. They are honest and industrious, and their women are skilful carpet weavers. Settlements of Yuruks are found all over Anatolia. They are most numerous in the following districts:... and in central and eastern Lycia. Especially in the west of Anatolia the Yürük settlements are quite recent*” Anon. 1911, 283. Concerning the relative recent arrivals, F. von Luschan relates, “*I once met a family of such Turkomans, near Old Limyra in eastern Lycia, that had come “from near Samarkand”*, Lushan 1915, 560. David G. Hogarth relates, “*I take it that, in many cases, the “Turk,” most rightly so called, is the despised Yuruk, the “wanderer,” a name applied to the half-settled population, roaming in summer among the settled, but collected in the winter for the most part, into villages. They are not gypsies, for these exist, distinct in type, in many parts of the same land, and Yuruks do not differ in anything but their name and their unrest from many settled “Turks”. The truth seems to be that they are the slowly settling descendants of the pure nomads who followed the Moslem conquerors at a distance;...*” (Hogarth 1896, 79-80).

<sup>75</sup> Fellows 1841, 236.

<sup>76</sup> Spratt – Forbes 1847, I, 152.

<sup>77</sup> Newton 1865, 344.

<sup>78</sup> Hogarth 1910, 54.

*cattle; a solitary camel was chewing the cud; and wild thyme and marine plants were growing on the site of mansions and gardens*<sup>79</sup>.

On April 20<sup>th</sup> 1838 Charles Fellows remarks concerning the Yurooks by Demelheer in the Xanthus valley: “*The soil here is light, but affords good pasture for sheep; and in the valley cultivation is more attended to than in any country that I have seen for many weeks. The people seem well off, but their life in tents gives them an independence of manners and character not very pleasing to the traveller. They are exceedingly careless about money; having enough to eat, they wish for nothing more. Both man and beast are in a most wild state. We are now at one of their encampments, and though we ordered the horses to be ready at six o’clock this morning, at seven the men had not gone for them, and there was so much difficulty in catching them, that they did not appear until one o’clock in the afternoon*”<sup>80</sup>.

In 1840 on February 28<sup>th</sup> near Ephesus Charles Fellows write of an inscribed antique column, “*...at present it marks the grave of some unknown Yourook, or herdsman, whose race occupy the black goats-hair tents scattered over the widely extended plain*”<sup>81</sup>.

In his May the 10<sup>th</sup> 1840 entry, Charles Fellows wrote, “*The interest of our halt was greatly increased by our observing an almost uninterrupted train of cattle and people moving from the valleys to the cool places for the summer season-the yeelassies. I was much struck by the simplicity and patriarchal appearance of the several families, which brought forcibly to mind the descriptions of pastoral life in Bible history. What a picture would Landseer make of such a pilgrimage!...In advance of the pastoral groups were the straggling goats, browsing on the fresh blossoms of the wild almond as they passed. In more steady courses followed the small black cattle, with their calves and among them several asses, carrying in saddle-bags those calves that were too young to follow their watchful mothers. Then came the flocks of sheep and the camels each with their young; two or three fine-grown camels bearing piled loads of ploughs, tent-poles, kettles, pans, presses, and all the utensils for the dairy; and amidst this rustic load was always seen the rich Turkey carpet and damask cushions, the pride even of the tented Turk. Behind these portions of the train I must place, with more finish, the family-the foreground of my picture*”<sup>82</sup>.

*An old man, and generally his wife, head the clan, which consists of several generations; many of them must have seen five score summers on the mountains: the old man, grasping a long stick, leads his children with a firm step. His son, the master of the flocks, follows with his wife; she is often seated on a horse, with a child in her arms, and other horses are led, all clothed with the gay trappings of a Turkish steed. Asses are allotted to the younger children, who are placed amidst the domestic stores, and never without a pet*

<sup>79</sup> Elliott 1838, 194.

<sup>80</sup> Fellows 1839, 236.

<sup>81</sup> Fellows 1841, 8.

<sup>82</sup> It seems possible that one of the two oil paintings by George Scharf jnr. exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1845, No. 455, entitled, “*A Lycian migration from the valley of the Xanthus*”, was prompted by witnessing a scene such as this, Graves 1905, 42. Unfortunately the whereabouts of this work today seems to be unknown. Luigi Mayer drew for the British Ambassador to the Porte from 1776 to 1792, Sir Robert Ainslie, probably the first European visual record of this migration in Lycia/Caramania in 1792, a drawing which was published as a coloured engraving entitled, “*A Caramanian Family Changing Its Abode-Famille Caramanienne Changeant Demeure*” described p.8-9, un-numbered between pages 8-9 in, Mayer 1803; Source: [https://archive.org/stream/gri\\_33125008694883#page/n33/mode/2up](https://archive.org/stream/gri_33125008694883#page/n33/mode/2up) A copy of this engraving at: <http://eng.travelogues.gr/item.php?view=49964> The sheep are perhaps still examples of the “*fat sheep of Karamania weighing from forty to fifty occas*” mentioned by Evliya Çelibî in the 17<sup>th</sup> century.



*cat in their arms: long tresses of hair hang down their necks, and are kept closely to the head by a circlet of coins. By their side walks the eldest son, with all the air and alacrity of a young sportsman; over his shoulder hangs a long-barelled gun, in his hand is the cage of a decoy partridge, and a classic-looking hound follows at his heels: a number of shepherd boys mingle with flocks and bring up the rear. The gay costume, the varied noises of the cattle, and the high glee attending the party on this annual expedition, must be supplied by the imagination.*

*I should think that twenty families passed in succession during our halt, few of them having less than one hundred head of stock, and many had more. In some families, attendants, servants or farming-labourers, were among the cattle, generally with their aprons tied around them, in which they carried two or three young kids; they often had over their shoulders a small calf, with all its legs held together on the breast, exactly as seen in the offerings on the bas-reliefs at Xanthus and elsewhere...*<sup>83</sup>.

On January 16<sup>th</sup> 1844 William Müller in a letter to Thomas Morson from Xanthus wrote:

*"But I have been an inmate with the Yurooks, a kind of Turk, - and here society forms a curious contrast to the above wild exhibition of nature"*<sup>84</sup>.

William Allen on April 11<sup>th</sup> 1850 at Patara, relates, *"Some Yuruks were encamped near the theatre, on fine pasture, surrounded by their flocks of sheep, their black tents guarded by fierce dogs. Some women brought a few coins, which we brought; but they were not curious"*<sup>85</sup>.

In 1854 in his account of *A Tour in Lycia*, Mr D. E. Colnaghi, traversing the route from Antiphellus to Cyaneae on Tuesday the 21<sup>st</sup> of March relates, *"The country soon becomes more open, and we passed several encampments of Yuruks, or nomad Turks. They live in tents formed of bent twigs covered with skins, matting, or branches, or else in little wooden huts on poles raised above the ground (çardak), and with a door about two feet high, through which they manage to creep. They encamp in the winter in the valleys, and in summer remove with their flocks and herds to the mountains. They seem a simple and hospitable people. The women do not veil their faces, but wear a loose cloth veil which falls on the shoulders over a high turban. Sometimes this veil is tucked round the face under the chin as a protection against the sun"*<sup>86</sup>. He records on *"Monday 3<sup>rd</sup> April-We anchored near Deliktash at 3 p.m. There are only two or three huts near the shore, inhabited by Greeks. The Yoorouk village, situated about 10 minutes from the shore, consists of a few wicker tents covered with skins, and two or three huts. There is a large export of pine-wood from this place-either in planks or logs"*<sup>87</sup>. On *"Wednesday 5<sup>th</sup> April-The road to the Chimera fire lay across the plain, over a winding stream by the Yoorouk village"*<sup>88</sup>. On the path between Adrasan and Phenika-Finike on Saturday, 8<sup>th</sup> *"Sometimes we passed over an open rocky hill, and at others the road led through lanes of laurel; then we reached a fountain by a plane-tree, near which a body of Yoorouks were encamped under a tuft of cypresses"*<sup>89</sup>.

In April 1899 David George Hogarth at Patára by the theatre having crossed the swamp writes,

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<sup>83</sup> Fellows 1841, 238-239.

<sup>84</sup> Solly 1875, 192.

<sup>85</sup> Allen 1855, 125.

<sup>86</sup> Newton 1865, 339.

<sup>87</sup> Newton 1865, 344.

<sup>88</sup> Newton 1865, 344.

<sup>89</sup> Newton 1865, 345.

“We made for the pine log shelter and the three black booths”<sup>90</sup> of the Yuruks and overnighting in a black booth with a family of Yuruks, Hogarth remarked, “Such tent-dwellers seem lighter of heart than the men of Turkish towns and villages, merrier perhaps for having less between them and the sky. There is this to be said for tent-life in a warm clime-it exhilarates, like the casting off of old clothing; and perhaps for this reason civilised men of other climes have so much hankering for it, despite its insecurity and its plague of blowing dust, and the noonday heat and the cold in the dawn. But the canvas booth is not meant for house dwellers who carry with them much furniture and many scattered possessions, and would sit high and stand upright. It should be low to cheat the wind, and empty of all that may gather dust - a mere canvas burrow, such a shelter from draught and sun and dew as suits the simplicity and poverty of minds in which want of occupation and variety in life leaves no void to be filled by the morbid introspection dear to civilised solitaires”<sup>91</sup>.

### The role of the Zincani-Cingani-Roma Population in The Collection of Medicinal Leeches (*Hirudo Medicinalis*- The Healing Leech) in Ottoman Lycia

From the 1844 account provided by William Müller of the work undertaken by the *Cingene*-Roma in the Xanthus valley, “for the plain on which Xanthus is situated furnishes us with...leeches... (which) forms a considerable article of commerce with Smyrna (İzmir). Greeks brave the fever, and live a sort of life in the marshes, employing the Zingries (a sort of Turkish gipsy) to procure the little sanguinary animal”<sup>92</sup>; as also from his making a water-colour depiction of the Leech Depôt that had been constructed at Xanthus by 1843<sup>93</sup>, it is evident that the Xanthus valley was a substantial all year round source of leeches, and that the *Zingaries-Cingaries*-Roma were the main collectors of leeches from the wetlands of the Xanthus valley. The Greeks<sup>94</sup> and the Italians, rather than the *Cingari* collectors or leechers, were the dealers and merchants of the medicinal<sup>95</sup> leeches-*süllük* that were collected by the *Zingari*-Roma in the Xanthus valley. William Müller’s pupil Harry John Johnson<sup>96</sup>, aged 24 in 1844,

<sup>90</sup> Hogarth 1910, 54.

<sup>91</sup> Hogarth 1910, 58-59.

<sup>92</sup> Solly 1875, 200. He also records in a letter to Thos. Morson of January 16, 1844 from Xanthus that, “These (pine) forests on fire, which is often the case, as well as the burning of the weeds on the plains where they collect the leeches, are scenes of a grand description” (Solly 1875, 192), and it is unclear, but perhaps possible that the weeds on the marshy plain where the leeches were collected was deliberately burnt in connection with process of leech collecting.

<sup>93</sup> Solly 1875, 340, “No. 265 Leech Depôt, Xanthus.”. A water-colour sketch which was auctioned for the considerable sum of £26 and 5 shillings on the 2<sup>nd</sup> of April, 1846, in sale of the artist’s works after his death by Christie and Mason, in London.

<sup>94</sup> Fellows 1841, 262, records there were two or three Greek leech merchants in European dress at the market held in the Gülhisar Ova (Phrygia) on May 20<sup>th</sup> 1839. Macgregor 1850, 92, records French merchants in Bulgaria to buy leeches.

<sup>95</sup> See Rees Price 1822, for the British medical view of the practice of leeching in the first decades of the 19<sup>th</sup> c. and, Abdulkader *et al.* 2013 for the medical use from antiquity to the present for various therapeutic purposes leeches. See also for modern medical applications: <http://leeches-medicinalis.com/medical-applications/>; <http://leeches-medicinalis.com/medical-applications/applications-in-general-medicine/>; <http://leeches-medicinalis.com/medical-applications/applications-in-reparative-surgery-and-traumatology/>

<sup>96</sup> Henry John Johnson, usually known as Harry, to avoid confusion with Henry Johnson, and who signed his paintings Harry Johnson from 1859 onwards.

from the water-colour sketches he made at Patara, years after returning from Lycia, produced in oil on canvas<sup>97</sup> a work entitled, *The valley of Patara, Asia Minor*, that clearly records both the topography and the marshes at Patara, the habitat of the leeches (Fig. 4).



Fig. 4. Harry John Johnson's Oil Painting Entitled, *The Valley of Patara, Asia Minor*<sup>98</sup>

Spratt and Forbes record the method of collection and transportation of the leeches:

*"...in the marshes and lakes, such as Caralitis, the medicinal leech is plentiful. It is equally abundant in the marshes of the low country. In those near Xanthus the leeches are gathered all year round, but in the highlands only in summer. To collect them, people go into the water, wading about with their legs and thighs bare, so that the leeches may stick to their skin. They then scrape them off, and put them into a bag<sup>99</sup>. The leech-merchants<sup>100</sup> carry them away in linen bags, which they soak in every stream and pool they come to. Each carries many of these bags suspended in a basket, and kept apart by twigs. Every day such of the leeches as may have died are separated from the living and thrown away. Smyrna is*

<sup>97</sup> measuring 28 x 56 cm (11 x 22 in.). Source: <http://www.artnet.com/artists/harry-john-johnson/the-valley-of-patara-asia-minor-O4K7rTVnP1fRlncKUg3g1w2>

<sup>98</sup> Sold Sotheby's, London, The British Sale: Paintings & Watercolours, 28<sup>th</sup> November 2002, Lot. No.128. Source: <http://www.sothebys.com/en/auctions/ecatalogue/2002/the-british-sale-paintings-watercolours-l02155/lot.128.html>

<sup>99</sup> Rees Price notes *"In rainy and stormy weather leeches will disappear from sight; and just before a thunder storm, they will come to the surface of the water in great numbers, when the leech collectors find it a good opportunity to gather them"*. Price 1822, 132.

<sup>100</sup> Concerning the leech merchants, Spratt and Forbes write that the reason that their party was highly regarded by the Turkish population was: *"the more so as the only Franks they were in the habit of seeing were reckless, smuggling, dissipated leech merchants"* Spratt – Forbes 1847, II, 5, and, *"It (Almalee-Elmali) is the capital of Lycia and the centre of extensive fertile districts...Grains and leeches are the chief exports for distant markets, their buyers, - agents, mostly of Smyrna merchants, - are numerous and active, looking to smuggling for their profits, as well as legitimate trade...In that (khan at Almalee-Elmali) in which we lodged, we met some Italian leech-gatherers, old acquaintances, who had been at Xanthus during the winter, intelligent, unprincipled fellows, fertile in plans for defrauding the revenue, of which they told us many with great glee, trusting to our honour"* Spratt – Forbes 1847, I, 286-7.

*their usual destination, whence they are forwarded to the ports of France and Italy. the leeches are farmed by the Agas, but there is a profitable contraband trade driven. They are sold by the gatherers for about one hundred and twenty piastres the oke (1.27 kg), which, even though a great many die, gives a large profit to the merchant. There is a leech-bazar held at Caisabar (Kasaba, Kaş)<sup>101</sup>. The Constantinople correspondent of the New York Times in 1852 described the process thus: “The best fishing period (for leeches) is in the spring. The fall months are also favorable. It is a most unhealthy pursuit, exposing the leechers continually to fevers<sup>102</sup>. They are obliged to wade into the water, beat it with a stick and stir up the mud, and then they sieze the leeches as they put themselves in motion, or attach themselves to their legs. A man often collects ten or twelve dozen in three or four hours. He stows them away in a bag suspended to his neck. Leeches may be carried for short distances with safety in bags: for longer distances, they are put into vessels of water, which is frequently changed<sup>103</sup>”.*

Charles Fellows writes in 1839 that: “Three or four years ago the trade in leeches was scarcely known, except for the use of the village; this inhabitant of the swamp has now become an important contributor to the revenue of the Sultan<sup>104</sup>. Two years ago I met an Italian collecting and shipping them from Adalia, undisturbed by any law: from that time the privilege of buying them from the peasants has been farmed out by the Sultan, and several companies of merchants in Constantinople purchase certain districts for the year, and send agents round to buy up the collections at such prices as he may agree upon with the people. The agent here said that his employers had given a sum equal to fifteen thousand pounds for this district, which I found extended over almost the whole track we had traversed. How strange that two such important trades as that in leeches and gall-nuts should have their origin in such minute productions of the animal world! Many vessels are freighted to America and all parts of Europe with leeches only, and in almost every steamboat I have observed that a great part of its cargo consisted of these animals, which are the constant care of the merchants accompanying them, as they frequently require ventilation in the hold of the vessel. The trade is a great speculation, and the calculation is made upon the loss of an immense proportion of the stock. The capture, transport, and calculated mortality bring to my mind the treatment of the Negroes<sup>105</sup>”.

The English physician Rees Price in the first book in English devoted to this subject, *A Treatise on the Utility of Sangui-suction*, of 1822, concerning the importance in therapy of the application of leeches, noting that the four main London importers of leeches brought in to England a total of seven million two hundred thousand per year<sup>106</sup>, writes:

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<sup>101</sup> Spratt-Forbes 1847, II, 76.

<sup>102</sup> Leech collectors unsurprisingly often suffered from blood loss, with bleeding from the removal of the leech sometimes continuing for up to 10 hours, and frequently from the infections they caught from the leeches.

<sup>103</sup> De Bow 1852, 301.

<sup>104</sup> Macgregor 1850, 42, records that in 1839 the duty on leech exports, per oke (1.27 kg), had an internal duty of 216 aspers and an export duty of 72 aspers; and that the export of leeches from Smyrna-İzmir to France in 1839 amounted to £2,032, *idem* 102.

<sup>105</sup> Fellows 1841, 263-264.

<sup>106</sup> Price 1822, note on 129. The *Medico-Chirurgical Review and Journal of Medical Science*, Vol. 9., Burgess and Hill, London 1826, 72, unfortunately concludes its review of recent works on medicinal leeches by indicating not the importation of seven million two hundred thousand leeches per year, as stated by Rees Price, but, instead that

*“To the names of Themison, Celsus, Antyllus, Pliny, Galen, Aretus, Oribasius, AEtius, Eginetus, Avicenna, & c, are now to be added those of the most celebrated of modern times, whose experience and practice have established its (the use of leeches in therapy) value. It will, however, appear, in a future part of this work, that Leeching has never obtained, in England, the free and almost unlimited extension, as on the Continent; and it is even a matter of reproach, that our partiality for the lancet has thrown into some degree of neglect, this useful auxiliary to depletory measures”.*

and, concerning the beneficial aspects of this form of therapy he writes:

*“I shall first treat of the diseases requiring the application of leeches, in which I shall be as brief as the extensive nature of the subject will admit. It may, however, be premised, as a general rule, that in all cases of local congestion, and febrile affections, accompanied with increased excitement of any particular organ or part, the abstraction of blood by leeches, immediately from the seat of the disease, or as nearly so as possible, tends to unload the blood-vessels, in a state of congestion, and to allay morbid action, in a more direct manner than can be accomplished by any other method of abstracting blood - particularly in those cases where, either from the peculiarity or state of the constitution, from age, sex, or a variety of other causes, general blood-letting is inadmissible; the application of leeches, in such cases, is our sheet-anchor, not to be supplied by any other remedy”<sup>107</sup>.*

The London Medical and Physical Journal, in its review of Price's book records:

*“We have extracted from this work sufficient to show, that we have derived pleasure from its perusal. It contains many hints relative to Leech-bleeding not generally known, and which cannot fail of being extremely useful to the profession at large. Dr. Price has advocated the employment of Leeches in no less than ninety-two different complaints”<sup>108</sup>, these included the application of leeches for headaches, in cases of fevers, inflammation, gout, flux and ophthalmia, pneumonia, ear-ache, phrenitis, typhus, mumps, etc.”<sup>109</sup>.*

On the continent, France imported a total of 57,000,000 medicinal leeches in 1832<sup>110</sup>, in part, at least, a consequence of the influence of the chief physician at the Val de Grace Military hospital in Paris, F. J. V. Broussais (1772-1838), whose idea of therapy by means of leeches Roy Porter relates: *“...if all diseases were ultimately the outcome of one cause, gastroenteritis, all, he reasoned, were to be treated by one therapy: blood-letting, preferably by leeches...Broussais recommended applying leeches fifty at a time, all over the skin. His disciple, Jean Baptiste Bouillard (1796-1881), followed suit, recommending copious phlebotomy, bleeding his patients time and again, removing up to three litres from those stricken with pneumonia”<sup>111</sup>.*

With the consequent near extinction over much of western Europe by the start of the 19<sup>th</sup> century

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the four importers of leeches each received £150,000 per month and a total of seven millions two-hundred thousand pounds sterling per year (in revenue), an evident nonsense.

<sup>107</sup> Price 1822, 7.

<sup>108</sup> Price 1822, 153.

<sup>109</sup> Macleod – Bacot 1823, 164. The London Medical and Physical Journal, Macleod – Bacot 1823, 161-164, 164.

<sup>110</sup> On the French fashion for leeches in the 1830's, see, James 1836, 236, Le Sorcier, *“One has heard of the mania for leeches which has lately prevailed in France. Like all other manias, this did not long confine itself to the capital or its environs, but rapidly spread to every province and every department;...”*.

<sup>111</sup> Porter 1997, 313-314.

of medicinal leeches due to over-fishing, as recorded for example in 1800 by Dorothy Wordsworth in her journal entry for October 3<sup>rd</sup>: “*His trade was to gather leeches, but now leeches were scarce and he had not the strength for it... He said leeches were very scarce partly owing to this dry season, but many years they had been scarce...Leeches were formerly 2/6 (per 100); they were now 30/.*”<sup>112</sup>, a six-fold price increase; followed by the loss of their wetland habitat through the draining of marshes and from water pollution in Western Europe, where leeches remain today in the natural environment an endangered species<sup>113</sup>, and with difficulties in breeding them; medicinal leeches in the 19<sup>th</sup> c. became a substantial export from the Ottoman state to European states, including from the ports of Smyrna-İzmir, Antalya, “*The exports of Adalia are chiefly wheat, timber, and a great quantity of leeches*”<sup>114</sup>, and Salonika<sup>115</sup> throughout the course of the 19<sup>th</sup> c.<sup>116</sup>. It was reported by the New York Times correspondent at Constantinople in 1852 that between 50 and 60 million leeches were exported from Ottoman Turkey annually<sup>117</sup>. The leeches were divided into three categories for export: leeches<sup>118</sup>, leeches fat and large and Cow leeches<sup>119</sup>. John Macgregor’s multi-volume work on exports and imports, extending from the 1830’s to 1850, recorded concerning Ottoman exports of leeches: “*The trade in leeches, which is a source of considerable profit to the population of these parts, was formerly a monopoly; the fishing of which is now an iltizam, or farm, sold by the government in the same manner as other fisheries,*

<sup>112</sup> D. Wordsworth, The Grasmere Journal, entry, October 3<sup>rd</sup> 1800.

<sup>113</sup> CITES convention, Listed in annex II. A permit is required to transport *Hirudo medicinalis* outside of Europe, enabling its trade to be controlled. For further on this see:  
<http://leeches-medicinalis.com/the-leeches/environment/>

<sup>114</sup> Davis 1874, 215. These were probably collected from the formerly numerous wetlands and extensive swamps on the Pamphylian plain, rather exporting those collected in Lycia, which seem to have been exported via Smyrna-İzmir.

<sup>115</sup> The English Salonica merchant and convert to Greek Orthodoxy, John Abbot, held the monopoly of leech exports of Salonica upon which, and through moneylending and bribes, he built his most considerable fortune, A. Rodrigue – S. Stein 2012, 72, fn. 83; idem., 119, re salonica leeches, exported to sell for one shilling each. For one cent a leech in the county towns of Turkey and leeches at 50 cents each in the USA and 3 to 4 dollars each in Peru in 1852 see, De Bow 1852, 300. For leeches sold in England during the Napoleonic wars, at a time of scarcity at half-a-crown and five shillings each, see, Price 1822, 130. On the Kayseri leech fisheries, exporting 6000 oke (7,620 kg.) of leeches per year in the 1840’s, see Macgregor 1850, II, 122.

<sup>116</sup> To Britain in 1845 shipments from Constantinople were 120 tubs of leeches, in 1846 189, and 1847 108 tubs of leeches; while in 1857 475 packages and cases of leeches, valued at 287,000 piastres, were shipped from Smyrna-İzmir, Simmonds 1870, 521, however, Farley 1862, 94, states Smyrna in 1857 exported 485 cases worth, 287,000 piasters. For the long-distance shipping of leeches by means of tubs from Smyrna to New York *etc.*, and steamboats with shelves for the transport of leeches, see De Bow, 1852, 301. There were approx. 2,000 leeches per tub/cask in the 1820’s, see Price 1822, 137.

<sup>117</sup> De Bow 1852, 300.

<sup>118</sup> There are between 250 and 400 small leeches and between 125 and 200 large leeches per pound/0.4 kg. weight, De Bow 1852, 300.

<sup>119</sup> Hunt 1854, 411. Exports of leeches from the port of Samsun in 1853 amounted to 1,112,100 Turkish piasters, Hunt 1854, 413. “*as to the large supply of leeches he (the Pasha of samsoon-Samsun in 1844) could obtain - his stock amounting in a few months to 5,000 okes,*”, McCulloch 1856, 36-7. Exports of leeches from Samsoun (sic.) were to the value of £1,000 in 1856, Farley 1862, 131.

from year to year<sup>120</sup>. As, however, all the peasantry are allowed to fish for leeches, indiscriminately, without any special licence or authority, the contractors employing guards for the prevention of contraband, and allowing a specific sum for the quantities delivered: but the fishers sell leeches to other parties, who are ready to offer a higher price for the same;—and as every landed proprietor may be considered free to dispose of the produce of his own estates, as well in the case of leeches, as with respect to other private fisheries, the contractors have never been allowed to interfere with British protected subjects, to whom the liberty to purchase, and export all articles, without any exceptions whatever, is secured. Thus the trade in leeches is free to British subjects in this province, being expressly set forth as such in the pasha's orders to the customs-house officers<sup>121</sup>.

There has been a longstanding association<sup>122</sup> of considerable importance between the *Cingane-gypsies*-Roma and the medicinal leech, not only in collecting them, but because, “*The breeding of them (leeches) was at one period almost entirely confined to a tribe of gypsies; but the secret got known and went abroad*”<sup>123</sup>. This was an association centuries old when William Müller recorded it in the Xanthus valley in 1843-4. Likewise in the 19<sup>th</sup> c. Eugene Schuyler recorded in his travels in Russian Turkestan, Khokand, Bukhara, and Kuldja, “*There are to be seen at times in the towns people called Liuli, who are apparently the same as our gypsies. The women tell fortunes, cure the sick and carry on a small traffic. The men trade in horses, and have almost a monopoly of leeches, which they collect from the ponds and streams*”<sup>124</sup>; while John Mowbray Trotter recorded that the Dom-Roma in Western Turkestan not only employed themselves in catching and training falcons, manufacturing wooden platters, and mending metal pots and pans, but are great horse dealers and, “*have the monopoly of the trade in leeches in Bukhara*”<sup>125</sup>. It is perhaps unsurprising with this connection between leeches and gypsies that “*the young Vambéry, wandering around the land collecting leeches, “became interested in gypsy life” He writes, I distinctly remember the camp of these brown children of the East (the Wallachian Gypsies in the 1840’s)*”<sup>126</sup>.

It also seems noteworthy that the record provided by mid-19<sup>th</sup> c. travellers as to the location in the 19<sup>th</sup> c. of *Chingene-Zincali*-Roma settlement in Ottoman Lycia: by Patara, Xanthus, Tlos, Pinare-Minare, Demre, Limyra and Finike, as also in Caria around Köyceğiz, as noted above, as also by Antalya, by Anamur and the Çukurova, and presumably elsewhere in Ottoman territory, are settlements that can, at least in part, be associated with the habitat required to obtain freshwater leeches from

<sup>120</sup> The right to fish for leeches between Sinope and Trebizond-Trabzon for one year was given at Constantinople for £900, Macgregor 1850, II, 117; see also, McCulloch 1856, note 36-37; where also the price of 20 piasters per oke paid to the collectors of the leeches is recorded. Trebizond in 1858 exported 496 cases, Farley 1862, 123.

<sup>121</sup> Macgregor 1850, II, 92.

<sup>122</sup> “*If someone had a headache, they would apply leeches. Even the peasants treated themselves with leeches. In Ubrei they had some fresh waters where leeches lived, and so the Roma in those parts would catch them and sell them*”, Lacková – Hübschmannová 2000, 40.

<sup>123</sup> Simmonds 1847, 349; Anon. 1847, 208. See also, J. Sparks, On the method of Breeding and rearing Leeches in Scinde, 259, *The Pharmaceutical Journal and Transactions*, J. Churchill, London, Vol. VI. Leeches were successfully bred by only one family of farmers, the Bechade's in the Gironde region of Western France, from 1835 onwards, source: <http://leeches-medicinalis.com/the-company/history/>

<sup>124</sup> Schuyler 1876, 111.

<sup>125</sup> Trotter 1882, 515.

<sup>126</sup> Mandler 2016, 4.

marsh-swampland all year round. As, amongst the several professions practiced by Ottoman *Chingene-Zincali*: musicians, blacksmiths and ironworkers, tinsmiths and tinkers, brass workers<sup>127</sup>, spoon, gun and powder flask makers, leather workers, horse traders, wooden sieve makers, basket makers, bear trainers, dancers, acrobats and entertainers, there can certainly be added to these, the occupation of medicinal leech collectors.

**Some Depictions by William James Müller in 1843-1845 of *Cingans-Cingari Chinganeh-Zincali-Jinganeh* - Romani-Gypsies, *Yurook-Yourooks* and *Turcomen* in Lycia**

The artist wrote, “*I need hardly add how much pleasure it will give me to show you some of the spoil I have had from Xanthus. I have truly taken away much,*”<sup>128</sup>, drawing an implicit comparison with Fellows’ removal of the Xanthian monuments; as again in a surviving letter to the father of his pupil Harry John Johnson, he wrote that his own sketches, “*form a most important collection & please me more than I expected - truly I have some fine subjects*”<sup>129</sup>, as the following list indicates, painted in a little under four months, 121 days, from the 22<sup>nd</sup> of October 1843 to the 19<sup>th</sup> of February 1844, time spent at Xanthus, Minara-Pinara, Tlos, Telmessos, Patara and at the mouth of the Xanthus-Esen River.

Nathanial Neal Solly provides a list of approximately 140 water-colour paintings painted in Lycia, many of which after the artist’s death were sold at Sotheby’s London in 1846, a sale entitled, ‘*The Beautiful Works in Oil and Water-colours of the highly talented artist, William James Muller, Esq., deceased*’<sup>130</sup>. The list below, extracted from Sotheby’s numbered list, consists of 48 named figurative water-colour sketches and depictions of Ottoman buildings and dwellings painted on the spot in Lycia. Some subjects were painted more than once copied by the artist and doubtless some copied by his pupil Harry John Johnson. Excluded are those water-colours and drawings of the ancient ruins, most of the still lifes and views painted in Lycia, and the list below likewise excludes those water-colours painted in Lycia that had already been sold or were given away before the artist’s death<sup>131</sup>. It is evident that these works in water-colour clearly and directly record an interest in the human population and both a remarkable speed of production and proficiency. They provide today an accurate historical record in colour of members of the Lycian populations, their dress and dwellings before photography after the middle of the century was employed in the region<sup>132</sup>. Müller and Johnson returned to London in May, 1844.

235 Musical Party, Lycia. Probably to be identified with, *Musical Party in Yurooks’ Tent*, Ex. Mrs. T. Woods Col., “*Painted by fire-light, whilst Johnson held a candle. Some of the heads are very fine, with*

<sup>127</sup> Solly 1875, 362.

<sup>128</sup> Solly 1875, 226. These include in addition to the works below, his Lycia and Xanthus Sketchbook, today in the Bristol City Council Museum, U.K. No. (K2736), a cream-coloured hardback (parchment) sketchbook of 87 leaves, containing pencil drawings, two watercolour sketches and many pencil or ink inscriptions/notes.

<sup>129</sup> “MULLER, William John (sic.) (1812-1845). *Landscape painter. Two Autograph Letters Signed about his eight-month expedition to Turkey with the archaeologist Charles Fellows, 7 pages 4to (one a little frayed), Xanthus, Lycia, 1833 & 1844* [No: 25498], source: <https://www.manuscripts.co.uk/stock/25498.HTM>, catalogued as William John Muller, rather than as William James Muller, and one of the two letters concerning Lycia is mis-dated 1833 in this record, rather than being dated 1843, probably a typo.

<sup>130</sup> Solly 1875, 339-343.

<sup>131</sup> For his anonymous obituary (by S. C. Hall) see the Art Union, October 1845, 318-319.

<sup>132</sup> Müller’s surviving sketchbook containing views done in Lycia is in the Bristol Art Gallery, England.



different coloured turbans, -one especially, being white, with red fez-cap in the centre, gives the highest point of light. A broken harmony of colour pervades this sketch, which, although so rapid, reminds one of an Italian picture of the best period"<sup>133</sup>.

238 Turkish cottage, Lycia. Possibly the work lent by Mrs. Thomas Wood, No. 13, entitled, Turkish Cottage on the Plain of Xanthus, inscribed 1843, Dec. 26, W. M. measuring 21 in. by 13 in. high<sup>134</sup>.

246 Turkish Encampment near Xanthus

247 Turkish Cottages.

251 Cingari's Hut, Lycia.<sup>135</sup> Two versions of this survive both inscribed and dated: "Cingari's hut, 1843", Figs. 5 and 6.



Fig. 5. "Cingans Hut, Tlos", 1843, Victoria and Albert Museum, London, SD.692, "Inscribed with Title and Date 1843 and, Probably not in the Artist's Hand, W Müller" Also Catalogued as "Tent of Zingaris". © Victoria and Albert Museum, London



Fig. 6. Another Version of the Same Inscribed and Dated: "Cingari's Hut, 1843", Probably the Original Version<sup>136</sup>. © Trustees of the British Museum

252 House of an Imaun (sic), Lycia,<sup>137</sup> it was sold under this title in the Christie and Mason 1846 sale of the artist's works for the considerable sum of 14 guineas (£14, 14 shillings) (Fig. 7). It is today in the Manchester Art Gallery Acc. No. 1902.9, where it is entitled, "House of an Iman (sic.), Lycia". However, William Müller painted the house of an Imam, a Muslim prayer leader, in Lycia and through recording its title as such, was making comparison possible between the appearance of the dwelling of the imam and the Victorian vicarage/parsonage.

<sup>133</sup> Solly 1875, 268.

<sup>134</sup> Burlington 1880, 38.

<sup>135</sup> Source: <http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O147257/cingans-hut-watercolour-muller-william-james/> However it is also recorded in the V&A catalogue for SD.695 as "Tent of Zingaris" Object history note: According to Rodney Searight: - `Bt fr. Holder (ex-Christie's [14. 1. 75 (149)]) January 1975, £135 ' [with Tent of Zingaris, formerly in the Searight Collection, see SD. 692]. <http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O147329/interior-of-a-turkish-shepherds-watercolour-muller-william-james/>

<sup>136</sup> BM London, No. 1878, 1228. 111 from John Henderson 1878; AN00221483\_001\_1 Source: [http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/collection\\_object\\_details/collection\\_image\\_gallery.aspx?assetId=221483001&objectId=741026&partId=1](http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details/collection_image_gallery.aspx?assetId=221483001&objectId=741026&partId=1) Described as "No. 48. Zingari's Tent. A low tent pitched in a sandy hollow with heathy slopes behind; a woman is seated inside the tent with cooking utensils beside her and a child just outside it with some red fruit in its lap ; at the r. in the foreground a girl with a pail on her arm. Inscribed Cingari's Hut, 1843, W. M. Water colours; imp., 13 x 21 in". Binyon 1902; Solly 1875, 259.

<sup>137</sup> Solly 1875, 339. Source: <http://manchesterartgallery.org/collections/search/collection/?id=1902.9>



Fig. 7. Entitled in the 1846 Sale, House of an Imaun (sic), Lycia



Fig. 8. Inscribed, Lycia, Turkish Cottage, Dec. 13<sup>th</sup> 1843 WM, ©Tate Galley, London

256 Interior of a Turkish Cottage, inscribed *Lycia, Turkish Cottage, Dec. 13<sup>th</sup> 1843 WM*, Tate Gallery N02374<sup>138</sup>, (Fig. 8).

263 Turcoman<sup>139</sup>'s Hut (making Eceuree (ee-mecc=bread<sup>140</sup>)) 34.5 x 56 cm (13.6 x 22 in.) 1843. This or perhaps No. 296 below, inscribed "*Interior of a Turkoman's hut, Xanthus*", measuring 14 by 21 1/2 in. was sold for 9 guineas<sup>141</sup>.

265 Leech Depôt, Xanthus. The whereabouts of this important drawing indicating the importance of Leech collection in the Xanthus valley in the mid-19<sup>th</sup> c. is today unknown.

289 Turcoman's Hut. There are at least two water-colours versions by Müller of this composition, one dated the 3<sup>rd</sup>, the other the 4<sup>th</sup> of December 1843 (Figs. 9, 10 respectively). Both are inscribed, '*Turkoomans Hut*<sup>142</sup>. 1843 WM/Lycia', both measuring, 34.5 by 56 cm, 13 1/2 by 22 in.<sup>143</sup>. Two water-colours entitled in 1880, "*Interior of a Turkoman's (sic.) Hut*", Nos. 4 and 18, were exhibited at the Burlington Fine Arts Club, one of which, No. 18, dated *Decbr. 4,*

<sup>138</sup> Source: <http://www.tate.org.uk/art/artworks/muller-lycia-a-turkish-cottage-n02374>

<sup>139</sup> Concerning the Turcomen/Turkmen, Anon 1911, 282, records: "*They are in process of settling down, and, where still nomadic, they wander in small groups, generally of one or two families. The nomads are recognizable by their rounded tents, their two-humped camels (all the other nomadic groups having the dromedary), their short build, slanted Mongolian eyes, triangular countenances, small round heads, and scanty beard. They are engaged for the most part in stock-raising (sheep, cattle, and camels) and practise a little agriculture. They speak Turkish*". And it records amongst the chief groups of Turkmen, those of north-eastern Lycia idem, 282.

<sup>140</sup> See Müller 1844b, 211, "*the idea strikes me that a fire-our eemecc (bread), the everlasting cold fowl, and on this occasion, eggs, to be roasted by the fire-would be desirable*", eemecc is a mis-transcription or a printers typo of Tr. ekmek.

<sup>141</sup> Art Prices 1910-1911, 43, April 24<sup>th</sup>, 1911 Christie's Lot No. 71.

<sup>142</sup> Both dates are recorded for a single watercolour, once as Dec. 4, 1843, and once as Dec. 3, 1843 - *Sotheby's New York, April 3, 1996 Lot 177: Description: Turkoman's hut, Lycia, s.d. Dec 3 1843; Sotheby's New York, April 3, 1996, British Watercolours, Lot 177: Description: a turkoman's hut, lycia Signed l.l.: Turkoomans Hut. Dec 4. 1843 WM/Lycia, firstly as measuring 22 x 13 in., then as measuring, 34.5 by 56 cm; 13 1/2 by 22 in.*

<sup>143</sup> One version: Sotheby's, London, Important British Watercolours, June 5, 2008, Lot 262: William James Muller, 1812-1845 Description: signed l.l.: Turkomans Hut 1843 WM / Lycia, watercolour over pencil heightened with touches of bodycolour; Provenance: Sotheby's, 14<sup>th</sup> April 1976, Lot 65; Sotheby's, 3<sup>rd</sup> April 1996, Lot 177; source <https://www.mutualart.com/Artwork/TURKOMANS-HUT/4368A15058E86E68>. Another version: Sotheby's London 22<sup>nd</sup> March 2005, Lot 125; Source:

<https://www.mutualart.com/Artwork/Turkomans-Hut/9F442FDD11B11D4B;>

<http://www.artnet.com/artists/william-james-m%C3%BCller/turkomans-hut-hirPowfCGnnrXEaYqscSrg2;>

<http://www.artnet.com/artists/william-james-m%C3%BCller/turkomans-hut-RjaBYuFSRAWpSJ2fn03h3Q2>



Figs. 9-10. Both Inscribed 'Turkoomans Hut. 1843, WM/Lycia' Left Dated 3<sup>rd</sup>, Right the 4<sup>th</sup> of December 1843, W.M.<sup>144</sup> is probably to be identified with No. 289 (Fig. 10).

#### 296 Interior of Brigand Turcoman's Hut

297 Musical Party, Cingaries, at the House of the Cavasse, Xanthus. "Sketched by fire-light. Six figures seated: fine yellow glow thrown on the turbans and robes of this wild-looking group; the fire is in the distance; the room is evidently very old and low. A most rapid yet powerful sketch"<sup>145</sup>.

#### 300 Turkish Cottage on the Plain of Xanthus

302 Interior of Yurook's Hut, Lycia. Ex. Mrs T. Woods col., described "A woman and child, with various household utensils in the foreground. The colour and arrangement of this sketch are eminently picturesque". This sketch probably served as the model for the oil painting today in the Bristol Museum (Fig. 66).

303 Interior of Turcoman's Hut, Xanthus. Sold in 1846 for pounds 24. 3s. Described as, "very elaborate and clever, but rather too black in the shadows. Four figures are represented, with powerful light and shade. Dated, Xanthus Nov, 1843"<sup>146</sup>.

304 Yurook's Hut, Xanthus, Christmas Day, 1843<sup>147</sup>. There are at least two water-colours by William Müller of this composition, one is in the British Museum, a gift from John Henderson in 1878, inscribed *Xmas day, Xanthus*, measuring 34.3 by 52.9 cm (Fig.11). It is described by Solly: "Tent of Yurooks Near Xanthus, With Figures. The accessories are very picturesque, with fine effect of light and shade. Christmas-day, Xanthus, 1843"<sup>148</sup>.

Another slightly smaller version of this composition, also inscribed *Xmas day, Xanthus*, was auctioned by Phillips, London, September 9, 1991, Lot 68, measuring 13 x 20 in. (33x50 cm).

Another version, but of quite different proportions, was sold at Sotheby's New York, sale of Eighteenth and Nineteenth Century British Drawings and Watercolors, on April 14<sup>th</sup>, 1994, Lot No. 507, measuring 34 by 25 cm; 13 1/4 by 9 3/4 in., where it is described as, "The Tent of the Wandering Yurooks (sic.), Lycia", signed *W Müller* and inscribed, *Yurook's Tent near Xanthus*, which is probably a subsequent copy by the artist, with a later inscription recording his full surname, as is likewise the

<sup>144</sup> Burlington 1880, 35.

<sup>145</sup> Solly 1875, 269.

<sup>146</sup> Solly 1875, 270.

<sup>147</sup> [http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/collection\\_object\\_details.aspx?objectId=740975 & partId=1](http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=740975&partId=1); British Museum, Prints and Drawings, London, from John Henderson, 1878, 1228. 109, AN002 21479\_001\_1 © Trustees of the British Museum.

<sup>148</sup> Solly 1875, 259.



Fig. 11. Water-colour of Yurook's Hut, Xanthus, B.M. London, No. 1878,1228.109 © Trustees of the British Museum<sup>149</sup>



Fig. 12. Müller's Water-colour of This Version of the Yurook Hut with Figures from The John Henderson Collection Was Also Chromolithographed by Vincent, Brooks, Day and Sons of London and Published in Nathaniel Solly's Biography of William Müller of 1875, Where It Is Entitled, *Tent of Wandering Yurooks, Lycia*<sup>150</sup>. The Distinction Often Drawn by Müller Between a Hut, Having a Frame Support, And a Tent Supported by Poles and Ropes, Was Ignored In This Later Renaming of His Work

case for the two versions of No. 251 *Cingari's Hut, Lycia*, above, although it may possibly indicate a copy made by his pupil Harry John Johnson. The Sotheby's April 14<sup>th</sup>, 1994 sale catalogue entry for Lot. No. 507 mistakenly states this drawing was "made on the Government expedition to Lycia in 1843", however William Müller was not a member of the Government expedition to Lycia in 1843<sup>151</sup>. It also states this watercolour was illustrated in Solly's 1875 biography, "*Literature: N. Neal Solly, Memoirs of the Life of W.J. Muller, p. 233, illustrated p. 202,*", however, as is clearly stated in Solly's work, the

<sup>149</sup> British Museum, Prints and Drawings, London, AN00221479\_001\_1 © Trustees of the British Museum. Described: "No. 59. *Tent of Wandering Yurooks. A tent pitched against a bank r. with a sandy slope in front, and purple hills in the 1. distance beyond a wide valley; in the door of the tent an old man and a little girl seated with a dog beside them, another girl standing r.; in front of them a woman crouching and holding the forefeet of a goat. Inscribed Xmas Day, Xanthus. Water colours; imp., 13 X 20 in*", Binyon 1902. Probably that sold at the Quilter Collection Sale at Christie's Mason and Woods, London, April 9<sup>th</sup> 1875, No 258, *Yurook huts, the wandering tribes or Turcomen*, sold for £127, 1 s. a work exhibited at the National Exhibition of Works of Art, held at Leeds in 1868 No. 2191, Catalogue 1868, 125.

<sup>150</sup> Solly 1875, 202.

<sup>151</sup> Likewise, Redgrave 1866, II, 465, "Soon after Government projected the expedition to Lycia. This he solicited and obtained permission to accompany", as also Reynolds 1998, 98, in error, "in 1843 he became the official draughtsman to the Expeditionary Force in Lycia". In fact the official draughtsmen in 1843 were the architect Major Rohde Hawkins and George Scharf jnr. and Sir Charles Fellows was quite explicit in denying Müller any official role, in his testimony given on May 12<sup>th</sup> 1848:

"1670 And the artist, I believe, was Mr Muller? - No; that is a mistake, which I am very glad to have the opportunity of correcting. It was George Scharf, who has twice been out with me.

1671 He was connected with you? - He was connected with me; but Mr Muller happened to be in Lycia at the time and made some drawings". Parliament 1969, 67. That early in 1843 he had "urged Müller to join the projected expedition" (Solly 1875, 172), and provided the reason why Müller went to Lycia in 1843, Fellows did not mention in his 1848 testimony.



Fig. 13. A Later Copy After Müller's Water Colour Depicting This Hut With Figures And Carrying The Same Xmas Day, Xanthus Inscription, But Measuring 13.5 x 19.5 ins. 34 x 50 cm<sup>152</sup>



Fig. 14. Later Copy, Auctioned at John Nicholsons Fine Art Auction of Fine Oil Paintings, Watercolours, Frames, Prints & Engraving, May 1<sup>st</sup>, 2015, Haslemere, Lot 90: "Description: William James Muller (1812-1845) British. "Tent of Yurooka (sic.) Nr Xouthis (sic)", Watercolour, Inscribed<sup>153</sup>, 13.5 x 20 in."<sup>154</sup>

watercolour illustrated in his book came from the John Henderson Collection<sup>155</sup> and it was given to the British Museum in 1878, where it remains today. This watercolour is not therefore the same as that "illustrated on p. 202". It is another smaller version of this composition having different proportions. It is perhaps also noteworthy that a year later in 1844 the American artist Miner Kilbourne Kellogg drew a hut of this same type also with a woman in red and white in a water-colour composition entitled, *Tents Ourouks or wandering Tartars on Mt Olympos. Asia Minor*, today in the Smithsonian Institute, Washington<sup>156</sup>.



Fig. 15. Inscribed, Turkish Mill. Chikaey on the River Mage. © Victoria and Albert Museum, London

There are further versions of this water-colour, copies after the original and copies from the print, some also carrying the inscription "Xmas day, Xanthus" (Figs.13, 14 ).

307 Turkish Mill<sup>157</sup>. Inscribed by Müller, "Turkish Mill. Chikaey on the River Mage" (Fig. 15). It is

<sup>152</sup> Dominic Winter's Fine Art & Antiques Auction, 16<sup>th</sup> July 2015, Lot 19: (Copy) After William James Muller (1812-45). Tent of wandering Yurooks, Xanthus, Christmas Day, water-colour on paper, 34 x 50cm.

<sup>153</sup> The painted inscription, *Xanthus, Xmas day*, seems not to be in Müller's hand.

<sup>154</sup> <http://www.invaluable.com/auction-lot/william-james-muller-1812-1845-british.-tent-o-90-c-6584e04881>, with photograph of inscription.

<sup>155</sup> Solly 1875, List of illustrations, xv.

<sup>156</sup> [http://americanart.si.edu/images/1991/1991.56.399\\_1a.jpg](http://americanart.si.edu/images/1991/1991.56.399_1a.jpg)

<sup>157</sup> Ex. Mrs. Thomas Wood, exhibited BFAC 1880 (Exh. Cat. 1880, 36); Herbert Powell Collection of British Watercolours which was first given to the National Art Collections Fund in 1929, today, Prints, Drawings and Paintings Collection, Victoria & Albert Museum, London, No. P.31-1968; <http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O1190183/a-turkish-mill-chikaey-watercolour-muller-william-james/>

described by Nathaniel Neal Solly as ‘*Turkish Mill on the Mangerchai*’<sup>158</sup> in 1875. However it is described as, ‘*A Turkish Mill, Chikaey 1843 or 1844 Pencil and watercolour WA x 2CW (339 x 51 1) Inscribed by the artist: ‘Turkish Mill. Chikaey./on River Village*’<sup>159</sup> in Greenacre and Stoddard’s 1991 exhibition catalogue, where the inscription is incorrectly recorded for the first time as, ‘*River Village*’. Today the Victoria and Albert Museum’s catalogue entry for this work records its size as 33.8 by 56 cm and its Descriptive line reads: Watercolour entitled ‘*A Turkish Mill, Chikaey*’, with the rest of the inscription ‘*on the River Mage*’, missing. The *River Mage*, was the artist’s abbreviation of the transcription of the words, Manger chi / Mancher chi / Mangher chai<sup>160</sup>/ Mangyr Tschai<sup>161</sup>, a tributary into the Xanthus River/ Etchen Chai-Esen Cayı flowing from the east into the Xanthus River between Xanthus and Tlos, the upper reaches of which are called the Kara su, meaning black water from the colour of the eroded material in the water and which is today often termed the Saklikent Çayı; while *Chikaey* is the transcription from Turkish into English of *Çayı kıyı* meaning river bank, clearly indicating thereby a water-mill. Müller paid much attention to technology, recording in numerous sketches, depictions of overshot and undershot watermills and windmills in Britain<sup>162</sup> and examples of such technology



Fig. 16. *Probably to be Identified with The 1846 Title, Yurook’s Hut, Xanthus*

overseas. At least one other water-colour of a mill was painted by Müller, exhibited at the Burlington Fine Arts Club exhibition in 1880, No. 13, measuring 19 by 13 in. lent by Mrs. Thomas Wood<sup>163</sup>.

334 Yurook’s Hut, Xanthus. Another sketch (Fig. 16) of the hut depicted above, No. 304, (Figs. 11, 12) and possibly this was first sketch made of this subject, before the view was widened to include the distant landscape on the left and the figures were inserted into and outside the Yurook’s hut<sup>164</sup>.

<sup>158</sup> Solly 1875, 271.

<sup>159</sup> Greenacre – Stoddard 1991, 152.

<sup>160</sup> *Mangher chai*, Hoskyn 1842, 150, and marked on map.

<sup>161</sup> Transcribed as such in 1842 by Rev. E. T. Daniel, British Museum, Prints and Drawings No. 1872,1109.22 [http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/collection\\_object\\_details/collection\\_image\\_gallery.aspx?assetId=219583001&objectId=741829&partId=1](http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details/collection_image_gallery.aspx?assetId=219583001&objectId=741829&partId=1)

<sup>162</sup> Clevedon Salerooms Ltd, Clevedon, UK, September 1<sup>st</sup>, 2016, Lot 131: William James Muller (1812-1845) - Watercolour - Landscape with watermill, signed, 24.5cm x 38 cm; Bloomsbury Auctions London, October 25, 2007, Oil Paintings, Watercolours, Drawings and Prints, Lot 86, pencil drawing of an undershot mill: Bonhams, Chester, April 2<sup>nd</sup>, 2007, Lot 746: Description: Landscape with watermill, signed, bears label verso, watercolour, 26 x 41 cm (10 1/4 x 16 1/8 in.); Christie’s London British and Continental Watercolours July 1, 2004, Lot 98: Description: A windmill in an extensive landscape, etc.

<sup>163</sup> Burlington 1880, 37. Sold for £10 10s, Christie’s April 24<sup>th</sup> 1911, Lot No. 72, Art Prices 1910-11, 43.

<sup>164</sup> <https://www.the-saleroom.com/en-us/auction-catalogues/mellors-and-kirk/catalogue-idrmel10039?page=11> Mellors & Kirk, June 12<sup>th</sup> – 13<sup>th</sup> 2013, Lot 600.



Fig. 17. *Inscribed, Old Camel, Sixty-nine Years*



Fig. 18. *Inscribed, Son of Brigand Chief, Dec. 12, 1844 (sic.), Xanthus © Trustees of the British Museum. The Date on This Drawing Has Been Mis-Recorded or Mis-read as Müller Left Lycia from The Port of Macri-Macry-Fethiye on the 18<sup>th</sup> of February, 1844 and It Should Be Dated 1843*



Fig. 19. *Inscribed WM Lycia, 1843, Dec*

338 Old Camel, Sixty-nine Years.<sup>165</sup> This water-colour (Fig. 17) was probably painted by the Patara strand<sup>166</sup> and it seems most probable that the camel is 69 years old, as the average life expectancy of the camel is from 40 to 50 years, although it was presumably 69 *hicri* years of age, the difference amounting to 69 days, so possibly 68 *miladi* years old.

354 Son of Brigand Chief (Fig. 18).<sup>167</sup> *Inscribed, Son of Brigand Chief, Dec. 12, 1844 (sic.), Xanthus*

355 Turcoman Chief

356 Turk (presumably in Lycia although Smyrna or Rhodes are also possible)

357 Yurook

<sup>165</sup> No. 338 in the Christie and Mason sale of 1846 it was sold for £37 and 16 shillings, Solly 1875, 342. "A Turk resting by his 69 year old camel by the Lycian shore," at: <http://www.artnet.com/artists/william-james-m%C3%BCller/a-turk-resting-by-his-69-year-old-camel-by-the-o8aRAXNbMx0o19KJPt7sew2>

<sup>166</sup> A further watercolour landscape looking across the sands from the coast by Patara inland towards Xanthus is today in the Norwich Castle Museum and Art Gallery, entitled, "Xanthus from the sands Dec. 1843" at: [http://www.museums.norfolk.gov.uk/Visit\\_Us/Norwich\\_Castle/Past\\_Exhibitions/2005/The\\_Golden\\_Age\\_of\\_Watercolours/William\\_James\\_Muller/index.htm](http://www.museums.norfolk.gov.uk/Visit_Us/Norwich_Castle/Past_Exhibitions/2005/The_Golden_Age_of_Watercolours/William_James_Muller/index.htm)work; while Müller's pupil, Harry John Johnson's view of this scene, repainted in 1864, was sold by Bloomsbury Auctions, London, October 25, 2007, Lot 77: also entitled, *Xanthus from the sands*, measuring 12.5 x 36.5 cm (4.9 x 14.4 in.); [http://www.artnet.com/artists/harry-john-johnson/xanthus-from-the-sands-river-landscape-of-kinik-IG1QlgQOnclIQ\\_183NY9IQ2](http://www.artnet.com/artists/harry-john-johnson/xanthus-from-the-sands-river-landscape-of-kinik-IG1QlgQOnclIQ_183NY9IQ2); Harry John Johnson's oil on canvas, measuring 28 x 56 cm (11 x 22 in.), entitled, *The valley of Patara, Asia Minor*, painted after their return, clearly records the marshes at Patara.

<sup>167</sup> B.M. London, No. 1878,1228.99; AN00265260\_001\_1 from John Henderson 1878 at: [http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/collection\\_object\\_details.aspx?objectId=742199&partId=1&people=116424&peoA=116424-2-9&page=1](http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=742199&partId=1&people=116424&peoA=116424-2-9&page=1) Described, "No. 53. Son of a Brigand Chief. A boy in Turkish dress, with bare legs and feet, carrying an iron pot. *Inscribed Son of y e Brigand Chief, Dec. 12, 1844, W. M. Xanthus. Water colours; roy., 13 x 9 in*". Binyon 1902; Solly 1875, 260.



Fig. 20. *Gypsy Water Carrier at Xanthus* © Trustees of The British Museum



Fig. 21. *Inscribed Yurook Chief, Xanthus, Dec. 13./43 WM.* © Bristol Museums, Galleries and Archives

358 Gardner in Orange grove (Fig. 19). Inscribed *WM Lycia, 1844, Dec*<sup>168</sup>. Although entitled “*Gardner in orange grove*” in the 1846 Christie and Mason sale<sup>169</sup>, this water-colour today in the Metropolitan Museum, New York, Acc. No. 1971.66.5, purchased from P. & D. Colnaghi & Co. London, has been re-named, “*Standing Turkish Youth*”<sup>170</sup>. The date on this drawing has also been mis-read. Müller left Lycia from the port of Macri-Macry-Fethiye on the 18<sup>th</sup> of February, 1844<sup>171</sup>, and the loose brushwork inscription should rather be read as, *1843 Dec. (1st?) Lycia*.

359 Turk

360 Cingari

361 Yurook

362 Water carrier (Fig. 20)<sup>172</sup>. This water-colour Ex. John Henderson Col.<sup>173</sup>, almost certainly depicts the *Cingari*-gypsy water carrier who was described by Harry John Johnson in his Account: “...and the gipsy that carried water from Xanthus to our tent in a huge gourd, served him (Müller), over and over again as models...”<sup>174</sup>.

363 Cingari

364 Yurook Chief, Xanthus (Fig. 21). Today in the Bristol City Council Museum, Purchased 1933, Fine Art (Mb1646)<sup>175</sup>, inscribed *Yurook Chief, Xanthus, Dec. 13./43 WM*. Exhibited as No. 20 in the 1880 Burlington Fine Arts Club exhibition, 8 by 14 in. and then read as dated “*Dec. 1<sup>st</sup> '43*”, lent by Mrs. Thomas Wood<sup>176</sup>. A work described by Nathaniel Solly as, “*Yurook or Turcoman Chief at Xanthus With long rifled gun and wooden powder box. A graphic and picturesque sketch*”<sup>177</sup>.

365 Yurook Chief, Lycia

366 Cingari

371 Lycian Boy with Bow and Arrow (inscribed Dec. 12<sup>th</sup> 1843) B.M.

<sup>168</sup> Source: <http://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/355574?sortBy=Relevance&ft=william+james+m%C3%BCller&offset=0&rpp=20&pos=10>

<sup>169</sup> Solly 1875, 342.

<sup>170</sup> Source: <http://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/355574>

<sup>171</sup> Solly 1875, 213.

<sup>172</sup> Solly 1875, 342. From John Henderson to the British Museum in 1878. Described: “*No. 55. Water Carrier, Xanthus. A youth in Turkish dress, with a gourd slung over his shoulder, standing in a landscape. Water colour roy., 12 x 8 in.*” Binyon 1902. There is also in the Bristol City Council Museum, Fine Art (Mb1641), Study of a Turkish Water Carrier, which may be a version of the same.

<sup>173</sup> Solly 1875, 260.

<sup>174</sup> Harry John Johnson’s “Account”, in Solly 1875, 208.

<sup>175</sup> Source: <http://museums.bristol.gov.uk/details.php?irn=114014>.

<sup>176</sup> Burlington 1880, 35.

<sup>177</sup> Dolly 1875, 269.





Fig. 22. *Inscribed Lycian Boy with Bow and Arrow Xanthus, Dec. 12th 1843* © Trustees of the British Museum



Fig. 23. *Described as Figure Smoking in 1846*

London (Fig. 22)<sup>178</sup>.

372 Xanthian Dance

373 Figure Smoking (Fig. 23), sitting down, which is today described as, "A Turk smoking a pipe beneath an awning, Lycia", 6 7/8 x 5 1/8 in. (17.4 x 13 cm)<sup>179</sup>.

376 Female Figure, Xanthus

377 Xanthian Hunter. Possible this watercolour (Fig. 24) a work inscribed "Xanthus Lycia Dec 14/43", which is today renamed, "An Armed Tribesman At Xanthus"<sup>180</sup> or No. 399 below, is to be identified as this work.

381 Figure, Xanthus

389 Turcoman

392 Xanthian Boy (Fig. 25)<sup>181</sup>.

<sup>178</sup> British Museum, AN00265273\_001\_1 © Trustees of the British Museum; from John Henderson 1878. Described: "No. 54. A Lycian Boy. A boy with a bow and blunt-headed arrow in his hand standing in a landscape; a dead bird hangs from the tip of the bow. Inscribed Lycian boy with bow and arrow, Xanthus, Dec. 12, 1843. Water colours; roy., 13 x 9 in." Binyon 1902; Solly 1875, 259, describes the dead bird as a robin.

<sup>179</sup> Sold, Christie's London, King Street, Lot 65, Sale 6700, Jan 22<sup>nd</sup> 2003; Source: <http://www.artnet.com/artists/william-james-m%C3%BCller/a-turk-smoking-a-pipe-beneath-an-awning-lycia-neACWTNAZbx6YRjasIdS Xg2>

<sup>180</sup> Sotheby's, June 30, 2005, Watercolours & Portrait Miniatures, Lot 304: An Armed Tribesman at Xanthus; Description: inscribed l. l.: Xanthus. Lycia. Dec 14/43 watercolour over pencil, with a collectors stamp and a dry stamp... Dimensions: 19 by 27 cm, 7 1/2 by 10 1/2 in. An Armed Tribesman At Xanthus - William James Muller - WikiGallery ...Source: [www.wikigallery.org/wiki/painting\\_375009/.../An-Armed-Tribesman-At-Xanthus](http://www.wikigallery.org/wiki/painting_375009/.../An-Armed-Tribesman-At-Xanthus); [https://www.mutualart.com/Artwork/AN-ARMED-TRIBESMAN-AT-XANTHUS/2DA2CBFF88F3\\_0362](https://www.mutualart.com/Artwork/AN-ARMED-TRIBESMAN-AT-XANTHUS/2DA2CBFF88F3_0362); <http://www.artnet.com/artists/william-james-m%C3%BCller/past-auction-results>

<sup>181</sup> Sold, Christie's London, 15<sup>th</sup> of December, 2010, Victorian & British Impressionist Pictures Including Drawings and Watercolours, Lot 8; Christie's, London, 20 November 2003, lot 119; Sources: <https://www.mutualart.com/Artwork/A-young-Turkish-Boy--Xanthus--Asia-Minor/7539B07C6DE4A6E5>;



Fig. 24. Inscribed *Xanthus Lycia Dec 14/43*



Fig. 25. Xanthian Boy. Inscribed *Xanthus WM 1843*



Fig. 26. Perhaps The Work Entitled, *Turks: a Study* in 1846



Fig. 27. *Xanthian Boy?*

397 *Turks: a Study*. Possibly the work that is today entitled, “*Turkish men at rest by the coast*” and also described as: “*Lycian men smoking at the mouth of a cave*”<sup>182</sup> (Fig. 26). A water-colour composition that was presumably painted from water-colour sketches made on the coastline by Patara in 1843 of a cave, one of a passing boat’s sails and another of the seated figures.

398 *Xanthian Boy*. Possibly the same as that which is today entitled, “*Study of a young Lycian boy*” (Fig. 27)<sup>183</sup>.

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<http://www.artnet.com/artists/william-james-m%C3%BCller/a-young-turkish-boy-xanthus-asia-minor-GPWipjpG0mzqffvbyZ4zug2>; <http://www.artnet.com/artists/william-james-m%C3%BCller/a-young-turkish-boy-xanthus-asia-minor-RaMqPy2GNfOjRbflsXjlkQ2>

<sup>182</sup> Christie’s, London, The Travel Sale, September 28, 2001, Lot 501, “*Description: Lycian men smoking at the mouth of a cave watercolour heightened with gum arabic and scratching out...*”.

Source:

<http://www.invaluable.com/catalog/searchLots.cfm?scp=m&shw=50&ad=DESC&issc=1&ord=2&artistref=1q3dfogled&alf=1&row=451>

<sup>183</sup> Christies London, South Kensington Lot 221, Sale 13322, December 7<sup>th</sup> 2016; Source: <http://www.artnet.com/artists/william-james-m%C3%BCller/study-of-a-young-lycian-boy-turkey-y0mzcIDsM1eTu1Oikt-rcg2>

## 399 Xanthian Hunter

400 Cingari playing a Turkish fife (in fact playing a *zurna*)<sup>184</sup> (Fig. 28).

402 Greek, Lycia

403 Cingari playing Turkish Guitar (Fig. 29). Probably to be identified with the description, "*Old yurook chief "Halleh" seated and playing on a lute. Very picturesque, but the expression of the old man's face very unpleasing; he is reported to have been a notorious brigand,*<sup>185</sup>" The instrument seems to be a type of *cura* or a *kabak kermene*, rather than a lute or guitar. It is today in the Bristol City Council Museum, purchased in 1933, Fine Art (Mb1642), and is today entitled, *Study of a Cingari Playing a Turkish Guitar*<sup>186</sup>.

404 Husbandman, Xanthus<sup>187</sup>

407 Yurook, Xanthus

408 Girl, Xanthus

This list of 48 selected from William Müller's water-colours of Lycia in the Christie's sale in London of 1846 clearly records in the titles that were given to these works, as on the titles that are often recorded in the artist's hand on some of these water-colours, the recognized differences and consequent terminological distinctions that the artist drew at the time between: *Cingari-Zingari*, *Yurook*, *Turcoman*, Greek and Turk in 1843-1844 in Ottoman Lycia.

Amongst those water-colours drawn in Lycia by William James Müller, but which are not included in Solly's list of the water-colours sold in the Christie's sale of 1846 seem to be following:

*Room Underneath part of the City of Xanthus, near the Encampment of the Expedition. A curious old fireplace at the end; some Turks and Yurooks smoking; on the right is a lad represented in red and white costume. This is a most powerful piece of colour, and one of the most important of the Lycian sketches*<sup>188</sup>. The whereabouts of this important work seems today to be



Fig. 28. *Cingari Playing a Turkish Fife* © Trustees of the British Museum



Fig. 29. *Cingari Playing Turkish Guitar* © Bristol Museums, Galleries and Archives

<sup>184</sup> Sold for 16 shillings in the 1846 Christie and Mason sale, Solly 1875, 343. B.M. London, No. 1878, 1228.106, AN00265259\_001\_1 from John Henderson 1878. Described as: "No. 56. Yurook (sic.) *Playing a Pipe*. A man with a large turban and long striped dress sitting on the ground and playing a pipe. Water colours; roy., 9 x 8 in." Binyon 1902.

Source: [http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/collection\\_object\\_details.aspx?objectId=742197&partId=1&people=116424&peoA=116424-2-9&page=1](http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=742197&partId=1&people=116424&peoA=116424-2-9&page=1); There is also a work in the Bristol City Council Museum, Fine Art (Mb1636), entitled, *Turk Playing a Pipe*, that may be another version of this.

<sup>185</sup> Solly 1875, 267, ex. Mrs T. Woods collection.

<sup>186</sup> <http://museums.bristol.gov.uk/details.php?irn=114011>

<sup>187</sup> This may be the work of the same title today in the Bristol City Council Museum, Fine Art (Mb1640), entitled *Husbandman*.

<sup>188</sup> Solly 1875, 268, ex. Mrs T. Woods collection



Fig. 30. Today Entitled A Zingari (Gypsy) Girl

unrecorded.

The watercolour of a turbaned bearded standing figure in *kepenek* wearing *çarik*, today at Tyntesfield, North Somerset, owned by the National Trust, NT 32850.33<sup>189</sup>.

A *Zingari (Gypsy) Girl*, exhibited by Martyn Gregory Gallery, London, 04/07/2014 to 18/07/2014, *Master Drawings Week 2014: An exhibition of 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> century British watercolours and drawings*<sup>190</sup> (Fig. 30), unless it is to be identified with No. 376 *Female Figure, Xanthus*, or No. 408, *Girl, Xanthus*, or Nos. 360, 363 and 366 above, those water-colours simply entitled *Cingari*.

Although the watercolour (Fig. 31) today in the Victoria and Albert Museum carries no inscribed title, it is today entitled, “*Interior of a Turkish shepherd’s hut*”. It can perhaps be more closely identified as depicting a Turcoman’s hut, due to the type of head-cover depicted, resembling that

worn by the *Turcoman/Turkmen* of Central Asia<sup>192</sup>, rather than being characteristic of a Yurook head-dress. It may be the work that was exhibited in 1880 at the Burlington Fine Arts Club, No. 17, entitled, “*Interior of a Lycian Hut*”<sup>193</sup>, lent by Mrs. Thomas Wood, which carries a title different from those recorded in the sale of 1846, or it could be the work entitled in the 1846 sale, No. 296 *Interior of Brigand Turcoman’s Hut*.

A water-colour, entitled, “*Lycian Lad with white turban*”, ex. Mrs T. Woods collection<sup>194</sup>.

This is possibly the same as that entitled, “*Lycian Boy with Turban*”, today in the Bristol City Council Museum<sup>195</sup>.

Another water-colour the whereabouts of which seem unknown depicts a Xanthian peasant with gun and yatagan and wearing a green turban<sup>196</sup>.

The whereabouts of another water-colour inscribed, “*Interior of a Turkoman’s hut, Xanthus*”



Fig. 31. Today Entitled, “*Interior of a Turkish Shepherd’s Hut*” © Victoria and Albert Museum, London<sup>191</sup>

<sup>189</sup> Source: <http://www.nationaltrustcollections.org.uk/object/32850.33>

<sup>190</sup> Source: [http://www.artnet.com/artists/william-james-m%C3%BCller/a-zingari-gypsy-girl-lycia-zlakuEe48oKEP\\_koUIXjZw2](http://www.artnet.com/artists/william-james-m%C3%BCller/a-zingari-gypsy-girl-lycia-zlakuEe48oKEP_koUIXjZw2)

<sup>191</sup> Source: <http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O147329/interior-of-a-turkish-shepherds-watercolour-muller-william-james/>

<sup>192</sup> As noted above, F. von Luschan relates, “*I once met a family of such Turkomans, near Old Limyra in eastern Lycia, that had come “from near Samarkand”*, Lushan 1915, 560.

<sup>193</sup> Burlington 1880, 35.

<sup>194</sup> Solly 1875, 267.

<sup>195</sup> Bristol City Council Museum, Fine Art (Mb1643), Lycian Boy with Turban.

<sup>196</sup> Solly 1875, 267, ex. Mrs T. Woods collection.

measuring 14 by 21.5in. which sold for 9 guineas in 1909 seems unknown<sup>197</sup>. Another entitled, "*Interior of a Turkoman's (sic.) Hut*", exhibited in 1880 at the Burlington Fine Arts Club, No. 4, painted in November 1843, measuring 21 1/2 by 13 1/2 in. h., and signed and dated "*W. M., 1843, Nov.*", lent by Mrs. Thomas Wood,<sup>198</sup> which seems not to have been auctioned by Christie's in 1846, the whereabouts of which seem unknown. As likewise another lent by Mrs. Thomas Wood, the watercolour exhibited in 1880 at the Burlington Fine Arts Club, No. 9, entitled, "*Turkish Guardroom*", signed "*W. M., Lycia, '43*" and measuring 15in. by 21in.<sup>199</sup> While the whereabouts of another water-colour, entitled "*Yurooks' huts, the wandering tribes, or Turcomen*", that was Ex. Solly Collection and No. 258 in the Quilter Collection Sale of 1875<sup>200</sup>, described as: *Yurook Huts, Dated December 27<sup>th</sup> 1843, "Some figures are grouped in front of the entrance of the distant hut or tent, and by the side of the near one a woman and child, in an attitude of repose, are watching some poultry; in the distance are some snow capped mountains"*<sup>201</sup>, seems today to be unknown.

### The Oil Paintings Made by William Müller between 1844 and 1845 Base on The Lycian Sketches

There is a clear contradiction recorded in the number of oil paintings Müller exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1845, as The Art Union in 1845 records six works exhibited at the R.A. in Müller's October obituary<sup>202</sup>, yet Algernon Graves records five exhibits<sup>203</sup>, three of which are of Lycian subjects, here below, Nos. 3, 4 and 5, as did Nathaniel Solly in 1875<sup>204</sup>, and it seems certain Müller exhibited 3 oil paintings at the British Institution in February and five at the Royal Academy in May 1845. In his 1875 biography of William James<sup>205</sup> Müller, Nathaniel Neal Solly provides a list of the titles of seven finished oil paintings/compositions of Lycian subjects that were completed in England in the nine months following Müller's return, between May 1844 and the end of January 1845, with these oil paintings composed from the sketches he had made in Lycia between late October 1843 and mid

<sup>197</sup> Art Prices Current, Vol. 4. Wm. Dawson & Sons Limited, London, 1910, 432.

<sup>198</sup> Burlington 1880, 35.

<sup>199</sup> Burlington 1880, 37.

<sup>200</sup> The Architect, Vol. XIII, London, April 17<sup>th</sup> 1875, 232; Solly 1875, 271-272.

<sup>201</sup> Solly 1875, 171-172.

<sup>202</sup> Art Union, October 1845, 318.

<sup>203</sup> Graves 1906, 320.

<sup>204</sup> Solly 1875, 286.

<sup>205</sup> Knight 1856, 382-3, unfortunately records the painter's name as Willian John Muller, rather than William James Müller, a confusion perhaps between William's father's name, John Samuel Müller. As likewise: Waller *et al.* 1857, 47, 416/7; Martineau 1858, 734; Daftorne 1864, 293 and noticed in The London Review of Politics, Society, Literature, Art, & Science, Oct. 1, 1864, iv; The Reader, 8<sup>th</sup> Oct. 1864, 457; idem 461; Anon. 1864, N. 144, 1, No. 145, 1; Examiner 1864, 640; Martineau 1864, 533; "William John Müller", Warnum 1869, 89; "William John Müller", Anon. 1869, 227, 640; Phillips 1871, 677; "William John Müller", Braddon 1875, 201; Warnum 1875, 98; "Müller, William John", Anon. 1879; "Muller, William John", Koehler – Wilmot-Buxton 1882; Wilmot-Buxton 1883, 137; Gaskell 1885, 318; J. C. Mathew, Müller, William John, DNB VI, 1886, 228; Anon. 1889, No. 55, 16; Wallis – Chamberlain 1892, 128; Mathew 1894; "Mr. George Fripp took David Cox to see that brilliant German (sic.), William John (sic.) Müller, at work", Cust 1902, 272; O'Conner 1902, 484; "Muller, William John", New International Encyclopedia, 1905; likewise, McCall 1970, 85, as also, John Wilson Manuscripts Ltd., Source: <https://www.manuscripts.co.uk/st-ock/25498.HTM> Accessed 10-10-2016; all of whom record the artist's second name as John, rather than James.

February 1844. These seven paintings are recorded<sup>206</sup> as:

· *Tomb in the water, Telmessus*. It was exhibited at the British Institution, Pall Mall, London in February 1845, No. 498<sup>207</sup>, signed and dated 1845, measuring 44 by 69 in.<sup>208</sup>. It is today in the collection of Royal Holloway and Bedford New College, University of London, retaining its original title: *Tomb in the Water, Telmessos, Lycia*<sup>209</sup> (Fig. 32). There are two water-colour studies of this view from 1844 employed for this composition, one in the British Museum, from John Henderson in 1878, measuring 36.5 x 53.3 cm<sup>210</sup> (Fig. 33), and another, 35 x 53 cm (13.8 x 20.9 in.) of this same scene, inscribed, *The Water Tomb at Telmessus*<sup>211</sup>. It is possible the earlier drawing of this same tomb made from a rowing boat by John Harrison Allan<sup>212</sup>, engraved and published in 1843 in his book, *A Pictorial Tour in the Mediterranean:...*, an illustration which was entitled, *Sea-girt tomb Telmessos*<sup>213</sup>, as also the line drawing published in 1841 in C. Fellows, *An account of discoveries in Lycia: being a journal kept during a second excursion in Asia Minor*,<sup>214</sup> may also have served for this oil painting, as an aid in the depiction of the base of this tomb and for the depiction of the detailed carved relief on this tomb, as these are indicated differently in his water-colours, together with Allan's emphasis in his drawing on the water-birds.

A further oil painting, which was smaller version of this same composition but of different proportions, was also painted in 1845, and illustrated in Nathaniel Neal Solly's biography of 1875<sup>215</sup> where it is entitled, *Tomb in the water, Telmessus*, a work also entitled in 1876, *Tomb in the Water, Lycia*, measuring 30 by 60 in., which was sold at Sharpe's sale<sup>216</sup> and of this size and with this same title, it was resold in 1881 for 2,362.10s.<sup>217</sup>, the whereabouts of which seems today to be unknown.

William Müller's pupil, Harry John Johnson's later oil painting of this same subject, entitled *A Grecian Tomb*, was his last work to be exhibited at the Royal Academy, in 1881, No. 475<sup>218</sup> and this

<sup>206</sup> Solly 1875, 334.

<sup>207</sup> Graves 1908, 392.

<sup>208</sup> Penny 1846, 336; Solly 1875, 330.

<sup>209</sup> Source: <http://www.islandschoolhouse.com/wp-content/uploads/50.-MullerWilliam-James-Tomb-in-the-Water-Telmessus-Lycia-1845.jpg>;  
[http://artuk.org/discover/artworks/tomb-in-the-water-telmessus-lycia-12854/search/actor:muller-william-james-18121845/page/11/view\\_as/grid](http://artuk.org/discover/artworks/tomb-in-the-water-telmessus-lycia-12854/search/actor:muller-william-james-18121845/page/11/view_as/grid)

<sup>210</sup> BM London, AN00054848\_001\_1

<sup>211</sup> For a further copy in water-colour of the same; source: <http://www.artnet.com/artists/william-james-m%C3%BCller/the-watertomb-at-telmessus-mBRvh6ATuSznHGY25pdR9A2>

<sup>212</sup> Allan 1843, 44.

<sup>213</sup> Allan 1843, un-numbered, facing page 44.

<sup>214</sup> The tomb illustrated in Fellows, 1841, 113.

<sup>215</sup> Illustrated between pages 276 and 277 Solly 1875.

<sup>216</sup> James II 1897, 276.

<sup>217</sup> Redford 1888, 186.

<sup>218</sup> Graves 1906, 254. An oil of this title was sold in 1886 for £246, James 1897, II, 22.

and the water-colour he painted, based upon this same view, dated 1883<sup>219</sup> (Fig. 36), were derived from the sketches he made while working beside William Müller at Telmessus-Macry-Macri-Fethiye, in February 1844 aged 24. This water-colour was exhibited at the Royal Institute of Painters in Water Colour in 1883, No. 753, entitled, *A Grecian Tomb - Ruins of the Ancient City Telmessus, once Famed for its Oracle - Asia Minor*, illustration No. 46 in the catalogue to the 1883 exhibition.<sup>220</sup> A work which recently has had its title truncated, and then changed and which is today entitled, "*Water tomb, Telmessus, Lycia*"<sup>221</sup>. It seems that Müller's water-colour view looking in the opposite direction, towards the sea, does not survive, although his pupil's water-colour measuring 28 x 47 cm (11 x 18.5 in.) does, although it has subsequently been misnamed, "*The mosque at Mukri, Turkmenistan, 1844*"<sup>222</sup>, when it is clearly inscribed, "*Mosque Makri, Feb. 8. 1844*"<sup>223</sup>. Noteworthy is the most limited palette employed by both master and pupil in the water-colours of 1844 at Macry-Fethiye, clearly indicating they were running out of water-colour paint after four months work<sup>224</sup>. In quarantine on his return by sea via Rhodes from Lycia, while he was detained for nine days in the lazaretto at Smyrna, he employed his time and the remnants of his colours in covering the large wall of his prison with cartoons in distemper, some of them five feet long, of the adventures of his journey. Johnson writes: "*On arriving at Smyrna we were thrust into the lazaretto for nine days... with the remnants of his colours he painted a series of mural on the wall of his cell, When at length we escaped from quarantine, we spent some time at Smyrna, exploring the adjacent country, with a view to a future excursion, which he spoke very earnestly about; but no more sketching, for lack of material, until the arrival of the boat from Malta enabled us to take the homeward route in the regular course, including a second detention on our arrival there of 7 days*"<sup>225</sup>. This passage certainly raises some questions concerning the water-colours that are said to have been painted by Müller in Smyrna-İzmir in 1844.

· *Dance at Xanthus, Sketch for a large picture*, exhibited at the British Institution, Pall Mall, London, No. 27<sup>226</sup>, in February 1845. Nathaniel Neal Solly records this (oil) sketch

<sup>219</sup> Bonhams, London, May 21, 2008, Exploration, Travel and Topographical Pictures, Lot 135: Water tomb, Telmessus, Lycia, 59 x 101cm (23 1/4 x 39 3/4in); source: <http://www.artnet.com/artists/harry-john-johnson/on/water-tomb-telmessus-lycia-gpvlR5kkXhwrFv3ID8yQYQ2>

<sup>220</sup> Source: <http://www.artnet.com/artists/harry-john-johnson/water-tomb-telmessus-lycia-gpvlR5kkXhwrFv3ID8yQYQ2>. Auctioned at Bonhams, London, May 21<sup>st</sup> 2008, Exploration, Travel and Topographical Pictures, Lot 135: entitled, *Water tomb, Telmessus, Lycia*, 59 x 101 cm (23 1/4 x 39 3/4 in.); Sworders Fine Art Auctioneers, July 24<sup>th</sup> 2007, 40 by 23 in., then auctioned with a truncated title, *A Grecian Tomb*.

<sup>221</sup> Source: <http://www.artnet.com/artists/harry-john-johnson/water-tomb-telmessus-lycia-pvlR5kkXhwrFv3ID8yQYQ2>

<sup>222</sup> Christie's, London, Old Masters & 19th Century Art, October 29, 2010, Lot 448, "*Description: Mosque at Mukri, Turkmenistan*," likewise, Christie's London, July 8, 1997, Lot. 80, "*Description: Mosque at Mukri, Turkmenistan*". A finished watercolour of this view, dated 1845, was in the F. J. Baidon Collection, Southport.

<sup>223</sup> Source: <http://www.artnet.com/artists/harry-john-johnson/the-mosque-at-mukri-turkmenistan-6TRngXnCF0XrJlytuNiAsg2>

<sup>224</sup> As recorded also in Burlington 1880, 35, "*In Lycia, his pigments, particularly cobalt, ran short; his body-colour turned black, and had to be abandoned; and his last sketches there were chiefly low-toned and "severe in their chromatic arrangement"*.

<sup>225</sup> Johnson's Account entitled, recollections of a Lycian Journey. Solly 1875, 214-5.

<sup>226</sup> Graves 1908, 391. Solly 1875, 330; Penny 1846, 336 records the title as, *Dance at Xanthus*; Knight 1856, 382. This is probably the same as was entitled "*The Dance (an eastern group)*" No. 271, Art Treasures 1857, 20.



Fig. 32. Oil Painting of 1845 Entitled, *Tomb in The Water, Telmessos, Lycia*



Fig. 33. Water-Colour of *The Water Tomb of 1844*<sup>227</sup>, Given by John Henderson to the British Museum in 1878. © Trustees of the British Museum



Fig. 34. Water-Colour Inscribed "Ruins at Macy Feb. 5<sup>th</sup> 1844 WM"<sup>228</sup>, Given by John Henderson to The British Museum in 1878. © Trustees of the British Museum



Fig. 35. Water-Colour of 1844, Today Entitled, "View of the Ruins of Telmessus, Lycia, With Rock Tombs in The Cliff" © Trustees of the British Museum<sup>229</sup>



Fig. 36. Harry John Johnson's 1883 Water-Colour Version of *The Water Tomb, Telmessus, Lycia*, Painted from His 1844 Sketches, Exhibited at *The Royal Institute of Painters in Water Colour* in 1883, No. 753, Entitled by The Artist, *A Grecian Tomb - Ruins of The Ancient City Telmessus, Once Famed for Its Oracle - Asia Minor*. Illustration, No. 46 in *The Catalogue to The 1883 exhibition*. Today entitled, *Water tomb, Telmessus, Lycia*

<sup>227</sup> © Trustees of the British Museum. Source: <http://tway.st/things/PDB13300>

<sup>228</sup> British Museum, British Imp PVI © Trustees of the British Museum. Source: <http://tway.st/things/PDB13296>

<sup>229</sup> Source: <https://image.invaluable.com/housePhotos/sothebys/98/109198/H0046-L03122609.jpg>.



entitled, *Dance at Xanthus; Sketch for a larger Picture*, measured 20 by 28 in. (50.8 by 63.5 cm)<sup>230</sup>.

There is also a water-colour, ex. Goodman collection (Fig. 37)<sup>231</sup>, today oddly retitled *Syrian Dancing Girls at Xanthus*, together with an oil sketch of this same subject, this work being of different proportions and somewhat smaller than that exhibited in 1845, measuring 16 by 24 in. (41½ by 61 cm), was presumably also painted in 1845<sup>232</sup>, and also subsequently carrying this same odd title of *Syrian Dancing Girls at Xanthus*, both of which were sold at the same auction in March 2015, with this oil painting, which was then entitled, *Syrian Dance* (unfinished), 15 by 24 in. sold at the McConnell's sale in 1885<sup>233</sup>. It seems that all five of these titles: *Dance at Xanthus*, *Sketch for a large Picture*, *The Dance* (an eastern group), *A sketch of a Syrian Dance*, *Syrian Dance* (unfinished) and, *Syrian Dancing Girls at Xanthus*, in both water-colour and in oils, depict the same scene, a dance at Xanthus and the single dancer that is depicted is not a Syrian but a *Zingari*-Gypsy dancer, together with a *Zingari* band.

Further, from the description and recorded size, it seems most probable that the oil painting entitled *Syrian Dancing Girls at Xanthus* sold in 2015 (Fig. 37) is a close version of the work entitled *Dance at Xanthus; Sketch for a larger Picture*, exhibited at the British Institution in 1845, in the same way as there are four versions of the painting entitled in one version, "*Two Lycian Peasants seated*" (see below). Who exactly, subsequently attached the name *Syrian Dancing Girls* in the plural to these works depicting a single *Cingari/Zingari* dancer and a *Cingari/Zingari* band, is today unclear, but it occurred after Müller's death in 1845, with this change in name current by 1857 when the title of Müller's sketch of this subject was recorded at the 1857 Art Treasures Exhibition in Manchester, No. 291, as, "*a sketch of a Syrian dance*"<sup>234</sup>.

· *Tent Scene: Cingaries playing to a Turkish Family, Xanthus*, exhibited at the Royal Academy in May 1845, No. 367<sup>235</sup>, in the Middle Room at the Academy. Oil on canvas, measuring 36.5 x 66.5 in. (92.6 by 169 cm), probably that bought by Mr Pinnell prior

<sup>230</sup> Solly 1875, 330; Penny 1846, 336.

<sup>231</sup> Cheffins, The Fine Art Sale, March 2015, Lot 583, *Syrian Dancing Girls at Xanthus*, circa 1843 pen and ink with watercolour with an arched top 20 x 34½cm (8 x 13 in.) with old Christie's stencil WF 643, at: <http://www.findartinfo.com/english/art-pictures/4/50/0/Pen/page/2345.html>; <https://www.the-saleroom.com/en-gb/auction-catalogues/cheffinsfineart/catalogue-id-srche10041/lot-908f76b0-e23f-42cf-bcef-a44300f0ee14> Probably the same as, James II 1897, 277, "*Syrian Dance* (unfinished), 15 in. by 24 in. 11., McConnell's sale 1885".

<sup>232</sup> Cheffins, The Fine Art Sale, March 2015, Lot 584, *Syrian Dancing Girls at Xanthus*, 1845 oil on canvas 41½ by 61 cm at: <http://media.findartinfo.com/images/artwork/2015/5/a003779076-001.jpg>; <https://www.the-saleroom.com/en-gb/auction-catalogues/cheffinsfineart/catalogue-id-srche10041/lot-d78348fb-e25d-4159-b23d-a44300f0ee18>

<sup>233</sup> James II 1897, 277.

<sup>234</sup> A Handbook to the Gallery of British Paintings in the Art Treasures Exhibition, Bradbury and Evans, London, 1857, 71; and James II 1897, 277 records, "*Syrian Dance* (unfinished), 15 in. by 24 in. 11., McConnell's sale 1885".

<sup>235</sup> Graves 1906, 320.



Fig. 37. Watercolour Version of *Dance at Xanthus*; Sketch for a Larger Picture, Probably Late 1844, Entitled in 2015, “*Syrian Dancing Girls at Xanthus*”

to the exhibition<sup>236</sup>, today in a private collection<sup>237</sup> (Fig. 39). This painting was also called *Xanthian Tent Scene*<sup>238</sup> and which was described as a, “*highly meritorious work*”<sup>239</sup>, was subsequently also entitled *Tent Scene-Arab Minstrels*<sup>240</sup>, and also called, *Arab Minstrels, Lycia*<sup>241</sup> was painted by Müller in 1845. The “*Arab minstrels*” of this version of the title was not recorded as given by William Müller himself, and it probably refers to the complexion/dress of the *Cingaries*, the minstrels that were depicted, rather than to their language and ethnicity; as was likewise the case for the probable portrait of Oiel (above), described today as ‘*Portrait of a man, bust-length, in Moorish costume*’, as also with the version of the painting today entitled ‘*Two Arab figures in a landscape*’ (see below No. 6), when from their dress, two *Cingari* boys are depicted.

An oil painting said to measure 36 by 42in. entitled *Tent Scene-Arab Minstrels* is recorded as exhibited in the Royal Academy in 1845 by C. G. E. Bunt in his, *The life and work of William James*

<sup>236</sup> Solly 1875, 284.

<sup>237</sup> Anon. 1845, 18; The Art-Union, Monthly Journal, Vol. 7, No. 82, June 1885, 188, “*No. 367, Tent Scene: Cingaries playing to a Turkish Family, Xanthus*”; Ackerman 1991, 220. An oil painting carrying this name measuring 92.6 x 169 cm (36.5 x 66.5 in.) was sold at auction, at: <http://www.artnet.com/artists/william-james-m%C3%BCller/tent-scene-cingaries-playing-to-a-turkish-family-9FA7w6YHkikZpZKvLHWfzA2>; <http://www.artnet.com/artists/william-james-m%C3%BCller/tent-scene-cingaries-playing-to-a-turkish-family-ncaXOVhgwTzccKLAfV3OOw2>

<sup>238</sup> By the artist in a letter to J. Slatterfield, Solly 1875, 288, and in Redgrave 1866, 465.

<sup>239</sup> Redgrave 1866, 465.

<sup>240</sup> Solly 1875, 293, 334.

<sup>241</sup> *Arab Minstrels, Lycia*, Ex. Edward Ashton Col., Manchester 1870, Solly 1875, 346.

Müller of Bristol, 1948<sup>242</sup>, but this title is an error, confused with the exhibited title which was *Tent Scene: Cingaries playing to a Turkish Family, Xanthus*, the title of the painting exhibited in 1845 at the Royal Academy which measures 36.5 by 66.5 in., having proportions of roughly 1:2, rather than as Bunt records, nearly square. It is noteworthy that Nathaniel Neal Solly records the the standing figure in the white turban as, “a Cingari youth”<sup>243</sup>.

It may be that an oil sketch of a musical party on panel measuring 21.7 x 36 in. (55 x 91.5 cm) attributed to William Müller, entitled, “*Oriental musicians in a landscape*” was a preparatory study for this painting (Fig. 40). This oil sketch has been dated 1841<sup>244</sup>, but this reading of the date seems most probably to be mistaken. Mis-dated, firstly because the river landscape behind the musicians certainly resembles that of the Xanthus valley, as in the *Tent Scene: Cingaries playing to a Turkish Family, Xanthus* (above) with the same curve of the river. Secondly, the figure of the *zurna* player, a *Cingan*<sup>245</sup>, is almost certainly copied from the watercolour sketch that is recorded as No. 400

*Cingari playing a Turkish fife*, in the Sotheby's London sale of 1846 (Fig. 28), and the subject of this water-colour was drawn by Müller in Lycia in 1843-4<sup>246</sup> a drawing which served as the model for the figure in both this composition, as also in the *Tent Scene: Cingaries playing to a Turkish Family, Xanthus*. Müller did not visit the Xanthus valley until 1843-44, and so this composition sketch in oils should therefore date from 1844-5, painted in oils after Müller's return from Lycia, and presumably



Fig. 38. Oil Paint Version of Dance at Xanthus; Sketch for a Larger Picture, Entitled in 2015, “Syrian Dancing Girls at Xanthus”



Fig. 39. *Tent Scene: Cingaries Playing to a Turkish Family, Xanthus, 1845, Oils*

<sup>242</sup> Bunt 1948, 88, “Arab Minstrels. *Tent Scene, Arab Figures (Two Seated)* (Oil) 1845, 36 by 42 in. Exhibited Royal Academy, 1845, Bristol Art Gallery”.

<sup>243</sup> Solly 1875, 293.

<sup>244</sup> Sotheby's London, British and Continental Pictures, January 21<sup>st</sup>, 2004, Lot 278: f – attributed to William James Müller, “Description: bears signature and date 1841, *ORIENTAL MUSICIANS IN A LANDSCAPE*”; source: [http://www.artnet.com/artists/william-james-m%C3%BCller/oriental-musicians-in-a-landscapeLkuU\\_cfnqWScEQdV9SkAekw2](http://www.artnet.com/artists/william-james-m%C3%BCller/oriental-musicians-in-a-landscapeLkuU_cfnqWScEQdV9SkAekw2)

<sup>245</sup> Not a *Yurook* as is stated in L. Binyon's 1902 B.M. catalogue, “*Yurook playing a pipe; man wearing large striped turban sitting on ground, playing pipe*”. And the musical instrument is a *zurna* rather than a pipe.

<sup>246</sup> BM London, No. 1878,1228.106, AN00265259\_001\_1 © Trustees of the British Museum, from John Henderson 1878.

Source: [http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/collection\\_object\\_details.aspx?objectId=742197&partId=1&people=116424&peoA=116424-2-9&page=1](http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=742197&partId=1&people=116424&peoA=116424-2-9&page=1)



Fig. 40. Today Entitled "Oriental Musicians in a Landscape," It Was Probably Painted in 1845 a Preparatory Study for *Tent Scene: Cingaries Playing to a Turkish Family, Xanthus* (Fig. 39)

undertaken before the painting, *Tent Scene: Cingaries playing to a Turkish Family, Xanthus*, was begun. It is noteworthy that the same grouping of figures occurs in both, while the two standing figures at the centre of this composition, shorter figure on the left, resemble the two standing figures at the centre of *Tent Scene: Cingaries playing to a Turkish Family, Xanthus* and also the two figures at the centre of the water-colour of the mis-named *Syrian Dancing Girls at Xanthus* (above), while the *Cingari zurna* player is repeated in both, and perhaps also from the side in the so-called *Syrian Dancing Girls at Xanthus*, and

both groups of figures are framed on either side by seated figures looking inwards. It seems probable that the drawings No. 235 *Musical Party, Lycia*, and No. 297 *Musical Party, Cingaries at the House of the Cavasse, Xanthus*, together with the individual sketches made of these gypsy musicians (Figs. 28, 29) would have formed the basis for the figures depicted in these compositions, and all of these were drawn in 1843-1844.

· *Turkish Merchants with Camels passing the River Mangerchi*<sup>247</sup>, near Xanthus, also known as, *Turkish Merchants with Camels passing the River Mangerelli* (sic.)<sup>248</sup>, in the valley of the Xanthus<sup>249</sup> and is also known as, *Passage of the Mangerchi, Asia Minor*<sup>250</sup> and also recorded as, "Turkish Merchants, with camels, passing the River-Valley of Xanthus"<sup>251</sup> (Fig. 41). It was the largest painting ever painted by the artist, measuring 56 by 84 in.<sup>252</sup>, exhibited at the Royal Academy in May 1845, No. 482<sup>253</sup>. Nathaniel Neal Solly describes it thus: "The dark river swollen by recent rains is rushing impetuously over a rapid and the water is tumbling amidst rocks and the broken stumps of trees in the imme-

<sup>247</sup> Entitled in a letter from William Müller to B. Johnson of the 1<sup>st</sup> of April 1845, "Passage of the Mangerchi, Asia Minor", Solly 1875, 284. However, the title of this picture in the R.A. exhibition list of 1845 is as also later recorded as, "Turkish Merchants with camels passing the river Mangerelli (sic.), in the valley of the Xanthus", in the Lord Burton collection. Concerning the Manger chi (çay), "In the middle of the valley ran the Mangerchi, uniting its stream with the Xanthus, and sweeping onwards to the sea" Müller 1844b, 209, further described idem. 211; is also recorded as *Manger Tchy*, Spratt – Forbes 1847, I, 29, and was painted in water-colour by the Rev. E. T. Daniell in 1842, entitled: *Junction of the Mangyr Tschai with Xanthus*, today BM London, No.1872, 1109. 22, at: [http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/collection\\_object\\_details.aspx?objectId=741829&partId=1&searchText=xanthus&page=1](http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=741829&partId=1&searchText=xanthus&page=1); also illustrated as Pl. 1, to the article by L. Binyon on E. T. Daniell, published in *The Dome: An illustrated magazine and review of literature, music, architecture, and the graphic arts*, Vol. IV, No. 12, 193. This is the river which is today known as the Saklikent Çayı.

<sup>248</sup> Graves 1906, 320.

<sup>249</sup> Knight 1856, 382, illustrated in Wallis – Chamberlain 1896, 26, illustrated 31, then on loan to the Birmingham Art Gallery from Lord Burton, and this was the work that was exhibited in the Royal Academy in 1845.

<sup>250</sup> Wallis – Chamberlain 1896, 26, at: <http://ebook.lib.hku.hk/CADAL/B3143325X/>

<sup>251</sup> Redgrave 1866, 466.

<sup>252</sup> It was exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1845, No. 482, in the West Room in 1845, Solly 1875, 329.

<sup>253</sup> Graves 1906, 320.



Fig. 41. 'Turkish Merchants with Camels Passing the River Mangerchi' Exhibited in The R.A. in May 1845<sup>254</sup>



Fig. 42. Engraving by Henry Melville of William Müller's *Turkish Merchants with Camels Passing The River Mangerchi* Published by R. A. Sprigg in *The London Art Union Annual of 1847* © Trustees of The British Museum<sup>255</sup>. This Engraving May Possibly Have Been Made After Another Smaller Version With Different Proportions of This Subject, Bearing The Same Title, But Measuring 44 by 69 in, Which Was Said by Nathaniel Solly to Have been Exhibited at The British Institution, Pall Mall, in 1845<sup>256</sup>, Although Algernon Graves Has No Record of Any Painting of This Name by Müller Being Exhibited There, as, Although The Painting Exhibited at The Royal Academy in 1845 Was An Art Union Prizewinner, It Seems More Probable That The Engraving Was Made From The Smaller Version of This Picture, as There Are Several Discrepancies between The R.A. Exhibited Painting and This Engraving, Discrepancies That Seem to Indicate The Engraving was Made from a Different Work, Presumably from The Somewhat Smaller Version of This Subject

<sup>254</sup> From Wallis – Chamberlain 1896, 26, at: <http://ebook.lib.hku.hk/CADAL/B3143325X/>

<sup>255</sup> British Museum Prints and Drawings, No. 1863, 0509. 307-567. Source: [http://www.britishmuseum.org/colle ctionimages/AN01032/AN01032984\\_001\\_l.jpg?width=400&height=40; An01032984\\_001 l; http://twoway.st /things/PPA204320](http://www.britishmuseum.org/colle ctionimages/AN01032/AN01032984_001_l.jpg?width=400&height=40; An01032984_001_l; http://twoway.st /things/PPA204320)

<sup>256</sup> Solly 1875, 330.

diate foreground. The ford is indicated by tall poles placed here and there in the bed of the river, where some four or five baggage camels, led and urged on by their turbaned drivers, are seen fording the stream. On the left, some Turks are seen, kneeling near piles of the picturesque oriental baggage strewn around; a kneeling camel shows they are occupied in readjusting the loads, on the patient beast, before crossing. Several other Turks, and one or two camels are standing near. On the far side of the river (the extreme right), underneath a rocky bank, the caravan appears to have just encamped, a number of Turks being collected around watch-fires. A storm has recently burst over the upper part of the valley, where grand clouds and mists are seen rolling down the sides of the mountain, and filling up the middle distance. Towering above the storm-driven clouds, some lofty snowy peaks rear their summits into a comparatively calm sky. The whole effect is wild and stirring, the colour brilliant and powerful, the manipulation broad, and the painting solid. In this picture Müller appears to have grasped and realized the accidental effects occasionally seen in mountainous districts, and which constitute the true poetry of landscape art<sup>257</sup>. It was sold on the opening day of the Royal Academy exhibition as an Art-Union prize for £125<sup>258</sup> with £25 of this going to the Art Union.

· *Head of a Cingari, Xanthus* (Fig. 43). Exhibited at the Royal Academy No. 203<sup>259</sup> in May 1845<sup>260</sup>. Today in the Wolverhampton Art Gallery, England, it retains its original title, Cat. 1974. Inv. No. 41<sup>261</sup>.



Fig. 43. *Head of a Cingari, Xanthus*, 1845 Oils

<sup>257</sup> Solly 1875, 294-295.

<sup>258</sup> Hall 1871, 471.

<sup>259</sup> Graves 1906, 320.

<sup>260</sup> Solly 1875, 329, likewise records, *Head of a Cingari, Xanthus*.

<sup>261</sup> Source: [http://artuk.org/discover/artworks/head-of-a-zingari-xanthus-18910/search/actor:muller-william-james-18121845/page/11/view\\_as/grid](http://artuk.org/discover/artworks/head-of-a-zingari-xanthus-18910/search/actor:muller-william-james-18121845/page/11/view_as/grid)

· *Two Lycian Peasants seated* (Fig. 44)<sup>262</sup>. Formerly in the South Kensington museum that became the V&A Museum, it was presented by Robert Vernon in 1847 and is today in the Tate Gallery, London, reference, N00379, where it now carries the somewhat vague title, "*Eastern Landscape*". It is said to be dated 1843, in oil paint on mahogany, 356 x 521 mm<sup>263</sup>. This oil painting was perhaps Müller's final finished version of this composition and it was certainly painted in 1844-1845, as is recorded by Solly in 1875<sup>264</sup>, most probably painted in 1845, the 5 of the date seems to have been misread as a 3, while there is no evidence whatsoever to suggest William Müller used any oil paints in Lycia in 1843 or 1844<sup>265</sup>. This oil painting seems to have been composed in London from water-colour drawings made in Lycia, which appear to show the landscape looking east from a rise by Minara-Pinara across the Xanthus valley, perhaps from Baba Dağ towards the Massicytus mountains<sup>266</sup>/Akdağ<sup>267</sup>, with two *Zingari* boys, possibly from Pinara-Minara, seated together, presumably composed from a drawing of the landscape and another drawing of both, or from two drawings, one of each of the seated figures of boys.

<sup>262</sup> This is the title recorded in Solly 1875, 334, although one may think that this was perhaps not William Müller's own title for this composition, as firstly the figures are boys and secondly are probably *zingari*. Unfortunately, because this composition was not exhibited in the artist's lifetime, the title given to this work by Robert Vernon in 1847 and by Nathaniel Solly in 1875 is doubtful. For Robert Vernon's 1845 commissioning of a work, possibly this, see the artist's letter, Art Union, October 1845, 318.

<sup>263</sup> As is recorded by the Tate Gallery today, <http://www.tate.org.uk/art/artworks/muller-eastern-landscape-n00379>; <http://www.bbc.co.uk/arts/yourpaintings/artists/william-james-muller/paintings/slideshow?page=3> image 201

<sup>264</sup> Solly 1875, 334, records this title in the list of principle oil paintings painted between 1844 and 1845.

<sup>265</sup> Müller's student and companion in Lycia makes no mention of any oil painting in Lycia and records Müller had run out of watercolours, Harry John Johnson's Account, in Solly 1875, 213, and, Solly records of the water-colour paints, "*all the cobalt and several other colours were all used up*" Solly 1875, 188; likewise, "*At the time Müller made this (water-colour) sketch, his colour-box was rich in colours; but the last week or two of his stay in Lycia, and all the time he was in Rhodes, he was reduced to only four or five colours; consequently they were simple, not to say **severe** in their chromatic arrangement*", Solly 1875, 258, emphasis in italic here in bold.

<sup>266</sup> Akdağ is today understood not to be identified with Massicytus but rather with Cragus and the Anti-cragus with Babadağ.

<sup>267</sup> Resembling the landscape of the water-colour, inscribed by the artist, *Tomb, Pinara, Lycia*, B.M. London, No.1878,1228.154, from John Henderson in 1878, AN00221687\_001\_1 Entitled by Solly, *On the Platform of the Acropolis, Pinara*, "*In the foreground are some tombs in deep shadow. In the distance are mountains (a spur of the Taurus range), which are beautifully lighted with the last glow of sunset. This was made in about twenty minutes, whilst waiting for dinner, just outside the tent at Pinara*" Solly 1875, 262; [http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/collection\\_object\\_details.aspx?objectId=741020&partId=1&people=116424&peoA=116424-2-9&page=1](http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=741020&partId=1&people=116424&peoA=116424-2-9&page=1) For another version, auctioned at Sotheby's, London, 5<sup>th</sup> of July, 2016, Old Master and British Works on Paper Including works from the Oppé Collection, Lot 327, 22 by 34 cm; and another version reduced in width, or a copy recorded with the title, "*Dawn at Patara*", when it should rather be entitled Dusk or Sunset at Pinara at: [http://www.artnet.com/artists/william-james-m%C3%BCller/dawn-at-pinara-lycia-Txi\\_WAPmpBt\\_LfmFuiiig2](http://www.artnet.com/artists/william-james-m%C3%BCller/dawn-at-pinara-lycia-Txi_WAPmpBt_LfmFuiiig2); <http://www.artnet.com/artists/william-james-m%C3%BCller/dawn-at-pinara-lycia-M1Tui2c5Tx0HgQ9g6y0TjQ2>

It seems possible these figures were drawn at Pinare-Minare<sup>268</sup> in the 9 days spent there from the 16<sup>th</sup> of November 1843<sup>269</sup> although a water-colour sketch, described as ‘*Study of a young Lycian boy, Turkey, 1832 (sic.)*’<sup>270</sup> 13 x 11 cm (5.1 x 4.3 in.), mis-read and mis-dated 1832, as Müller did not visit Lycia until 1843, somewhat resembles the figure on the left in the oil painting, but in a different pose (see above No. 398) (Fig. 27).

An engraving of this version of this painting in the Tate Gallery, London (Fig. 44), was made by Samuel Cousins R.A. (1801-1887) and was published in April 1852 in the *Art Journal*<sup>271</sup>, when the work given a completely new title: *Rest in the Desert: from the Picture in the Vernon Gallery*, (Fig. 48), some examples of which have been hand coloured. This depiction of the Lycian landscape was described as a *desert*, as though this picture was painted by Müller from the sketches he had made in Egypt and Syria in 1838-9, rather than composed from those drawn in Lycia in 1843-1844, with this new title thereby relating this engraving to the famous paintings and the widely circulated print made by Nicholas Radclyffe of William Müller’s painting, entitled by the painter, *Prayer in the Desert*<sup>272</sup>, printed by McQueen and published in the *Art Journal* in 1847; as also to the new title ‘*Encampment in the Desert*’ which was given later in the 19<sup>th</sup> c. to the oil painting entitled by William Müller, “*On the Road to the Ford of the River Mangerchi, between Xanthus and Tlos*”, today in the Manchester City Art Gallery, see below Fig. 53. The problem with the word *Desert* given in the title of the engraving of

<sup>268</sup> For the *Chingari-Zingari* at Minara-Pinara see, Fellows 1841, 149-150. For Müller at Pinara, Solly 1875, 186-187.

<sup>269</sup> Solly 1875, 209, recorded in Johnson’s Account.

<sup>270</sup> Source: <http://www.artnet.com/artists/william-james-m%C3%BCller/study-of-a-young-lycian-boy-turkey-y0mzcIDsM1eTu1Oikt-rcg2>

<sup>271</sup> “*Two boys sitting against a rock in a desert, one looking towards the viewer, the other staring wearily ahead, wearing oriental dress, the crests of dunes in the background; after Müller; illustration from ‘The Art Journal’. 1852*” BM London, 1981, U. 456:

[http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/collection\\_object\\_details.aspx?objectId=3120310&partId=1&searchText=william+muller&page=1](http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=3120310&partId=1&searchText=william+muller&page=1)

For some reason this print is frequently recorded as published in 1865 but this is incorrect eg.: <http://www.ebay.com/itm/Old-Antique-Print-1865-Hand-Coloured-Men-Resting-Desert-Cousen-Muller-209A130-/351927453076?hash=item51f082c594:g:1MkAAOSwux5YR9iM>; <https://www.amazon.com/Original-Antique-Victorian-Gallery-166G354/dp/B00D5TCKOW>;

<http://www.ebay.ie/itm/Old-Antique-Print-1865-Hand-Coloured-Men-Resting-Desert-Cousen-Muller-209A130-/351979413146?hash=item51f39b9e9a:g:0fAAAOSwx6pYnt5z>

<sup>272</sup> One version in oils, Birmingham Museum, No. 1885P2529, dated 1843, ex. Mr. W. Sharpe. Col., Solly 1875, Plate VIII. “*Prayers in the Desert*,” 6 ft. by 3 ft. 4 in., was exhibited No. 547, hung in the west room of the Royal Academy in 1843 and exhibited in the 1857 Manchester Art Treasures Exhibition, No. 296 from the W. Sharpe Col. (*Art Treasures* 1857, 20). One sketch from Egypt entitled, “*Arabs at Prayer*”, was sold in 1846 (Solly 1875, 84) and a small oil version of this subject was sold in 1865 for 310 gns. (*The Art Journal* 1865, 192). A version of this subject was sold in 1866 for £378 and in 1876 for £356. 10s., while a version with the arched top was sold in 1881, bought by Agnew, £1,890 pounds and a sketch for the painting was sold for £110.5s. in 1882 from the Henderson collection (see Redford 1888, 84-86). A further oil sketch of this subject with an arched top on canvas survives dated 1843, measuring 39 by 70 cms, auctioned Nov. 17, 2016 by Casa d’ Aste della Rocca, Turin, Italy, Lot 259. It is noteworthy that Solly records, “*The figures for this picture were painted from life-models in London - a very unusual proceeding with Muller; he had some difficulty in finding the right men with sufficient of the Eastern character, and he dressed them up in the costumes he had himself brought home from Cairo*”, Solly 1875, 62.





Fig. 44. "Two Lycian Peasants Seated" Also Entitled "Eastern Landscape" 1843 (in Fact Dated 1845) Tate Gallery, London



Fig. 45. *Two figures at Rest, Turkey*, Auctioned Bonhams, Knightsbridge, December 6<sup>th</sup> 2012, Lot 126; Bonhams, 7<sup>th</sup> December, 2011, Lot 107

this painting was noted at the time by Professor Edward Forbes (an explorer of Lycia in 1842 with Lt. T. A. B. Spratt and Rev. E. T. Daniell<sup>273</sup>) in the editor's response to his comments which was published in the *Art Journal* in June 1852: "*Professor Forbes, as an old eastern traveller, has kindly directed our attention to the subject of Müller's picture, entitled "Rest in the Desert," introduced into our April number. The Professor informs us, that the figures represent peasants of Lycia, amid the scenery of the valley of the Xanthus, and the hill in the background is Mount Massicytus. We are always glad to fix the locality of a landscape when we can, but this is not easily done where the country is unknown to us, and the death of the painter, as in this case, precludes any application (to him) on the subject*"<sup>274</sup>. The view

<sup>273</sup> It is unfortunate that a similar type of error is recorded in the curator's comments concerning the water-colour portrait of Rev. Edward Thomas Daniell by John Linnell in the B.M. Museum, No. 1932.1008.5, "*Robert's drawings of Egypt and the Holy Land inspired him to visit and he set off in 1840 for Greece and Turkey. He was exploring the newly discovered antiquities of Lycia when he contracting malaria and died in Syria in 1842*" Source: [https://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/collection\\_object\\_details.aspx?objectId=742310&partId=1&searchText=No.+1932.1008.5&page=1](https://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=742310&partId=1&searchText=No.+1932.1008.5&page=1) accessed 01-01-2017. In fact, Daniell died of malaria aged 38 in Adalia-Antalya in Asia Minor on Sept. 24<sup>th</sup> 1842 as his companions Spratt and Forbes relate (Spratt – Forbes 1847, vol. 1, 36), and Adalia-Antalya is not in Syria. The mention of *Adalia-Syria* as his place of demise seems to have first occurred in his obituary which was published in numerous journals late in 1842 and 1843 giving his place of death as follows: "*Rev. E. T. Daniell, Late reader at St. Mark's Chapel, Grosvenor-square, at Adalia, in Syria*", eg. *The Court Magazine & Monthly Critic and Lady's Magazine, & Museum of the Belles Lettres, Music, Fine Arts, Drama, Fashions, &c*, Vol. X, Dobbs & Co. London, 1842, 172, which records the name C.(sic.) T. Daniel (sic.), and his demise as occurring somewhat later, on the 10<sup>th</sup> of October (sic.); *The British Magazine and Monthly Register of Religious and Ecclesiastical Information, Parochial History, and Documents Respecting the State of the Poor, Progress of Education, &c*, Vol. XXII, J. Turrill, London, 1842, 696; *The Christian remembrancer*; or, *The Churchman's Biblical, ecclesiastical & literary miscellany*, Vol. IV, July-Dec. 1842, James Burns, London, 705; *ILN*, I, 1842, 1064, etc. This was added to in 1843 to read: "*At the residence of the British Consul at Adalia, in Syria, of brain fever, in the prime of life,...*" eg. *The Annual Register*, Vol. 84, 1843, 286; *The Gentleman's Magazine, and Historical Chronicle, for the Year 1843*, Vol. 173, 102, etc. This unfortunate error of "*Adalia in Syria*", gained a broader circulation through the entry in the DNB by Richard Smail, 'Daniell, Edward Thomas (1804–1842)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/7123>, accessed 25 Feb 2017; Edward Thomas Daniell (1804–1842): doi:10.1093/ref:odnb/7123, where his demise in "*Adalia in Syria*" is still recorded.

<sup>274</sup> *Art Journal* 1852, 199.

depicted was drawn from a promontory facing Akdağı on the west side of the Xanthus valley about a mile from Minare-Pinare. It was probably this same association of William Müller's work with Arabs from the paintings produced from his travels in Egypt and Syria that led to the use of the word *desert* on this engraving, when it would seem no desert or sand dunes are represented, and to the use subsequent to the death of William Müller in 1845 of the titles *Syrian dancers* for the paintings of a gypsy dancer at Xanthus, as likewise *Arab Musicians* for the painting of gypsy musicians at Xanthus, Nos. 2 and 3 above.

There are further versions of this painting, one of which is today entitled, *Two figures at rest, Turkey*, oil on canvas, signed and indistinctly dated 'WMuller 18...' (lower left), oil on canvas 35.7 x 51cm (14 1/16 x 20 1/16 in.), Bonhams 7<sup>th</sup> December 2011, Lot 170<sup>275</sup> (Fig. 45). Another version is in William Müller's hometown, misnamed since its purchase in 1939, as, '*Two Arab figures in a landscape*' and which is today entitled, '*Two Arab Figures Seated*', in the Bristol Museum and Art Gallery<sup>276</sup>, England, No. K1450, (Fig. 46), neither of the depicted figures are in fact Arabs; and a further version in oil on panel was sold at Sotheby's London, 19<sup>th</sup> Century British and Continental Pictures, July 13<sup>th</sup>, 2005 Lot 106 c, and in January 21<sup>st</sup>, 2004, Lot 277, likewise somewhat erroneously entitled, "*Two Oriental boys resting in a landscape*"<sup>277</sup> 37 x 50.5 cm (14.6 x 19.9 in.) oil on panel, (Fig. 47) signed and dated 1845<sup>278</sup>. There is also another slightly larger version, recorded in America as, "*Arabs Resting*," measuring 19 x 26 ins. which was bought by W. S. Stern for 200\$ at the 1899 sale of Senhor Salvador de Mendonca's collection of paintings<sup>279</sup>. A rather poor water-colour copy of this composition copied from the engraving today entitled "*Study of two seated Arab boys in a desert Landscape*", (13 x 19 1/2 in.) was auctioned on the 30<sup>th</sup> of May 2012<sup>280</sup>.

The fact that these several depictions of the same subject by William Müller have been given the following titles: *Two Lycian Peasants seated*, *Two figures at rest, Turkey*, *Two Arab figures in a landscape*, *Two Arab Figures Seated*, *Two Oriental boys resting in a landscape*, *Eastern Landscape*, *Rest in the Desert* and, *Study of two seated Arab boys in a desert Landscape*, when the figures depicted are probably two *Cingari /Zincari* /gypsy boys from Minare in the Xanthus valley, Lycia, Asia Minor, is perhaps a matter of some concern.

<sup>275</sup> Sources: <https://www.bonhams.com/auctions/18925/lot/170/?category=list>; <http://www.artnet.com/artists/william-james-m%C3%BCller/two-figures-at-rest-turkey-VHranex92PC3baYKSjUOXw2>

<sup>276</sup> Sources: <http://museums.bristol.gov.uk/details.php?irn=116647>; [http://www.bbc.co.uk/arts/yourpaintings/artists/william-james-muller/paintings/slideshow?page=2#/92\\_image\\_193](http://www.bbc.co.uk/arts/yourpaintings/artists/william-james-muller/paintings/slideshow?page=2#/92_image_193); <http://wikioo.org/ko/paintings.php?refarticle=9HTL7U&titlepainting=Two%20arab%20figures%20seated&artistname=William%20James%20Muller>

<sup>277</sup> Source: <http://www.artvalue.com/auctionresult--muller-william-james-1812-1845-two-oriental-boys-resting-in-a-1317686.htm>

<sup>278</sup> In the catalogue Notes it is recorded that: "*This picture is an autograph version of a work by Muller in the Tate Gallery, London dated 1843*" <http://www.tate.org.uk/art/artworks/muller-eastern-landscape-n00379>, still dated 1843 in 2017. However, the inscription of the date on the Tate gallery version should likewise read 1845, the 5 has been misread as a 3. This because Müller could not have made the Tate's picture in 1843 as he first went to the Xanthus valley in Lycia which this painting records in October 1843 and he remained there without oil paints until February 1844.

<sup>279</sup> American Art Journal, New York, 1899, 72.

<sup>280</sup> A water-colour after Müller, auctioned, 30 May, 2012, source: <https://www.mutualart.com/Artwork/Study-of-two-seated-Arab-boys-in-a-deser/DC106F2CD616649E>



Fig. 46. Today Entitled, 'Two Arab Figures in a Landscape', Bristol Museum and Art Gallery Cat. 1970. Inv. No. K.1450



Fig. 47. Today Entitled, 'Two Oriental Boys Resting in a Landscape', Auctioned Sotheby's, London, January 21<sup>st</sup>, 2004, Lot 277; 13<sup>th</sup> July, 2005<sup>281</sup>



Fig. 48. Published on April 1<sup>st</sup> 1852 in *The Art Journal* Facing Page 124, from *The Painting in The Vernon Gallery, Which Measured 1 ft. 8 by 1 ft. 2 in., Today in The Tate Gallery. It Was Given an Entirely New Title: Rest in The Desert: from The Picture in The Vernon Gallery, When It Was Engraved by J. Cousen and Printed for The Art Journal by B. Brain and Co., as Was Noted by Prof. Edward Forbes. Regarding These Five Oil Paintings, Slight Variants of The Same Subject and Composition, It Is The Case That William Müller Often Painted Several Versions and Copies of The Same Work, from The Sale of Which He Made His Living, for Example, Nathaniel Solly Records The Subject Entitled, Gillingham on The Medway Was a Subject Repeated about a Dozen Times<sup>282</sup> in Different Sizes; One with Gipsies and a Gipsy Tent on The Ice of The Frozen Medway<sup>283</sup>, Entitled, Gipsy Encampment, Winter, Gillingham on Thames, and That This Water-Colour Was Painted Twice in 1845<sup>284</sup>. Likewise he Painted Two or Three Copies of a Work Entitled, Moonlight Scene with Gipsies<sup>285</sup>, And Several Copies of a Picture Entitled, Street Scene Cairo<sup>286</sup>, While C. G. E. Bunt Records Five Versions of The Painting Entitled The Young Anglers's<sup>287</sup>, and There Two Versions of Nos. 1, 2 And 4 Above, So The Fact That There Are Five Slightly Different Versions of This Composition Painted by Müller is Itself Unsurprising, And Probably Indicates The Subject's Popularity Amongst Müller's Circle of Patrons In 1845*

<sup>281</sup> Source: <https://www.mutualart.com/Artwork/TWO-ORIENTAL-BOYS-RESTING-IN-A-LANDSCAPE/98A6E38E7070FC5B>

<sup>282</sup> Solly 1875, 332.

<sup>283</sup> Solly 1875, 301.

<sup>284</sup> Christie and Mason, 1846 sale, Nos. 436 and 445, Solly 1875, 343.

<sup>285</sup> Solly 1875, 332.

<sup>286</sup> Solly 1875, 333.

<sup>287</sup> Bunt 1948, 96.

· *Encampment of Yurooks, with baggage-Camel, at Tlos (Asia Minor)* (Fig. 49). About 6 ft. by 3 ft. 6 in.<sup>288</sup>. This painting was sold on the 18<sup>th</sup> of June 2008 at Christies, London Sale 7561, Lot 366<sup>289</sup> under a rather different title, “*Rock tombs, Tlos, Lycia: The Citadel from the south east*”, measuring 39.8 by 76 in. (101 x 193 cm)<sup>290</sup>. Rather than ‘presumably’<sup>291</sup>, it is certainly not to be identified with any of Müller’s five works exhibited at the Royal Academy, London, in 1845<sup>292</sup>, but is probably to be identified with the work that was then entitled ‘*Ancient Tombs, Lycia*,’ that was sold at the Bolckow<sup>293</sup> sale in 1888 for £3,950<sup>294</sup>. It has also recently been incorrectly re-named, “*La halte de chameliers devant le Mont Taurus*”<sup>295</sup>. This is a most important work, not least, in providing indication of the coloured pigment remaining on facades of the Lycian rock-cut tombs at Tlos in the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century. Following his visit to Egypt in 1839 where he recorded in water-colours the still brightly coloured hieroglyphs and the surviving painted text and designs on columns, temples and tombs of Pharaonic Egypt, at Thebes/Luxor<sup>296</sup> etc.. William Müller remarked on this matter of surviving Lycian paintwork in 1844, “*Pinare is not so dry as at Thebes, yet whatever the means, colour exists on the tombs. The letters in the Lycian inscriptions are painted in blue and red*”<sup>297</sup>. For record of the surviving colours on the exterior of the Harpy tomb at Xanthus and elsewhere in Lycia in the mid-19<sup>th</sup> c., George Scharf’s published remarks<sup>298</sup>, together with Müller’s and Harry John Johnson’s works<sup>299</sup> which provide further evidence of the presence of colour to that recorded by

<sup>288</sup> Solly 1875, 334.

<sup>289</sup> Source: <http://www.christies.com/lotfinder/paintings/william-james-muller-rock-tombs-tlos-lycia-5097629-details.aspx>

<sup>290</sup> Source: [http://www.askart.com/photos2/2014/COL20080618\\_6290/366.jpg](http://www.askart.com/photos2/2014/COL20080618_6290/366.jpg)

<sup>291</sup> “presumably London, Royal Academy, 1845”, at: <http://www.christies.com/lotfinder/paintings/william-james-muller-rock-tombs-tlos-lycia-5097629-details.aspx> it has presumably been confused with No. 482, *Turkish Merchants with Camels passing the River Mangerelli* as there are camels in both.

<sup>292</sup> As listed in Graves 1906, 320.

<sup>293</sup> H.W.F. Bolckow, M.P., Marton Hall, Middlesborough.

<sup>294</sup> DNB, 1885-1900, Vol. 39, 1894, J. C. Mathew entry, *William John* (sic.) Müller.

<sup>295</sup> Source: <http://www.artnet.com/artists/william-james-m%C3%BCller/la-halte-de-chameliers-devant-le-mont-taurus-MeWchSmUpeV0X6QGM2w2fg2>

<sup>296</sup> See for example, <http://culturalinstitute.britishmuseum.org/asset-viewer/william-james-m%C3%BCller-luxor-a-watercolour/UAEHLHVT2XsJZng?hl=en>; as did David Roberts who was in Egypt at the same time, in his 238 coloured original-lithographs in his six-volume work on the Holy Land, Syria, Idumea, Arabia, Egypt, & Nubia, published in London between 1842 and 1849.

<sup>297</sup> Solly 1875, 350.

<sup>298</sup> Scharf 1860, 247-255.

<sup>299</sup> See for example the surviving red paintwork recorded on the exterior of the rock cut tomb below the necropolis pillar tomb at Xanthus recorded by both Johnson and Müller in 1843, water-colour taken on November 7<sup>th</sup>, 1843, signed with initials HJJ, entitled ‘Xanthus’, today in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London, Museum No. SD.527 at: <http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O145926/xanthus-watercolour-johnson-harry-john/>. For William Müller’s version painted in water-colour the next day, entitled, *Tombs at Xanthus, Lycia*. (1843), sold Christies, New York, 2008, L08170, 261, at: <http://arthistoryreference.com/t145/4357b.htm>. Possible pink on the faces of the necropolis pillar tomb are also recorded on Harry John Johnson’s water-colour and also on his oil painting

Charles Fellows<sup>300</sup> and Spratt and Forbes<sup>301</sup>. It seems probable that the water-colour sketch of the acropolis at Tlos, inscribed, *Tlos Dec. 31, 1843, WM, Lycia*,<sup>302</sup> (Fig. 50), as well as the water-colour inscribed, *Tlos Jan. 3, 1844, Lycia, WM* (Fig. 51)<sup>303</sup>, today in the British Museum, were employed for this composition, which also clearly records the reddish orange colour on the same rock-cut tomb<sup>304</sup> and traces of other colours.



Fig. 49. Entitled by *The Painter, Encampment of Yurooks, with Baggage-Camel, at Tlos (Asia Minor), Probably Renamed by 1888, Ancient Tombs, Lycia, and Which Today Has Been Re-named, Rock Tombs, Tlos, Lycia: The Citadel from The South East*

It is also probable that a water-colour drawing entitled, *Baggage Camels, Xanthus, 1843*, of which there are a least two versions, one inscribed, *Xanthus, Dec 14. 1843, WM*,<sup>305</sup> which was published in Woodburytype by Vincent Brooks, Day and Son from the John Henderson collection for Nathaniel's Solly's Biography, and was therein entitled, "*Baggage camels, sketched from Müller's tent, Xanthus*"<sup>305</sup> and, "*View from Door of Müller's Tent at Xanthus of Camels with Trappings for carrying Baggage*"<sup>306</sup>,

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of this view, exhibited R.A.1846, a painting today misnamed the Lion Tomb, <http://www.artnet.com/WebServices/images/ll00108lld1zGGFgVeECfDrCWvaHBOctCx/harry-john-johnson-the-lion-tomb-at-xanthus,-lycia.jpg>

<sup>300</sup> Fellows 1841, 133, 146, 198, 206, 468, 477.

<sup>301</sup> Spratt – Forbes 1847, I, 94, 149.

<sup>302</sup> BM London, No. 1878,1228.117, © Trustees of the British Museum, from John Henderson in 1878, [http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/collection\\_object\\_details/collection\\_image\\_gallery.aspx?assetId=221499001&objectId=740987&partId=1](http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details/collection_image_gallery.aspx?assetId=221499001&objectId=740987&partId=1)

<sup>303</sup> British Museum, P&D, British Imp PVI, gift of John Henderson in 1878, © Trustees of the British Museum at: <http://twoway.st/things/PDB13304>

<sup>304</sup> The reason why the red colour is clearer and of a darker tone in the depiction of the same rock-cut tomb in one of these two water-colours, is simply a matter of the angle of the light at the time that each of these water-colours was painted.

<sup>305</sup> Illustrated, Solly 1875,184. There are twelve mounted photographs by R.W. Thrupp of Müller's work, including eight Woodburytypes, in Solly's biography of Müller.

<sup>306</sup> Solly 1875, 259.



Fig. 50. *Watercolour Inscribed, Tlos Dec. 31, 1843, WM, Lycia* © Trustees of The British Museum



Fig. 51. *Watercolour Inscribed, Tlos Jan. 3, 1844, Lycia, WM* © Trustees of the British Museum

which was donated by John Henderson to the British Museum in 1878, British Museum No. 1878.1228.101<sup>307</sup>, and which was re-published by the Art For Schools Association as a hand coloured photogravure<sup>308</sup>. Another version, signed & dated 1843, measuring 20 by 14 in. (49.5 by 34.3 cm) was sold at Christie's in June 2008<sup>309</sup>. As Harry John Johnson recorded in his account, for William Müller "The baggage camels that brought us our firewood...served him over and over again, as models"<sup>310</sup>, and these drawings of two baggage camels at Xanthus seems to have provided the model for the two standing camels in this composition. There is a further water-colour of a single camel that was painted by Müller at this time, listed in 1911 and described as, "A camel of Xanthus"<sup>311</sup>.

Four<sup>312</sup> of these oil paintings of Lycia were exhibited in the Royal Academy in May 1845: *Tent*

<sup>307</sup> BM London, No. 1878, 1228. 101, British Imp PVI, at:

[http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/collection\\_object\\_details/collection\\_image\\_gallery.aspx?assetId=221456001&objectId=740973&partId=1](http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details/collection_image_gallery.aspx?assetId=221456001&objectId=740973&partId=1) Described: "No. 58. *Baggage Camels, Xanthus. Two camels with trappings for carrying baggage, one of them seen from behind; in the distance snow-capped mountains. Sketched from the door of Muller's tent. Inscribed Xanthus, 1813 (sic.), Dec. 14, W. M. Water colours; imp., 19 by 13 in.*", Binyon 1902.

<sup>308</sup> [http://www.britishmuseum.org/collectionimages/AN00810/AN00810022\\_001\\_l.jpg?width=400&height=400](http://www.britishmuseum.org/collectionimages/AN00810/AN00810022_001_l.jpg?width=400&height=400); <http://twoway.st/things/PDB13303> © Trustees of the British Museum. The obituary for the founder of the Art for Schools Association, Miss Mary Elizabeth Christie, published in the Spectator, p. 14, 25<sup>th</sup> of May 1907, provides the context within which the print of Müllers was hung, and in part reads: "Art for Schools Association, which, with the sympathy of Mr. Ruskin and Mr. G. F. Watts, she founded in 1883. It was her strong desire to make the best pictures more familiar to the children in public elementary and secondary schools than was ordinarily the case a quarter of a century ago. She was one of the pioneers of a great change in public opinion in regard to the value of pictures as a means of educational influence. She always upheld the view that, so far as might be possible, the children from the poorest homes should be brought into contact with the work of the greatest painters, and not be thought capable of appreciating only what is second-rate. She believed that pictures, wisely chosen and sparingly displayed, refined the taste of many children, and in some cases coloured their ideals of life".

<sup>309</sup> Christie's London, King Street, Lot No. 366, Sale 7561, June 18<sup>th</sup> 2008; Christie's, London, November 12<sup>th</sup>, 1991, Lot 134: Description: Two camels at Xanthus, 1843 Watercolour 20 by 14 in. (49.5 x 34.3 cm) signed & dated.

<sup>310</sup> Harry John Johnson's "Account," in Solly 1875, 208.

<sup>311</sup> No. 12 in the April 24<sup>th</sup> 1911 Christie's sale, measuring 17 ½ by 14 in., Art Prices 1910-11, 31.

<sup>312</sup> Penny 1846, 336. Knight 1856, 382, incorrectly records only three of these paintings as exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1845: *Tent Scene: Cingaries playing to a Turkish Family, Xanthus; Turkish Merchants with camels passing the river Mangerelli (sic), in the valley of the Xanthus, and, Head of a Cingari, Xanthus.*

Scene: *Cingaries playing to a Turkish Family, Xanthus; Turkish Merchants with camels passing the river Mangerelli (sic), in the valley of the Xanthus; Head of a Cingari and, Encampment of Yurooks, with baggage-Camel, at Tlos (Asia Minor), Xanthus,* with two of these four works having the subject of Lycian *Cingaries*, and one of *Yurooks*; and, of the three works by Müller exhibited at the British Institution in 1845<sup>313</sup>, one was a view of Ottoman Rhodes, the other two were Lycian scenes: *Tomb in the water, Telmessus*, and, *Dance at Xanthus, Sketch for a larger picture*, the latter having the subject of a *Cingari-Zingari* band and dancer. Müller's interest in the *Cingaries-Gypsies* was not confined to those of Ottoman Lycia, he had already painted several works having the subject of Gypsies including, *A Gypsy Encampment*<sup>314</sup> and *Woodland scene with gypsies merry-making*<sup>315</sup>, the gypsies remained a subject he continued to address until his death.

Three further major compositions of Lycian subjects were painted by William Müller, all probably painted in 1845, in addition to the suggested portrait of the *Cingari* leader Oiel mentioned above (Fig. 2). The first work, unmentioned by Nathaniel Solly, was painted to record the crossing of the Manger chi-Saklikent River, a version of the same subject as No. 4 above (Fig. 41, 42), but this was a night view, measuring 36 by 72 in., entitled, '*Turkish Merchants fording the River Mangerchii, in Asia Minor, by Torchlight.*' It was bought by Colnaghi in 1850 for £105.0, Ex. Wethered collection and was sold at auction in 1856 for £99. 15s.<sup>316</sup>. Its whereabouts today seems unrecorded.

The second major oil painting by William Müller of 1845 (Fig. 53), also relating to the Manger chi, "*a torrent, tributary of the Xanthus (River, today's Esen Cayı) called the Mangerchai*"<sup>317</sup>, the Kara su-Saklikent River of today, is to be identified with the today quite unfortunately misnamed, '*Encampment in the Desert*' measuring 101.7 by 210.3 cm, in the Manchester City Art Gallery since its purchase in 1897<sup>318</sup>. This was a landscape which the artist would never have described as a "*desert*", as the cita-



Fig. 52. *Inscribed, Xanthus, 1843, Baggage Camels*, WM © Trustees of The British Museum

<sup>313</sup> Solly 1875, 330.

<sup>314</sup> Today in, The Cooper Gallery, Acquired in 1933.

<sup>315</sup> Christies, London, February 27<sup>th</sup> 2013, Lot No. 126, oil on canvas 11½ x 14½ in. (29 x 37 cm).

<sup>316</sup> The Art Journal, London, April 1, 1856, 116. Subsequently sold entitled, *Turks fording by Torchlight* in 1871, £78.15s; in 1877, £80, 17s.; in 1881 £257, 5s. to British Inst. entitled, *Turks fording by Torchlight*, Redford 1888, 84-86.

<sup>317</sup> Johnson's Account in, Solly 1875, 208.

<sup>318</sup> The Museum's description of the painting reads: "*A romantic scene of a nomadic encampment in the Turkish desert landscape*" at:

<http://artuk.org/discover/artworks/an-encampment-in-the-desert-205662/search/actor:muller-william-james-18121845/page/9>;

<http://www.bbc.co.uk/arts/yourpaintings/artists/william-james-muller/paintings/slideshow?page=3#/4> No. 205 (Accessed 9/10/2014); <http://artuk.org/discover/artworks/an-encampment-in-the-desert205662/search/actor:muller-william-james-18121845/page/10>



Fig. 53. More Correctly Entitled, “On The Road to The Ford of The River Mangerchi, between Xanthus and Tlos”, The Painting Is Today Entitled, ‘Encampment in The Desert’, Today in The Manchester City Art Gallery © Manchester City Galleries<sup>319</sup>



Fig. 54. Detail of Fig. 53



Fig. 55. Watercolour of Camels in Smyrna-İzmir 1843 ©Tate Galley, London

tions from his letters given above clearly indicate. The display label today incorrectly suggests this study “may be an untraced painting of 1844-5, *Encampment of Yurooks, with Baggage-Camel, at Tlos*”<sup>320</sup>, but the work of this title, exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1845, was sold on the 18<sup>th</sup> of June 2008 at Christies, London Sale 7561, Lot 366 (see above No. 7, Fig. 49). This work is rather to be identified with the title, “*On the Road to the Ford of the River Mangerchi, between Xanthus and Tlos*”, and was presumably the painting of this name that was exhibited in the British Museum exhibition in 1880<sup>321</sup>. Rather than “*the desert*” of its current title, the landscape is, as was described in Homer’s *Illiad* Bk. XII, 313, “*Ours are the vast estates along the Xanthos, too, the tracts of orchard and the rich plough land*”, a verdant landscape, described by the artist Richard Dadd in Lycia in 1842 in a letter to David Roberts, that the steep valleys and coastal plains of Lycia in Asia Minor ‘*would wake all the artist in you, or indeed in anybody with the least love of nature*’<sup>322</sup>, there is no desert in Lycia.

The reason why this composition was painted was to depict the Turkish merchants, camels, the

<sup>319</sup> Source: <http://manchesterartgallery.org/collections/search/collection/?id=1897.3>

<sup>320</sup> Source: <http://manchesterartgallery.org/collections/search/collection/?id=1897.3>

<sup>321</sup> The painting No. 86, entitled “*On the Road to the Ford of the River Mangerchi, between Xanthus and Tlos*” is recorded as exhibited in, *A Guide to the Exhibition Galleries of the British Museum, 1880*, 57.

<sup>322</sup> Tromans 2008, 330.



Turkoman goat hair tent and the Yurook hut in the Xanthus valley landscape, through which the Mangerchi-Saklikent cayı flows into the Xanthus-Esen River. It seems probable that the work behind this composition in part came from his experience in November 1843 when Johnson records in his account: "As far as we could see, the (Xanthus) valley was a vast lake, the turbulent river having broken its boundaries and flooded the whole marsh. Consequently all the dwellers in the plains were driven to encamp on the rising ground round about us, and all day long files of camels, laden with the families and baggage of the wandering tribes, were making their way through the flood towards us. Müller eagerly siezed this opportunity of sketching in the tents of these people, and his numerous studies of domestic life, and incidents of character and costume, were collected about this time"<sup>323</sup>. However, the camels depicted in this painting were recorded by William Müller in a water-colour drawing, today in the Tate Galley, London<sup>324</sup>, made in 1843 in Smyrna-İzmir (Fig. 55) before he arrived in Lycia, amidst scenes which he described in his letter to the Art Union of November the 29<sup>th</sup> 1843, "Never have I seen so much beautiful costume; while the long strings of camels, laden with fruit and other merchandise, prove highly attractive to the artist"<sup>325</sup>. He reemployed this water-colour of camels in this composition, together with sketches made in the Xanthus valley of a Yurook hut, a watercolour of a Turkoman's tent, the figures and the landscape of the valley, looking towards Patara, and some still-life studies.

It seems probable that the water-colour of the Yurook hut with the woman in red by the hut, *Yurook's Hut, Xanthus*, B.M. London, No. 1878.1228.109<sup>326</sup> (see above, No. 304 *Yurook's Hut, Xanthus, Christmas Day, 1843*) provided elements that were reused in this composition.

As probably also elements of the water-colour sketch entitled, *Turkomans Hut 1843 WM/Lycia* (No. 289 above) (Figs. 9, 10), including most probably the girl with baby on her back, reversed, and the girl behind the central pole, moved to the right side at the back of the tent in this composition, and, perhaps the woman operating the local form of the spinning wheel<sup>327</sup>, keeping the tension on the thread (Figs. 58, 10). The sheep beside the tent also indicating that wool is being spun. The head of a Turkish sheep was painted in water-colour<sup>328</sup> but if it was employed in this composition is unknown.



Fig. 56. Detail of Fig. 53 As above, Fig. 11



Fig. 57. Detail of Fig. 11

<sup>323</sup> Solly 1875, 210. These water-colours include that entitled "*Interior of a Turkoman's (sic.) Hut*", exhibited in 1880 at the Burlington Fine Arts Club, No. 4, painted in November 1843.

<sup>324</sup> Presented by Lady Weston as part of the Sir Joseph Weston Gift in 1908. Ref: N02372 Source: <http://www.tate.org.uk/art/artworks/muller-camels-a-study-in-smyrna-n02372>

<sup>325</sup> Müller 1844a, 41.

<sup>326</sup> British Museum, Prints and Drawings, London, AN00221479\_001\_1 © Trustees of the British Museum

<sup>327</sup> Not in fact to be identified as being "*a machine resembling a mangle*" at, *An Encampment in the Desert*, Object description, source: <http://manchesterartgallery.org/collections/search/collection/?id=1897.3>

<sup>328</sup> Solly 1875, 343, 1846 sale No. 396.



Fig. 58. Detail of Fig. 53. As above, Fig. 10

Concerning the ‘spinning wheel’ type device depicted in the tent in this oil painting and in the related water-colour, as also in another water-colour<sup>329</sup>, Harry John Johnson records in his Account, “A remark which Müller made when sketching inside one of the yurook huts deserves to be remembered. A large, picturesque hand-mill, with a wheel for grinding grain, or some such purpose, was being sketched by the two artists, when Müller turned to look at what his companion (Harry John Johnson) was doing, and said to him, “Be sure, whatever you do, to make your wheel work!” This was an invariable maxim of Müller’s, when sketching a water-wheel or any other piece of mechanism”<sup>330</sup>, and consequently it can be understood that the depiction of this spinning wheel type device is accurate. In George Scharf’s lithograph of a view by Xanthus entitled “Xanthus, Lycia, women milling” (Fig. 59)<sup>331</sup>, although he does not identify them as such, the objects, and figures and hut in the foreground of this composition, from William Müller’s water-colour record, can be understood to represent the *Yurooks-Turkoomen*, and this same type of spinning wheel device is recorded, presumably to tension the thread, with a spindle lying on the ground near a basket of wool, and consequently spinning (Fig. 60), rather than the ‘milling’ that is recorded by George Scharf in the title of this lithograph, is depicted.

Further, the detailed still-life composition of utensils in the foreground of this composition, important for the colours and for the design woven in the two sacks - *çuval* depicted, was also almost



Fig. 59. Lithograph of 1847 of a Drawing by George Scharf Junior, Entitled “Xanthus, Lycia, Women Milling”<sup>332</sup>, Although The Women Seem to Be Spinning Thread, Rather Than “Milling” Anything



Fig. 60. Detail of Fig. 59

<sup>329</sup> Solly 1875, 269. Ex Müller studio sale 1846, No. 296 Interior of Brigand Turcoman’s Hut, also, Tent Scene: Brigand Chief, Wife and Child, described as, “A curious, native spinning wheel on one side; the light passes partly through the curtains of the tent, which is evidently made of camel’s hair...dated Dec. 4<sup>th</sup>, 1843. Interior of Turcoman’s Hut”.

<sup>330</sup> Solly 1875, 189-190.

<sup>331</sup> L0021770 Credit: Wellcome Library, London, Library reference no. ICV No 51428 Xanthus, Lycia, women milling. Lithograph by George Scharf junior, 1847.

<sup>332</sup> Source: [https://commons.wikimedia.org/.../File:Xanthus,\\_Lycia,\\_wo...](https://commons.wikimedia.org/.../File:Xanthus,_Lycia,_wo...)



Fig. 61. Detail of Fig. 53

Fig. 62. Water-Colour Made in Lycia Entitled "Turkish Utensils, Jan. 4, 1844 WM"<sup>333</sup> with The Pattern of The Kilim Resembling That of The Çuval in Fig. 61

Fig. 63. Detail of Fig. 53

Fig. 64. Müller's Water-Colour of The Kermençe and Bow<sup>334</sup> He Purchased in Lycia and Which He Introduced into The Foreground of This Painting Figs. 63, 53

certainly copied in oils from a water-colour sketch, a sketch resembling that drawn in Lycia entitled "Turkish Utensils, Jan. 4, 1844"<sup>335</sup>. It is possible that, together with musical instruments, glass decorated spoons, a brass coffee mill<sup>336</sup> and "several Turkish costumes"<sup>337</sup>, William Müller brought back to London from Lycia, kilim or *çuval* of this particular design.

The *kermençe*, described as "a camel driver's violin" by Müller<sup>338</sup> (Fig. 63), and a brass coffee mill<sup>339</sup>,

<sup>333</sup> No. 348 or 351 in the 1846 sale, both entitled "Turkish Utensils", Solly 1875, 342. Source: <https://www.mutualart.com/Artwork/Still-life-with-objects/3CBEC544823E1111>

Sold at Christies, King Street, London, 21<sup>st</sup> November 2007, Sale 7435, British Works on Paper, Lot No. 186.

<sup>334</sup> Sold Sotheby's, November 25, 1999 Lot. 9194, and mistakenly described as a Greek Lire (sic.) at: <http://artsalesindex.artinfo.com/auctions/--2787487/-;> <http://www.artnet.com/artists/william-james-m%C3%BCller/study-of-a-greek-lire-and-its-bow-pbsLE3MMfs1YiAG9gnbJ7Q2>

<sup>335</sup> No. 348 or 351 in the 1846 sale, both entitled "Turkish Utensils", Solly 1875, 342. Source: <https://www.mutualart.com/Artwork/Still-life-with-objects/3CBEC544823E1111>

Sold at Christies, King Street, London, 21<sup>st</sup> November 2007, Sale 7435, British Works on Paper, Lot No. 186.

<sup>336</sup> Solly 1875.

<sup>337</sup> Solly 1875, 219.

<sup>338</sup> Solly 1875, 366.

<sup>339</sup> Solly 1875, 193.

both mentioned as purchased in Müller's letters, are also depicted in the foreground of this oil painting.

After his departure from London for Bristol at the end of May 1845, with serious blood circulation problems resulting from cardiac problems leading to the swelling of his fingers and to his death from heart disease in Bristol on the 8<sup>th</sup> of September, he still painted one last major work concerning Lycia and its inhabitants, a painting roughly 11 ft. long on the whitewashed wall of a room in his home in Park Street, Bristol, depicting Turks hunting wild boar on horseback and on foot in the oak forest on the east side of the Xanthus valley<sup>340</sup>. Although this wall painting does not survive, a copy of it in oils on canvas made after William Müller's death by his younger brother Edmund G. Müller does, a work which was given to the Bristol Mansion house by E. G. Müller<sup>341</sup> (Fig. 65), together with a description of this wall painting recorded by Nathaniel Neal Solly. There is a slight discrepancy between the painted copy and Solly's account, in respect to the depiction of the Turk on foot about to fire his musket, which may indicate that William Müller subsequently reworked the version of the composition that was recorded by Solly, as he records, "*Two Turks on horseback with their guns, etc., appear to be galloping towards the retreating boars, and still nearer another Turk, on foot, is in the act of discharging his musket at them*"<sup>342</sup> In the painted copy the Turk on foot discharging his musket is in the distance rather than in the foreground of the painting. In the course of completion of an oil painting such significant changes in composition are recorded of Müller's method of working<sup>343</sup>.



Fig. 65. Entitled, *Wild Boar Hunt at Xanthus in Lycia* (Copy by Edmund G. Müller after William James Müller), 127 x 345 cm Bristol Museum and Art Gallery, Acc. No. K4490<sup>344</sup>, © Bristol Museums, Galleries and Archives

William Müller also painted a number of smaller works in 1844 and 1845, derived from his Lycian watercolours, including an oil painting since 1908 in the Bristol City Council Museum, Fine Art (K145), today entitled, "*Eastern Interior [Lycia, Turkey]*"<sup>345</sup>, which seems to have been based upon his

<sup>340</sup> Solly 1875, 301-302. See Charles Fellows record of this in January, 1842, Fellows, *The Xanthian Marbles: Their Acquisition, and Transmission to England*, John Murray, London, 1843, 29-30.

<sup>341</sup> <https://artuk.org/discover/artworks/wild-boar-hunt-at-xanthus-in-lycia-188817>

<sup>342</sup> Solly 1875, 302.

<sup>343</sup> See for example in the course of painting the picture entitled, "*The Baggage Waggon*" of 1845, "*The first day, it was sketched in without any troops or wagons, and a windmill appeared on the left; the next day, white clouds had taken the place previously occupied by the mill, and the wagons and troops were partly painted*" Solly 1875, 282.

<sup>344</sup> Source: <https://artuk.org/discover/artworks/wild-boar-hunt-at-xanthus-in-lycia-188817>

<sup>345</sup> Given by Lady Weston in 1908. Source: <http://museums.bristol.gov.uk/details.php?irn=116092>

water-colour No. 302 above, entitled, *Interior of Yurook's Hut, Lycia*.

Further, a series of 26 lithographs taken from William Muller's water-colours produced in 1843-1844, including views of Xanthus, Tlos and Pinare were projected for publication in 1845 by Henry Graves and Co., print-sellers and publisher in ordinary to Queen Victoria. Work on this was about to begin in February 1845 as Müller writes in a letter to J. Slatterfield dated 14<sup>th</sup> February 1845, "I am sure your kindness will make some allowance when you know that this is my most engaged part of the year, and undertaking a book, 'Müller's Xanthus' hangs in perspective like a dark cloud on the horizon, that will keep me at home (working on this book)"<sup>346</sup>. "Müller's work of Xanthus" was advertised for subscription in the April 1845 issue of The Art Union, including, "romantic incidents connected with ancient Lycia, and the attractions derived from the peculiar and picturesque costume- the Turk, Greek, Yurook, Zabeg, and Cingene-the tent and hut dwellings! With the domestic scenes of the all but wild inhabitants who have succeeded the creators of the ancient glories of early Art, which renders this country one of the greatest interest... A collection of 26 lithographs, coloured and mounted, exact facsimilies of the original drawings, in portfolio... 10 pounds.. 10 shillings,"<sup>347</sup> but, with the death of the artist in Bristol on the 8<sup>th</sup> of September, 1845, the arrangement made lapsed and the portfolio containing "Müller's work of Xanthus" with its projected combination of the Lycian landscape, its varied inhabitants in the mid-19th century and the ruins and remains of Lycian cities was not published.



Fig. 66. Today Entitled, "Eastern Interior [Lycia, Turkey]". Bristol Museum and Art Gallery, Acc. No. K145, © Bristol Museums, Galleries and Archives

However the 1857 Manchester (Art Treasures) exhibition of 16,000 works, extending from the 5<sup>th</sup> of May to the 17<sup>th</sup> of October, brought together six of his water-colours of Lycia amongst the thirteen of his water-colours exhibited<sup>348</sup> in the Drawings in Watercolour section of the exhibition<sup>349</sup>: Nos. 231, My Room-Macri; 232, At Xanthus; 237, Xanthus No. 2; 238, Xanthus No. 3; 239, Xanthus No. 4; 241, Burnt Pines on the Road to Pinare<sup>350</sup>. The Leeds National Art Treasures Exhibition of 1868 exhibited his "Yurook huts, Xanthus in Lycia, Dec., 1843" from the W. Quilter Collection. It was subtitled in the catalogue, *The Wandering Tribes of Turkomen of Asia Minor*<sup>351</sup>. In the 1880 exhibition at the Burlington Fine Arts Club, 11 of the 17 of Müller's watercolours exhibited were

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<sup>346</sup> Solly 1875, 283.

<sup>347</sup> Advertisement, April 1845, The Art Union, 116, at: <https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=njp.32101082376789;view=1up;seq=131>. Also mentioned, Penny 1846, 336, "A select series of his Sketches in the East will also shortly be published".

<sup>348</sup> In comparison there were 10 of J. F. Lewis's and 37 by David Roberts exhibited.

<sup>349</sup> Peck 1857, 185.

<sup>350</sup> Probably to be identified with the watercolour in the BM London No. 1915,0313.38, inscribed: *Burnt Pines on the road to Pinara*, dated *January 1844*. Source: [http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/collection\\_object\\_details.aspx?objectId=740981&partId=1&people=116424&peoA=116424-2-9&page=1](http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=740981&partId=1&people=116424&peoA=116424-2-9&page=1)

<sup>351</sup> Catalogue 1868, No. 2191.

painted in Lycia, with 7 of these depicting the dwellings of Turkoman and Yurook. An etching from his water-colour of the Lion tomb at Xanthus was published in *The Portfolio* in 1882<sup>352</sup> and 1883 facsimiles of twenty of his Bristol sketches were published in a quarto volume under the title '*Bits of Old Bristol*,' by the Bristol publisher J. W. Arrowsmith, while a few prints of Müller's watercolours of Lycia have been published over the past 174 years, including his "*Baggage camels by Xanthus*" of 1843, circulated by the Art for Schools Association to poor inner city schools in London and other major cities in Britain at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> c., but a version of "*Müller's work of Xanthus*" has yet to appear.

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<sup>352</sup> Etched by C. O. Murray, published by Seeley & Co., London for "The Portfolio. An Artistic Periodical..." 1882, 7, illustrating Frederick Wedmore's article entitled William Müller and his sketches.

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