Egypt and Austria VIII

MEETINGPOINT EGYPT

Ägypten und Österreich VIII

TREFFPUNKT ÄGYPTEN

Edited by / Herausgegeben von
Irena Lazar

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Meetingpoint Egypt / Treffpunkt Ägypten

INTRODUCTION

The Egypt & Austria VIII conference took place in Ljubljana (Slovenia) from Tuesday 25th September through to Friday 28th September 2012 in the premises of the National Museum of Slovenia, Department Metelkova. This was the second time that the conference was organized in Slovenia since the first one took place in Piran in 2008. The conference in 2012 was again organized by the University of Primorska (Koper), with the help of the National Museum of Slovenia and Slovene Ethnographical Museum (Ljubljana).

We would like to thank you the director of the National Museum of Slovenia MA Barbara Ravnik and the director of the Slovene Ethnografical Museum Dr. Bojana Rogelj Škafar for their financial and organizational support during the preparation and in the course of the conference. My sincere thanks for their help go also to Marko Frelih, Tomislav Kajfež and Vesna Kamin Kajfež.

Last but not least I would like to express all my gratitude to my colleagues from the University of Primorska for their help and support during the conference and preparation of the conference acta. Special thank goes to Andreja Izlakar for her work and patience with the layout and design of the publication.

Special attention of the conference was given to the topics 'Meetingpoint Egypt'. Therefore 19 relevant communications were presented at the conference and 11 of them are published in the present volume. Thank you very much to all of you who have participated the conference and delivered your papers for this publication.

Irena Lazar, University of Primorska

THE IBIS MUMMY IN THE NATIONAL MUSEUM OF SLOVENIA

MIRAN PFLAUM, VERONIKA PFLAUM, Ljubljana

The National Museum of Slovenia in Ljubljana keeps a small, but interesting Egyptian collection, one of the oldest museum's collections. Major parts of the collection were acquired by donations and legacies between the mid-19th century and the beginning of the 20th century.[1] Most of its objects have not been studied yet in detail, neither from the point of view of the cultural history nor from the egyptological point of view. Among them, there was an ibis mummy, kept for many years so to say forgotten in the museum storage.[2] We knew nothing about its origin and the circumstances of its arrival at the museum. The mummy was attached to a wire base under a glass bell, so we assume that it was exhibited once (fig. 1).

Before the conservation and restoration intervention, we tried to find out all we could about the origin and the age of the mummy. We investigated how and when it came to the museum, and what does it contain, as well.[3]

Arrival at the museum

In the museum, the ibis mummy was first recorded in the old inventory of the Provincial Museum of Carniola (the predecessor of the National Museum, later National Museum of Slovenia) from around 1895 under the number 1058. There is no information on the date of its arrival at the museum or its origin. The data on the donor proved wrong.[4]

Before the record in the museum's inventory, the ibis mummy was already mentioned by the weekly magazine *Illyrisches Blatt* that regularly published lists of donors and their donations to the Provincial Museum. In December 1940, it published a list of donations to the Provincial Museum made in 1839 by the Austrian Consul-General in Egypt Anton Lavrin.[5] His extensive donation in 4 boxes (all together weighing almost 200 kg) contained mostly objects for the

1 Bras Kernel 2014.
2 National Museum of Slovenia, Department of Archaeology, Inv. No. R 24112. Published in M. Pflaum – V. Pflaum 2011; M. Pflaum 2014a.
3 Report on the research, published in Slovenian in M. Pflaum – V. Pflaum 2011.
4 M. Pflaum – V. Pflaum 2011, 55.
5 Illyrisches Blatt 51.

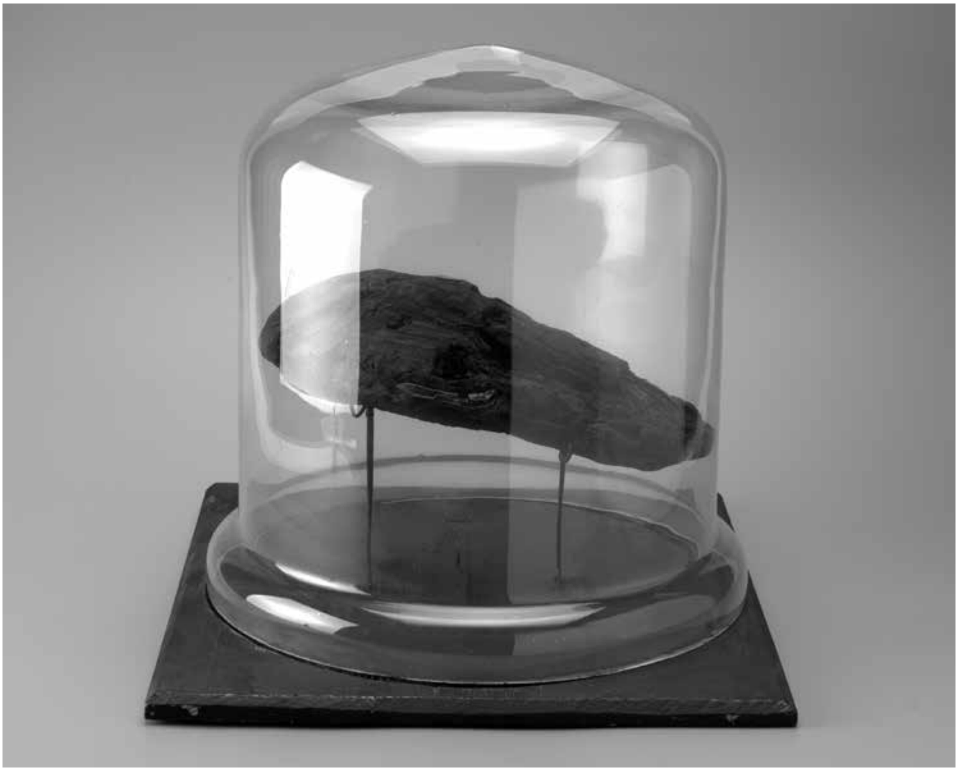

Fig. 1: The ibis mummy under the glass bell (photo by: Tomaž Lauko).

natural sciences collection – for example cones, shells, snails, fungi, birds and similar. Two mummies were mentioned, as well – an ibis mummy and a mummy of a small monkey. From the article we also learn that the whole shipment was put in quarantine upon its arrival in the country and that during the cleaning, airing and repacking all labels on objects were destroyed. The data on their origin were thus lost.

Further data on the Lavrin's shipment and the ibis mummy, contained in it, were found in the archives of the National Museum of Slovenia, in the curator Heinrich Freyer's records from the year 1840.[6] We learn from the records that almost all objects in this shipment were in duplicate – one was destined for the museum and the other one for a certain professor Milharčič in Gorica. In the museum, they divided the shipment into two and sent a half of it to the professor Milharčič. His half contained an ibis mummy and a mummy of a small mammal, probably

6 Freyer 1840a; Freyer 1840b; Freyer 1840c.

Fig. 2: The ceramic jar for the ibis with rests of the so-called mortar, used to fix the lid, on the inside (photo by: Tomaž Lauko).

a monkey (a baboon), as well.[7] The monkey mummy, left in the museum, is now lost. From the Freyer's records, we furthermore learn that the ibis mummy, left in the museum, was originally in an open and damaged ceramic jar (fig. 2).[8] We managed to identify the jar in the museum's collection of Roman pottery.[9] There is a third animal mummy mentioned in the curator's records – a crocodile mummy.[10] Probably this is the small mummy of a young crocodile, still kept in the museum.[11]

In the museum's archives, we also found a Lavrin's letter from 1838 discussing his intended donation to the Provincial Museum.[12] Among the objects, he offers to the museum, he mentions also an ibis mummy, some further animal mummies and a human mummy.

The research in the archive documents showed us clearly that Anton Lavrin donated the ibis mummy to the Provincial Museum of Carniola (now National Museum of Slovenia) in 1839 as a part of an extensive donation.

7 Freyer 1840b, 1.

8 Freyer 1840a, No. 103/91.

9 National Museum of Slovenia, Department of Archaeology, Inv. No. R 17341. Published in M. Pflaum – V. Pflaum 2011, 58f, sl. 5, 6; M. Pflaum 2014b.

10 Freyer 1840a, No. 103/91; Freyer 1840c, second unpaginated page, d. *Reptilien*, N. 91.

11 National Museum of Slovenia, Department of Archaeology, Inv. No. R 24110. Published in M. Pflaum – V. Pflaum 2011, 55, 57, sl. 4; M. Pflaum 2014c.

12 Laurin 1838; M. Pflaum – V. Pflaum 2011, 56.

The mummy

The ibis mummy is 30 cm long, almost completely black, and damaged in places, where bones and feathers are revealed. The mummy has no linen bandages and is very fragile. Bitumen was probably used in the mummification process, but we did not analyse the material (fig. 3).

The CT scanning[13] of the mummy showed that the mummy is not that of a whole bird, but contains only the long bones of both legs, some feathers and one folded wing with parts of the shoulder girdle.[14] The bundle further contained several stones and other binding material. Considering the length of the bones, the mummified ibis was identified as a specimen of the Glossy Ibis species (*Plegadis falcinellus*).[15]

The ceramic jar, originally containing the ibis mummy, is well preserved, 40.8 cm long, the rim's maximum diameter is 20 cm. The lid is not preserved, but there are abundant traces of the so-called mortar on the inside of the jar's rim, used to fix the lid to the jar. Spectroscopic analysis of the mortar showed that it is a mixture of gypsum and silicate sand as filler.[16]

The origin of the mummy

There are four main groups of Ancient Egyptian animal mummies.[17] The first group are the mummies added to graves as food for the deceased – for example whole animals or parts of animals in wooden cases, dried fish or dried roasted ducks. The second group are the mummies of domestic animals and pets – for example dogs, cats, gazelles, antelopes, monkeys and other animals. The third group of animal mummies are the mummies of sacred animals, which were worshiped during their lifetime because the spirit of a deity resided in them – for example mummified bulls of the Apis cult.

The animal mummies of the first three groups appeared throughout all the periods of Ancient Egypt's history.

The ibis mummy kept in the National Museum of Slovenia belongs to the fourth group of Ancient Egyptian animal mummies, which were mummified and buried as part of a cult in the Late Period (664–332 BC) and in extraordinary large

13 Realised by Dean Pekarovič, University Medical Centre Ljubljana, Institute of Radiology, in March 2009.

14 Janez Gregori, Slovenian Museum of Natural History, determined the bones.

15 Identified by Al Vrezec, Slovenian Museum of Natural History.

16 M. Pflaum – V. Pflaum 2011, 58f, sl. 7.

17 Ikram – Dodson 1998. Examples of various animal mummies in e.g. Catalogue général 1905.

Fig. 3: The state of the ibis mummy in 2008 (photo by: Miran Pflaum).

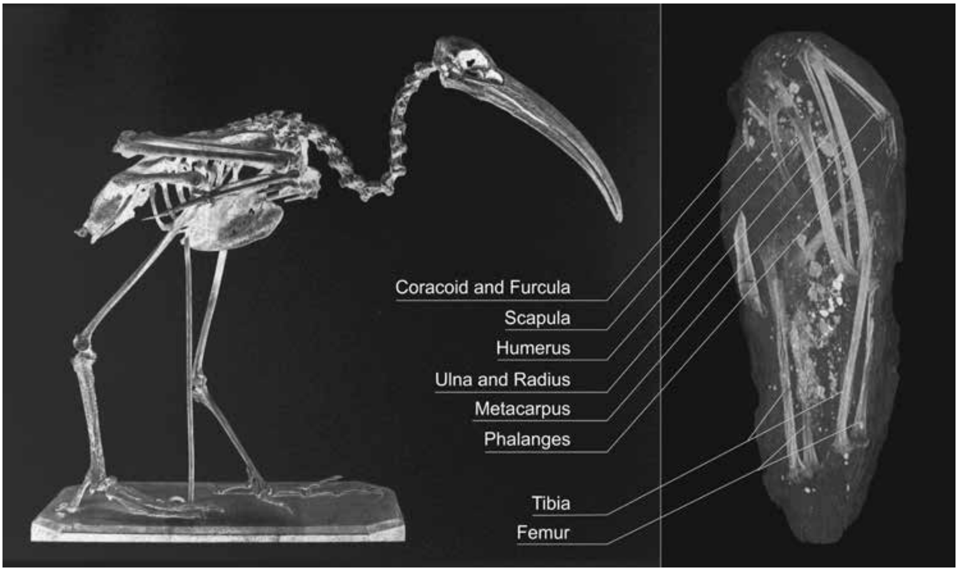

Fig. 4: Ancient Egyptian ibis skeleton compared to the CT scan of the ibis mummy from the National Museum of Slovenia (source of the ibis skeleton photo: Catalogue général 1905, No. 29562; CT scan of the ibis mummy by: Dean Pekarovič).

quantities particularly in the Ptolemaic Period (3rd–1st centuries BC). The custom finally became extinct only in the Roman era, by the 3rd century AD. This group contains a very wide array of mummified animals: cats, dogs, baboons, cattle, gazelles, sheep, snakes, fish and nearly every species of bird, but most frequently ibises and falcons.[18] The majority (over 90%) of the ibis mummies, researched up to now, belongs to the species of the Sacred Ibis (*Threskiornis aethiopicus*), and only a small part to the species of the Glossy Ibis (*Plegadis falcinellus*).[19] The ibis mummy kept in the National Museum of Slovenia belongs to the latter (fig. 4).

Up to now, over 120 sites or cemeteries of animal mummies from the Late Period have been discovered in Egypt.[20] Among them, the most important cemeteries of ibis mummies are for example Tuna el-Gebel, Saqqara, Kom Ombo and Abydos.

The Tuna el-Gebel necropolis is one of the largest and best-researched ibis

18 Boessneck – von den Driesch 1987, 42–46; Kessler 1989, 30–34; Nicholson 1994; Gautier – Hendrickx 1999; von den Driesch et alii 2005.
19 Boessneck – von den Driesch 1987; von den Driesch et alii 2005.
20 Kessler 1989, 17–29, Abb. 1.

cemeteries.[21] In this vast, several kilometres long and branched system of underground galleries more than one million ibises were buried in the course of the 700 years of its use (from the 7th century BC to the end of the 1st century BC).[22] The researchers of the necropolis have managed to link individual areas of the galleries to specific periods. They have also identified methods of mummification of ibises and forms of ceramic vessels for the mummies, typical of individual periods.[23] The older vessels in Tuna el-Gebel contained several bundles with bones, feathers and eggs of ibises and other bird species. The entire mummified birds are rare and date as late as the Ptolemaic Period.[24]

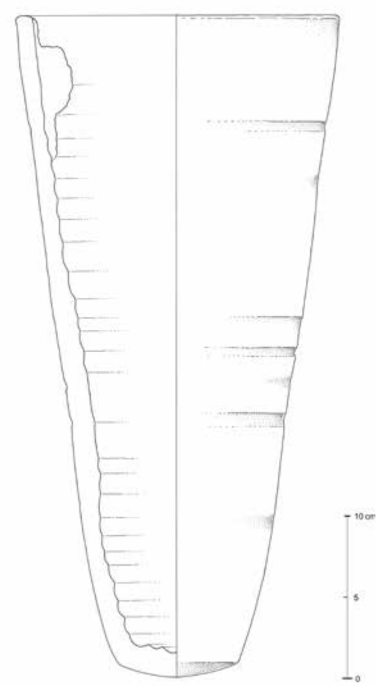

Fig. 5: The ceramic jar for the ibis mummy (drawing by: Ida Murgelj).

The second most important and largest ibis cemetery was discovered near Saqqara, in the so-called North and South Ibis Catacombs. The North Ibis Catacombs were discovered already in the 18th century and were well known in the 19th century, when they were researched and robbed, as well. In the 19th century they were visited by tourists and collectors, who were buying the ibis mummies. Local farmers used the mummies as manure until the World War II.[25]

The cemetery of the North Ibis Catacombs dates back to the Ptolemaic and Roman Periods, but unfortunately it has not been published adequately yet.[26] The existing reports on the research made so far show that the ceramic jar for the mummy from our museum is identical in size and form to the jars in which

21 Tuna el-Gebel I 1987; Kessler 1989, 194–219; von den Driesch et alii 2005; Kessler – Abd el-Halim Nur el-Din 1999; Kessler – Abd el-Halim Nur el-Din 2002; Steinmann 2003.

22 Von den Driesch et alii 2005, 203; Boessneck – von den Driesch 1987, 42 f.

23 Steinmann 2003; von den Driesch et alii 2005, 208–210, Fig. 3–13; Boessneck – von den Driesch 1987, 41.

24 Boessneck – von den Driesch 1987, 47–55; Kessler 2003, 45f; von den Driesch et alii 2005, 212–236, Tab. 2.

25 Nicholson – Jackson – Frazer 1999; Martin 1981, 3 f.

26 Emery 1965; Emery 1966; Martin 1981; Nicholson 1994; Nicholson 1996; Davies – Smith 1997.

ibis and falcon mummies were kept at this cemetery (fig. 5). Each jar contained a single mummy, but quite often, it is not the entire body of the animal.[27] We can therefore conclude that the ibis mummy kept in the National Museum of Slovenia most probably originates from the North Ibis Catacombs in Saqqara and that it dates from the Ptolemaic (3rd–1st centuries BC) or Roman Period (1st–2nd centuries AD) at this site.

Our research on the, at first sight, unattractive object from the Egyptian collection of the National Museum of Slovenia revealed us in the end an interesting small part of our museum's history and of the 19th-century cultural history, as well.

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27 Nicholson 1994, 6–9.

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MARIA STONA'S CHANCE ENCOUNTER WITH A RENOWNED EGYPTOLOGIST FLINDERS PETRIE. THE LOST AND FORGOTTEN OPAVA COLLECTION OF EGYPTIAN FINDS[*]

VERONIKA DULÍKOVÁ, Prague

„Vom Reisen
Schön ist es, im Buch der Welt zu lesen, in Städten zu blättern wie in den Blättern der Geschichte. Jede Reise vervielfacht den Tag und damit das Leben. Aber Reisen will gelernt sein wie alles. Man nütze jede Stunde. Man gebe sich der Fremde mit ganzer Seelen hin und lasse sie zu sich sprechen – denn sie erzählt so gern. Man öffne das dritte Ohr, um zu hören, und das dritte Auge, um zu sehen...“
Maria Stona[1]

One of the museums in the Czech Republic, which have kept Ancient Egyptian artifacts, was the museum in Opava. Destiny of the Egyptian collection acquired by the Museum of Applied Arts in Opava (Kaiser Franz Josef-Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe in Troppau)[2] shortly before the outbreak of the First World War is highly remarkable. At the beginning, there was the encounter of the poetess Marie Stona, a vigorous woman and a mettled traveler, with a man who took part in the archaeological excavation conducted by a renowned English Egyptologist William Matthew Flinders Petrie (1853–1942).

Poetess Maria Stona – visit to Egyptian desert and chance encounters

At the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries, Maria Stona, born Stonawski (1861–1944; fig. 1) used to invite many famous people from Europe to her castle at Třebovice. Stona's friend, Edmund Wilhelm Braun (1870–1957), the director of the Museum of Applied Arts in Opava, used to take part in these meetings.[3]

* This study was written within the Programme for the Development of Fields of Study at the Charles University, No. 14: Archaeology of non-European areas, sub-programme: Research of ancient Egyptian civilization. Cultural and political adaptation of the North African civilizations and ancient history (5000 BC-1000 AD).

1 Stona 1922, 3.

2 The museum, now called The Silesian Museum, was founded in 1883. For more information about history of museums in Opava, see e.g. Bittner et al. 1951; Opava 1987, 98 f.

3 For more information about "the Stona's saloon", see Šopák 1999.

Fig. 1: The portrait of Maria Stona from 1899 (The Silesian Museum, The Braun Archive, Opava, The Czech Republic).

Nevertheless, there is no evidence that W. M. F. Petrie would ever been to this cultural center, sometimes called "Silesian Weimar" or "Silesian Athens".[4] By happy coincidence, Maria Stona met Flinders Petrie in Egypt. With regard to the absence of entry in Petrie's diary or letters, as well as the fragmentary state of Stona's heritage,[5] three feuilletons – which Lady Stona published in Viennese *Neue Freie Presse* relatively late, after 10–13 years after her voyage around Egypt: *Die Königsgräber in Theben,*[6] *Bilder aus Aegypten. Kairo-Benihassan*[7] and *Bei Professor Flinders Petrie. Ein Besuch in der Wüste*[8] – are evidently the only preserved sources.

Maria Stona made a journey to Egypt in February 1913; in this period, Egypt became a popular destination of travelers and tourists.[9] Besides Cairo and Memphite pyramid fields, she visited Beni Hasan[10] and surroundings in the Middle Egypt, and she saw monuments on both banks of the Nile in Luxor (fig. 2).[11] Just there, on the ferryboat sailing to the Western Luxor bank, she met "an older Englishman" who afterwards joined the archaeological mission at Tarkhan conducted by W. M. Flinders Petrie.[12] Subsequently, Stona started to correspond with this man. An Englishman attached photos to his two letters, which motivated her to visit him on the way back to Cairo. After two weeks, a follow-up meeting was realized directly at Tarkhan,[13] where the fieldwork of the British School of Archaeology in Egypt took place.[14] There, Stona met a renowned archaeologist Flinders Petrie in person. He accepted her friendly in a courtyard of the field house where human mummies were arranged into long rows. The coloured coffins "*waren wie auf einen Schmetterlingsleib hingestrichen.*"[15] The wife of a famed Egyptologist, Hilda Petrie (1871–1956), invited a Silesian poetess for lunch. By "*treffliche englische Konserven aller Arten*" Flinders Petrie spoke not only about fieldwork and life in the desert, but also about his exploratory endeavors which denied a lot of hypotheses about

4 Šopák 1999, 126; Šopák 2008, 5. The author informs about Petrie's visit in Třebovice. It is known that his wife Hilda Petrie used to stay in Czechoslovakia and used to visit the president T. G. Masaryk (Navrátilová 2012).

5 Marie Stona, SZM, PPB.

6 Stona 1923.

7 Stona 1924.

8 Stona 1926.

9 Lemman 2007, 169; Navrátilová 2009, 560, 565 f.

10 Stona 1924.

11 Stona 1923.

12 Stona 1926, 2.

13 Stona 1926, 2.

14 Petrie 1913 and Petrie 1914.

15 Stona 1926, 2.

Fig. 2: The map of Egypt with highlighted localities visited by Maria Stona in 1913 (drawing by Lucie Vařeková).

Fig. 3: The temple Speos Artemidos which Stona visited together with two German Egyptologists (photo by Veronika Dulíková).

different aspects of Ancient Egyptian history. He also mentioned concern of the European museums over finds from the last excavation season. Afterwards, Lady Petrie guided her around interim "terrain museum", which served as a few-week-repository of all finds for the duration of archaeological dig. There, Stona saw pottery and stone vessels, ushabtis, scarabs, cosmetic pallets etc.[16] She characterized her guide as "*die trefflich geschulte unermüdliche Mitarbeiterin ihres Mannes*."[17] Her first impression of Mrs. Petrie corresponded with reality. Flinders Petrie's wife and a co-worker at the same time created her workroom directly in her "bedroom". The fragments of colored wooden coffins covered her bed one by one and she would depict them on the great sheets of paper. "*...at the head of my bed are 4 great cartonnage heads of mummy cases with staring faces, at the side are collections of alabasters and many bones hard by; at the foot of the bed are 80 skulls*."[18] Stona's one-day stop at Tarkhan,

16 Stona 1926, 2.

17 Stona 1926, 3.

18 Drower 1995, 325.

lasting few hours, came about shortly before the packing of all finds and its preparation for transport to the Great Britain.[19]

It is very interesting that apart from Petrie's team, Lady Stona met at least two other Egyptologists by mere chance. When she waited for the ferryboat to Beni Hasan, she encountered two Germans wearing desert clothing. "*Der Aeltere sah scharf und klug darein, dem Jüngeren schien Aegypten gleichgültig.*"[20] They traveled to see the Ancient Egyptian monuments and to make photo documentation for a deputy of the Institute of Egyptology in Leipzig.[21] Most likely, it was the tandem of Egyptologists – young Hermann Kees (1886–1964)[22] and Friedrich Wilhelm von Bissing (1873–1956),[23] the latter being already renowned at that time – they were on the research journey in Egypt and also visited numerous localities in the Middle Egypt in winter of 1912–1913.[24] Based solely on what he had learned on this journey and on the documentation taken in the tombs of officials buried in the Upper Egypt, H. Kees (according to Stona "negligent") published the study of the Egyptian provincial art.[25] Together with them Stona visited the rock-cut temple dedicated to goddess Pakhet and built by Queen Hatshepsut (fig. 3). "*Wunderbar war der Ort, den die Königin ausgesucht; sie liebte die starren, starken Felsen und die Stille der Wüste, in der nur die Stürme ihre wilden Lieder brausen.*"[26]

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19 Stona 1926, 3. Her visit of the excavation probably took place in the second half of February 1913. It was in this time when Hilda Petrie had already been there (she arrived on 6th February; Petrie 1914, 1). The three-week-long packing of all finds started shortly (at the end of February). In the middle of March, Flinders Petrie and his team moved to excavate the temple of Ptah in Mit Rahina (Petrie 1914, 1). Afterwards, the "ferry friend" sent a letter to Stona, together with a photo capturing the director of the fieldwork in front of a stone-built house of the expedition in Mit Rahina (Stona 1926, 3; Petrie – Mackay 1914).

20 Stona 1924, 2.

21 Stona 1924, 2.

22 H. Kees interested in history and development of Ancient Egyptian religion, as well as in Ancient Egyptian geography. For more information, see Bierbrier4 2012, 290–291 "Kees, Hermann Alexander Jakob (1886–1964)."

23 F. W. von Bissing collaborated on the general catalogue of objects in the Egyptian museum in Cairo. Together with Ludwig Borchardt he examined remains of Niuserre's sun temple at Abu Ghurab. Von Bissing is the author of about 600 studies about the Ancient Egypt. For more, see Bierbrier4 2012, 60–61 "Bissing, (Freiherr von) Friedrich Wilhelm (1873–1956)".

24 Kees 1921, Foreword (unnumbered page).

25 H. Kees dedicated this treatise (Kees 1921) to his supervisor, friend and fellow-traveller F. W. von Bissing for the opportunity to learn from Bissings's remarkable experience and knowledge of the country during his first study traveling in Egypt.

26 Stona 1924, 3.

Woes of a solitary female traveler

As a solo female traveler and a foreigner, Stona rather stands out as an exception since the travelers to Egypt were mostly males.[27] However, there are some statistics showing the number of Austro-Hungarian women who were working and living in Egypt.[28] The advantage of individual traveling was emphasized in few passages of Stona's feuilletons. "*Bei jeder Reise gibt es Augenblicke, in der die Unannehmlichkeiten den Höhepunkt erreichen. In solchen Momenten entzweien sich friedliche Gatten und Freunde rasen als Feinde auseinander. Der Vorteil liegt immer beim Alleinreisenden. Er verzieht sich eine begangene Torheit mit einem Lächeln.*"[29]

In the foreign country, Stona tried to behave with respect to local traditions and dwellers; "*...Kam ein reitender Fellah mir entgegen, grüßte ich höflich, indem ich die Rechte an Stirn und Herz legte.*"[30] On the contrary, Stona faced some negative experiences due the fact of not being familiar with local conditions and Arabic language.

As soon as Stona got off the train at the railway station in Abu Kirkas, "*Hier stürzten zwanzig Eseljungen zu mir und rissen an meinen Taschen. Doch diesmal wollte ich den Esel selber aussuchen; [...]. Ein Aegypter und ein glatt rasierter Engländer warnten mich, die Tour allein zu machen, sie sei gefährlich. 'Ich täte es nicht', wiederholte der Engländer. Doch der Bahnbeamte, den ich fragte, beruhigte mich und versprach mich einen Mann zur Begleitung zu besorgen. Der kam und mochte etwa vierzehn Jahre zählen wie mein Eseljunge. Ich schwang mich in den Sattel, Steigbügel gab er ich. 'Spricht einer von euch Englisch?' fragte ich die Burschen. 'Yes – yes – yes!' brüllten sie mir entgegen. Doch außer 'Yes' verstanden sie kein Wort.*"[31]

Nevertheless, neither of these young Arabs accompanying her was no guarantee that uncomfortable situations would avoid her. The next moment, while waiting for ferry, following case arose: "*Dann kam ein sehr schönes Fellahweib zu mir, mit königlichem Lächeln. Ich bewunderte die tätowierte Zeichnung der schwarzen Blüten, di sie auf Stirn und Kinn trug. Eine andere zog unter ihrem Kleiderbündel ein unsagbar häßliches Kind hervor, bei dem ich die schwarzen Blattern zu sehen meinte, legte es auf meine Arme und machte Gebärden, als och ich es für immer behalten und nach Europa mitnehmen sollte. Es hatte das Gewicht einer Lotosblüte, obwohl es vier bis fünf Monate alt sein mochte. Ich trachtete eilend, ihr das Kind wieder zurückzugeben, und die kleine Mutterfreude kostete*

27 Lemmen 2007, 170.

28 For more see Holaubek 2008.

29 Stona 1924, 3.

30 Stona 1924, 2.

31 Stona 1924, 2.

mich einen größeren Bakschisch. Alle sprachen liebevoll auf mich ein, lachten und starrten mich an, wie wir die Singalesen in zoologischen Gärten anstaunen. Ich kam mir zwischen den schwarzen Köpfen bald wie eine fremde scheußliche Abart der menschlichen Rasse vor."[32] Meanwhile, as Stona felt distressed by awkward situation, she met abovementioned German Egyptologists. "'*Sie sind allein und verstehen nicht Arabisch?*' wunderten sich die Fremden. '*Das ist doch ein wenig riskiert.*'"[33]

When Stona came back from the rock-cut tombs, other unpleasant situation happened to her in the same place where a woman forced the baby upon her a couple of hours earlier. After the ferryman and her two young companions set her on the shore, she was surrounded by women and children. "*Hände streckten sich mir entgegen, 'Bakschisch! Bakschisch!' Ich sah mich plötzlich von einer heulenden Menge umgeben, spürte Hände über meine Glieder tasten und wollte fliehen – doch scharf riß es mich zurück, an meiner Jacke hingen fremde Fäuste. Ich glaubte, im nächsten Augenblick niedergeworfen und ausgeplündert zu werden. Da schrie eine Männerstimme neben mir auf – der Fährmann war mir zu Hilfe geeilt, weiß vor Wut hieb er mit dem Ruder nach rechts und links, schlug die Weiber, warf sie zur Seite und tobte gegen meine Araber, daß sie mir nicht zu helfen gewußt. Diese verteidigten sich, indem sie auf die Ueberzahl wiesen. Nachdem mein Befreier alle Angreifer davongejagt wie einen sausenden Schwarm schwarzer Hummel, schwang mich auf mein Reittier und jagte davon.*"[34]
The Silesian poetess has had fortune in misadventure during the both described inconveniences. When she got into a situation from which she could see no way out, a native or a streetwise has appeared who helped her.

Egypt through the eyes of Silesian writer

Maria Stona traveled with then the most popular guidebook Baedecker and took photos by the camera Kodak.[35] Usually, somebody from the local dwellers, most often a teenager, would accompany her to ancient localities; and Stona rode their donkey.

Sightseeing comprises the framework of all three Stona's feuilletons, whereas her experiences, observations and impressions of both Pharaonic and contemporary Egypt predominate. Stona was attentive to all she had seen around. She describes busy atmosphere of markets, working peasants, appearance and behavior of

32 Stona 1924, 2.
33 Stona 1924, 2.
34 Stona 1924, 3.
35 Stona 1923, 1 f. Stona refers to a young Arabic guide who carried her Baedecker and Kodak to lift the burden from her in hot weather.

people – everything in a poetical way. Her text is interspersed with several excurses to history; her sources being obviously Baedecker and the narration of Mr. and Mrs. Petrie. She supplemented descriptions of the tomb decorations in the Valley of the Kings with information concerning the Ancient Egyptian thought-world.[36] Her enthusiastic and almost romantic admiration of field circumstances of Petrie's expedition is evident in her depiction of the archaeological exploration at Tarkhan.[37] Concerning the journey from homeland to Egypt and back, Stona offers no information. Similarly, there is no report on hotels in which she stayed, neither on comfort in the Egyptian trains.

Observing landscape, Lady Stona used to find parallels not only to Ancient times: "*Ein Fellah ging mit zwei schönen Ochsen neben einem ganz primitiven Pflug her, wie er seit Urzeiten die Erde durchschneidet. Büffel, Esel, Schafe, Ziegen – alles was da weidete, war an Pflöcke geseilt."*[38], but also surprisingly to her motherland: *"Vor mir breitete sich der Frieden grüner Auen – Hafer und Weizen standen hoch, die Luft war kühl, auf braunem Acker hackten die Leute, zogen Furchen für die Baumvollkulturen, und da die Araber lange Hemden trugen, die wie Unterröcke aussahen, glichen sie, von der Ferne gesehen, den Arbeiterinnen meiner Heimat.*"[39]

One year before Stona set out for a journey to Egypt, another Silesian writer, the duchess Mechtilde Lichnowsky (1879–1958), had visited the land on Nile in very beginning of 1912.[40] Apart from the country in which they lived, German was a mother tongue for both women and they also both favored recording their impressions from traveling in the diaries, their notes from Egypt were released. Whereas Stona published at least three feuilletons, Mechtilde Lichnowsky on the contrary composed the best-seller interlarded with her drawings which were created right in Egypt during her stay.[41] For example, a poet Rainer Maria Rilke was charmed by her first fruit of her work.[42] Both the way of travel and the length of their itinerary were different. The duchess Lichnowsky traveled together with her husband and she sightsaw more than Maria Stona.[43] However, Stona's journey had much greater overlap than a mere publication of three newspaper articles in *Neue Freie Presse*. Owing to her contact with professor Flinders Petrie and her financial support, the small Egyptian collection originated in the Museum of Applied Arts in Opava.

36 Stona 1923, 3.

37 Stona 1926, 2 f.

38 Stona 1924, 2.

39 Stona 1924, 2.

40 Lichnowsky 1935. For more about this interesting woman, see Šírová 1998 and 2001; for an essay on Lichnowsky's visit to Egypt, see Holaubek 2006.

41 Lichnowsky 1935.

42 Šírová 1998 and Šírová 2001; Holaubek 2006.

43 Lichnowsky 1935; Holaubek 2006.

The lost and forgotten Opava collection of Egyptian finds

In the same year when Maria Stona visited Egypt (1913), she had purchased a small set of Egyptian finds from Flinders Petrie which she donated to the Museum of Applied Arts in Opava, whose then director Edmund Wilhelm Braun was her friend. This collection included an anthropoid mummy case, two pottery vessels, a bronze can with handle, two Egyptian alabaster vessels, a palette and three pebbles to grind cosmetics, three bead necklaces and a scarab.[44] Thus, 13 objects from Egypt of total price 490 crowns (ca. 20.3 £) were registered in Opava in the last day of 1913. The cartonnage mummy case was reported as "mummy" in the accession book and represented the most expensive item of the whole collection (300 crowns = ca. 12 £; tab. 1). An additional note in the accession book accompanied the coffin and dated the object to the Graeco-Roman Period (332 B.C.–395 A.D.).[45] According to the typology, it is evident that the mummy case was older and came from the Third Intermediate Period, exactly 22nd Dynasty, and could be found at Lahun or in another locality in the Middle Egypt.[46] A bronze can was dated to the same period as the abovementioned mummy case; its provenance being not known.

The other items sent from London to Opava were found during the four-month-long archaeological season of the British School of Archaeology in Egypt at the turn of 1912 and 1913 in the Middle Egypt. These objects were originally a part of burial equipment. The bulk of them came from Tarkhan and they are dated to the time of Egyptian state formation (Early Dynastic Period),[47] at least three items come from the New Kingdom and originated from Riqqa.[48]

Size of the collection of the Egyptian finds in Opava was notably affected by both world wars, since the outbreak of the First World War stopped its previewed enlargement[49] and the Second World War meant its destruction, loss or stealing. The set of the Egyptian finds was part of the museum collections in Opava for about 30 years. Up to the present day, its fraction survived, probably only a stone vessel made from Egyptian alabaster and the mummy case which is now part of

44 The Accession Book (Přírůstková kniha) of SZM, 70–71, nos. 1913.295–1913.307.

45 The Accession Book (Přírůstková kniha) of SZM, 70.

46 The mummy case was typologically determined by Pavel Onderka. For description of the object, see Dulíková – Onderka 2012.

47 For the latest contributions to the necropolis at Tarkhan, see Grajetzki 2004 and Grajetzki 2008.

48 The fieldwork of the British School of Archaeology in Egypt conducted by Reginald Engelbach took place in 1912–1914. Engelbach 1915; Richards 2005, 88–124.

49 In 1914, the other set of Egyptian finds was assembled in London, supposed to enlarge then recently established Opava collection. PMA, Distribution List, 1914 Lahun, Harageh, sheets 24 and 54; see also Dulíková 2011,78 f.; Dulíková 2012, 91.

Acquisition number	Collection item	Dation	Provenance	Purchase price / value (K)	Current location
1913.295	»Egyptian mummy«	Ptolemaic Period (305–30 B.C.)		300	National museum, Náprstek Museum of Asian, African and American Cultures, Inv. No. P 631
1913.296	bronze can with handle	Graeco-Roman Period (332 B.C. – 395 A.D.)	Kafr Ammar?	80	lost?
1913.297	ovoid pottery vessel (wine/beer jar?)	Early Dynastic Period, 1st Dynasty (ca. 3150–2930 B.C.)	Tarkhan	20	lost
1913.298	cylindric pottery vessel	Early Dynastic Period, 1st Dynasty (ca. 3150–2930 B.C.)	Tarkhan	20	lost
1913.299	Egyptian alabaster vessel	Early Dynastic Period, 1st Dynasty (ca. 3150–2930 B.C.)	Tarkhan	40	lost
1913.300	Egyptian alabaster vessel	Early Dynastic Period, 1st Dynasty (ca. 3150–2930 B.C.)	Tarkhan		Silesian museum, Archaeological department
1913.301–304	palette and three pebbles to grind cosmetics	Early Dynastic Period, 1st Dynasty (ca. 3150–2930 B.C.)	Tarkhan	10	lost
1913.305	bead necklace	New Kindom, 18th Dynasty (ca. 1543–1292 B.C.)	Riqqa	20	lost
1913.306	bead necklace and scarab	New Kindom, 18th Dynasty (ca. 1543–1292 B.C.)	Riqqa		lost?
1913.307	bead necklace	New Kindom, 18th Dynasty (ca. 1543–1292 B.C.)	Riqqa		lost?
				in total 490	

Table 1: Egyptian finds acquired by the Museum of Applied Arts in Opava from Maria Stona in the year 1913.

the Egyptian collection in the National Museum, the Náprstek Museum of Asian, African and American Cultures in Prague (fig. 4).[50]

50 Dulíková – Onderka 2012, The Accession Book of NM, NpM, Inv. No. P 631. For more detailed study of the objects and comparison of the Opava acquisition book with the London list of items prepared to be transported to Opava, see Dulíková 2011 and 2012. Lost and subsequently forgotten collection was not included in the register of Egyptian objects in the area of Czechoslovakia / the Czech Republic (Verner 1965; Onderka et al. 2001) and it is not included in the distribution list of objects from the EEF excavations to the European institutions (Stevenson 2014, especially Appendix).

Fig. 4: An anthropoid coffin from the Opava collection of Egyptian finds, moved to the Náprstek Museum in Prague after the Second World War (Collections of The National Museum, The Náprstek Museum of Asian, African and American Cultures in Prague, The Czech Republic, Inv. No. P 631).

As well as the Opava collection of the Egyptian finds, similar destiny befell Lady Maria Stona who was at its beginnings. After more than one hundred years, partly lost and forgotten group of objects, just as her personality and her work finally draw well-earned attention.

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EGYPTIAN, PERSIAN, PHRYGIAN, NURAGHIC, GOTHIC OR CLASSICAL GREEK? THE UNDERSTANDING OF AEGEAN BRONZE AGE MONUMENTS IN THE 18TH-19TH CENTURIES*

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Introduction

When a Classical archaeologist specializing in Aegean Prehistory, such as myself, meets Egyptology, one of the most remarkable points is the striking difference in the history of discovery and of research. Classical Antiquity was continuously present in European minds, from Late Antiquity throughout the medieval period; and the Renaissance led into the study of ancient architecture and sculpture, resulting in what we call Classical Archaeology, today.[1] In the case of Egypt, some distinct points of reference existed throughout the ages as well, and this is in spite of its considerable geographical distance from Southern, central and Western Europe. Ancient Greek and Roman imitations of Egyptian monuments, such as the Cestius pyramid in Rome, as well as iconographical and written sources dealing with Egypt in classical antiquity constituted meeting-points through the ages and the geographical regions.[2] Thus, initially, ancient Egypt was mainly viewed through the foreign lens of classical Greece and Rome.[3]

In contrast to ancient Egypt, a pronounced cultural break took place on Greek soil between the Aegean civilization of the 3rd and 2nd millennia BCE and the period of classical antiquity. In classical Greece, the tradition of its prehistoric past was reduced to a minimum. Only a few sites and tomb monuments of the Bronze Age could be seen to a greater extent and they were connected with heroes such as Agamemnon, Clytaimnestra and Achilleus as well as with mythological creatures such as the Cyclopes.[4] In the Middle Ages, the Renaissance and the succeeding periods in Europe, it is no wonder that Troy, Ithaca and other Homeric

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1 See, e.g., Schnapp 2009, 135–195; Greenblatt 2011.

2 Curl 1982; Humbert 1989; Humbert 1994; Syndram 1990; Seipel 2000.

3 Syndram 1990; Maderna 2005; Tietze 2005, 87–209.

4 See esp. Antonaccio 1995; Boardman 2002.

sites as well as artifactual props such as dresses and weapons were represented in contemporaneous, familiar manner.[5] This is mainly due to the complete ignorance of monuments, finds and sources of the Greek Bronze Age tradition itself.[6] However, as regards Aegean prehistory, things are even more complicated: until the 19th century, most scholars believed that they could understand the prehistory of Greece by reading the Homeric epic with its descriptions of people, stories and monuments. From the point of view of modern archaeology, this path of classicism was methodologically certainly erroneous. Leaving aside a few exceptions, Homer hardly provides any information about the Aegean Bronze Age.

Given this confusing situation, the archaeology of the prehistoric Aegean did not begin earlier than the excavation work by Heinrich Schliemann at Troy since 1870; this, however, constitutes a site which is in fact untypical of Aegean civilization.[7] As for Mycenaean Greece, without any doubt, the starting point of real archaeological research were Schliemann's first activities at Mycenae in 1874[8] which were followed by field-work and studies in different regions on the Greek Mainland and the Aegean islands. On the island of Crete, the preconditions for archaeological research were even more complicated and caused a longer delay in the exploration of the Minoan palace culture. For internal political reasons, larger archaeological projects undertaken by Greek or foreign European scholars were almost absent in Crete during the 19th century.[9] The very starting-point of 'Minoan Archaeology' can only be fixed in the year 1900, when Arthur Evans began excavation work in Knossos and the Italian School of Archaeology began to excavate at Phaistos.[10] Therefore, during the first decade of the 20th century, when the scholarly image of Aegean Bronze Age cultures was completed for the first time, Ancient Egypt had already experienced a vivid history of research. By that time, an enormous number of pharaonic monuments, impressive find-objects and images were known and accessible in museums, and Egyptian hieroglyphs could be read already for almost a century.

Thus, the question I will raise in this paper is: what ideas and associations did European travellers and scholars have in mind, when they encountered Aegean

5 Büttner 2001; Luckhardt 2001; Reichert 2006; Cupane 2008; Montanari 2008.

6 For the early history of research on the Bronze Age Aegean, see Warren 1972; Fitton 1995a, 28–46; Polychronopoulou 1999, esp. 52–62; Krzyszkowska 2000; Finn 2002; Blakolmer 2004b; Fotiadis 2006; D'Agata 2010.

7 Cf. e.g., Dickinson 2012.

8 Dickinson 1976; Döhl 1981; McDonald – Thomas 1990, 9–79; Herrmann 1991; Fitton 1995a, 48–103.

9 Brown 1993, 35–84; Brown 2001; Fitton 1995a, 115–148; McEnroe 2002; Karadimas – Momigliano 2004; Kopaka 2004; D'Agata 2010.

10 McDonald – Thomas 1990, 113–168; Fitton 1995a, 47–148; MacEnroe 1995; Beschi – Di Vita – La Rosa – Pugliese Carratelli – Rizza 2001.

Bronze Age monuments in Mycenae and on other sites during the late 18th and the 19th century before systematic excavations by Schliemann, Tsountas, Evans and others? Which cultural character did they attribute to Bronze Age objects and monumental stone-walls on Greek soil which were hardly connected with classical antiquity? Let me guide you therefore to the prehistory of Aegean Prehistory by focusing on the Mycenaean Mainland.

Visiting Mycenaean sites

Leslie Fitton concluded that, while the Bible gave the impulse for the exploration of the Ancient Near East, in the Aegean it was Homer who functioned as the catalyst of investigating the so-called 'Heroic period' of Greece.[11] However, in contrast to Schliemann's story of the discovery of Troy, the Bronze Age sites on the Greek Mainland were generally not investigated 'with Homer in the hands' but rather by reading Pausanias.[12] As was frequently the case in the archaeology of Greece, the description and attribution of monuments in the "*Periegesis tes Hellados*" by the ancient historian Pausanias has been utilized by European travellers in order to attain also some imagination of pre-classical sites, monuments, stories and heroes even without their ever having stepped on Greek soil. Therefore, by the 17th throughout the 19th centuries, travelling in the Peloponnese did not so much mean to discover and to explore unknown ancient sites but in fact to visit and to localize 'well-known' places, to identify visible monuments according to the attributions by Pausanias, Strabo and Homer in the classical period. For this reason, e. g., Edward Clarke, on his visit at Mycenae in 1801, concluded that Mycenae is still in that state as if Pausanias had left it only one hour before.[13]

In the following, I will present the most essential Bronze Age monuments on the Mycenaean Greek Mainland as comprehended, interpreted and attributed by early travellers in order to give an impression of the associations and attitudes at that time. These monuments were situated mainly at Mycenae itself but also in Tiryns and Orchomenos.

Mycenae

In contrast to what one would expect today in the light of modern Classicism, prehistoric Mycenae was one of the ancient sites in Greece which was most frequently visited and documented by European travellers in the late

11 Fitton 1995a, 28.
12 See esp. Wace 1954.
13 Polychronopoulou 1999, 54.

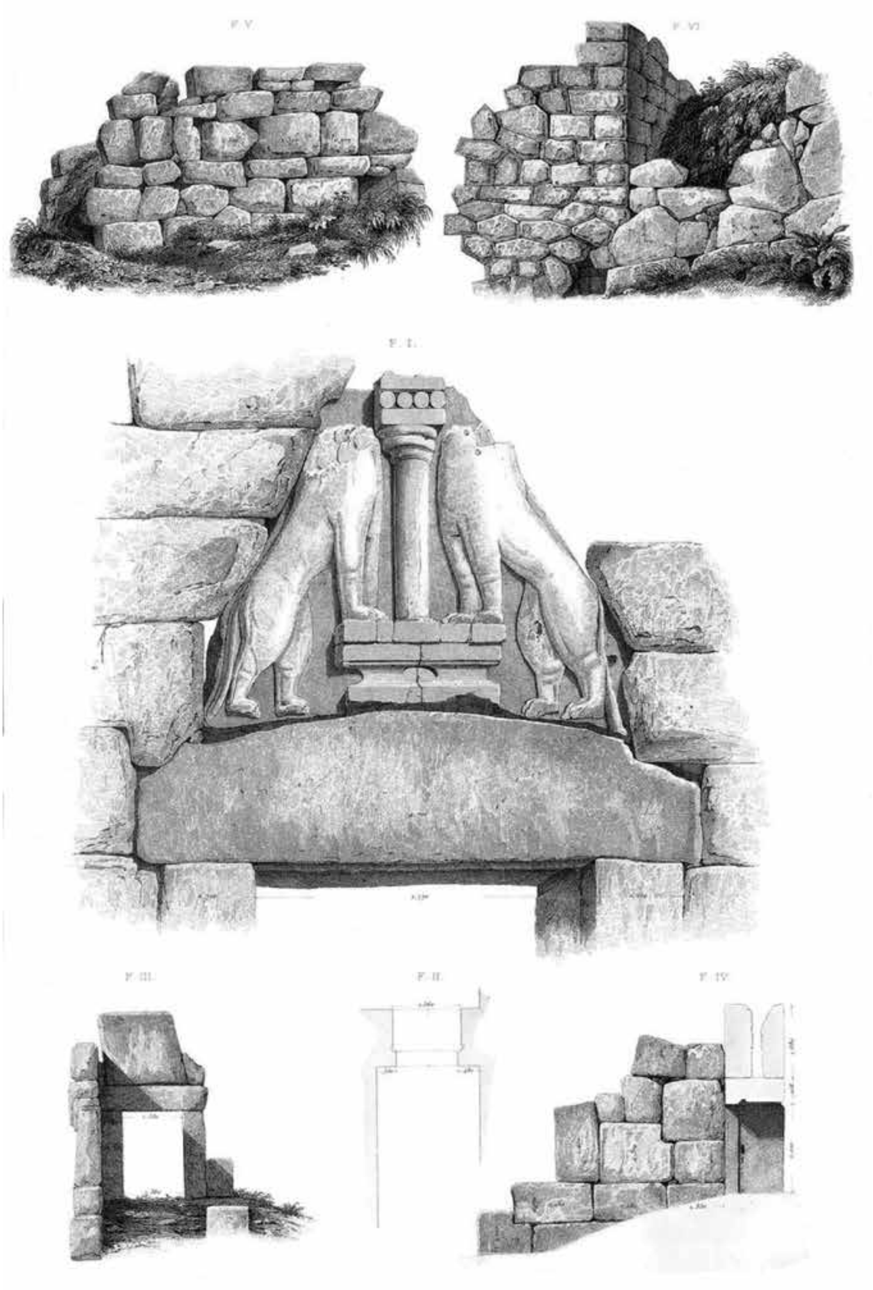

Fig. 1: Citadel walls of Mycenae, drawings by Abel Blouet, 1829 (after Blouet et al. 1833, pl. 65, after p. 153); URL: http://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/blouet1833/0229/image?sid=90e5bd46f9e6dba0d13c6056d30b3dad#current_page (27. 1. 2014).

18th and 19th centuries. The localization of the ancient site goes back already to the 1660s.[14] Elisabeth B. French and John Lavery have counted not less than 61 individuals whose visit at Mycenae is documented between 1669 and 1862, and there were certainly many more.[15] From the 1780s on, monuments at Mycenae were depicted in paintings and more closely described. Around 1840, Christopher Wordsworth as well as Théodore du Moncel concluded that the monumental citadel walls of Mycenae could still be seen in their entire length.[16]

Thanks to the description and attribution to the mythical Cyclopes by Pausanias and due to the monumental and mostly rough style of masonry of the citadel walls of Mycenae, the great antiquity of these walls was clear from the beginning. As Olga Polychronopoulou remarked, the Cyclopean walls were dated to a primitive, prehistoric period *before* Homer by most scholars of that time.[17] However, a closer attribution of the Cyclopean mural style caused some major problems. At that time, monumental walls built of rough, huge stone-blocks in pre-classical Greece often were categorized as "*Cyclopean or Pelasgic remains*", as formulated by Edward Dodwell in 1834.[18] When admiring the citadel walls during his visit at Mycenae in 1801, Edward Daniel Clarke felt reminded of what he called the "*Celtic*" architecture of Stonehenge.[19] In 1805, Edward Dodwell associated the monumental walls of Mycenae with the 'cyclopean' walls in prehistoric Italy,[20] and Edgar Quinet saw the Cyclopean walls of Mycenae in connection with the Near East.[21] We owe to Abel Blouet, a further participant of the French 'Expédition de Morée' (1829–1831), one of the finest drawings of parts of the Late Mycenaean citadel wall of Mycenae (fig. 1) dating to 1829 and presenting different styles of large scale masonry.[22] Greatest attention, though, was paid to two distinct and well-preserved monuments at Mycenae, the largest Mycenaean tholos tomb called 'Treasury of Atreus' and the most impressive citadel entrance of the Aegean Bronze Age, that is the Lion Gate.

14 See Lavery – French 2003, 1–2 with further references; Buscemi 2010, 67 f.
15 Lavery – French 2003, 5.
16 See Tsigakou 1982, 156 f.; Blakolmer 2010b, 55, fig. 10
17 Polychronopoulou 1999, 59.
18 Dodwell 1834.
19 Clarke 1812, 492–514; Polychronopoulou 1999, 59.
20 Dodwell 1819, 241; Polychronopoulou 1999, 58.
21 Quinet 1830, 189; Polychronopoulou 1999, 59.
22 Blouet et al. 1833, pl. 65 (after p. 153); URL: http://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/blouet1833/0229/image?sid=90e5bd46f9e6dba0d13c6056d30b3dad#current_page (13. 8. 2012); Polychronopoulou 1999, fig. on p. 61.

Fig. 2: Lion Gate of Mycenae, painting by Karl Wilhelm von Heideck, ca. 1827 (after Schuchhardt 1931, pl. V, facing p. 88).

The Lion Gate at Mycenae

Although the earliest reference to the Lion Gate[23] (fig. 2) in modern times goes back to the Venetian architect Francesco Vandeyk in 1700,[24] the debate regarding this hitherto unique monument from the heyday of Mycenaean palace culture, during the 13th century BCE, started not earlier than around 1800. On his visit to Mycenae in 1805, William Gell defined the large-scale relief image at the Lion Gate as the only sculpture from the heroic period of Greece.[25] By interpreting the felines

23 For this monument, see Wace 1921–23a; Aström – Blomé 1964; Mylonas 1965; Hiller 1973; Shaw 1986; Bloedow 1996. For its dating to LH III B1, see esp. French 1989, 125.
24 Wace 1921–23a, 15 f.; Lavery – French 2003, 1 f. with further references. For the early history of research on the Lion Gate, see Aström – Blomé 1964; Blakolmer 2010b; Blakolmer 2010c.
25 Gell 1810a, 36.

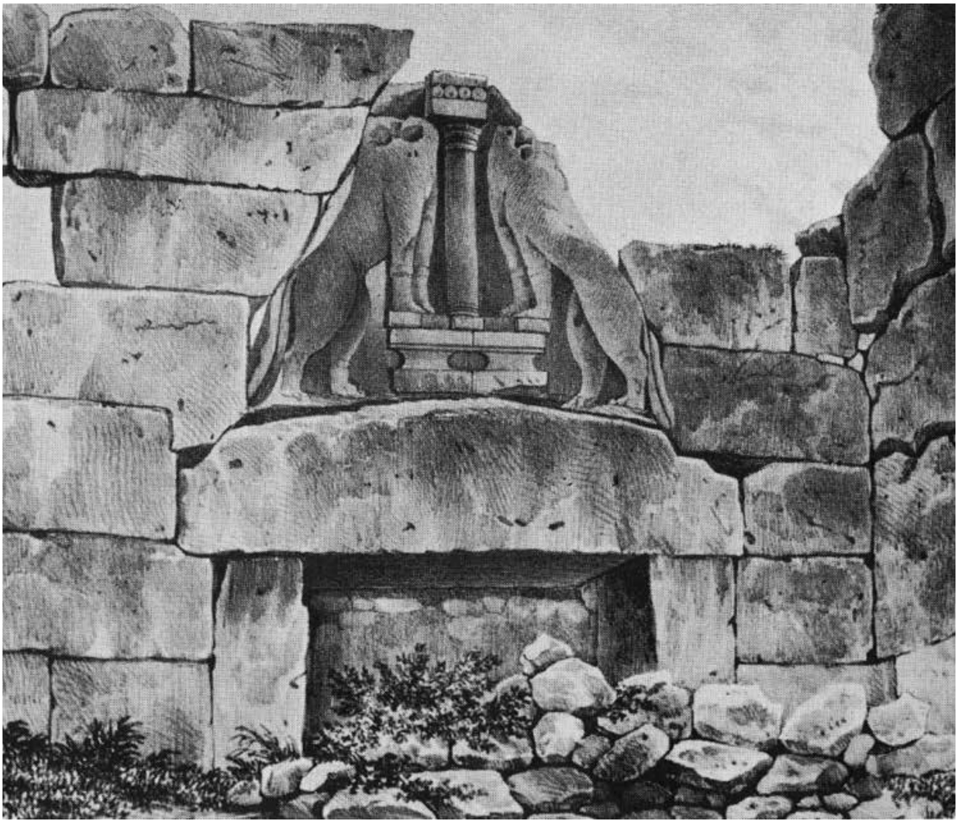

Fig. 3: Lion Gate of Mycenae, drawing by Edward Dodwell, 1805 (after Vermeule 1964, pl. XVII B).

as lionesses or panthers,[26] Gell not only mistrusted the description by Pausanias; the felines as well as the pillar and the other architectonic elements led him also to ascribe the motif as a symbol of Mithras or Apollo.[27] Especially in the first half of the 19th century, the relief image was often connected to Persian religion as well as Mithraic fire altars and sculpture,[28] an association which, obviously, did not exclude an understanding in connection with classical Apollo. In 1805, Edward Dodwell not only drew the Lion Gate of Mycenae (fig. 3), he also emphasised the non-classical character of the relief image and saw it in connection with Apollo and Persian solar worship.[29] When Carl Haller von Hallerstein visited Mycenae in

26 Aström – Blomé 1964, 160; De Grummond 1996, 684.
27 Gell 1810a, 37 f.; Aström – Blomé 1964, 160.
28 Gell 1810b, 29–35; Dodwell 1819, 239 f.; Aström – Blomé 1964, 160 f.
29 Dodwell 1819, 239 f.; Aström – Blomé 1964, 160; Blakolmer 2010b, 51 f., fig. 5.

1810 and 1811, he judged the relief of the Lion Gate: „*Nach seinem Styl scheint es ein egyptisches Kunstwerk zu sein.*“[30] On his visit in 1811, the French writer and statesman François René de Chateaubriand concluded about the Lion Gate: „*Not even in Egypt I have seen such an impressive architecture, and the desert surrounding it is even adding to its splendour.*“[31] Citing Herodotos as a reference, Karl Otfried Müller, in 1820, associated the lions above the gate of Mycenae with a Lydian symbol of power.[32] In 1830, Edgar Quinet ascribed the relief bloc of the Lion Gate a cultural position somewhere in „*le milieu entre le style orientale et les premiers rudiments du style éginétique*”,[33] meaning between the Oriental arts and classical Greek sculpture. In 1838, Colonel William Mure saw the column in the Lion Gate relief as a symbol of Apollo Agyieus, the protector of doors, characterized by a baityl in antiquity.[34] By interpreting the lions as wolves, he reinforced the connection with Apollo Lykeios, a further protector of entrances in classical Greece.[35] In his interpretation of 1842, Carl Wilhelm Göttling also placed emphasis on the unusual form of the column and identified it as a „*Phallus-Hermessäule*“, a protecting herm in the classical sense.[36] During the 1850s, interpretations of the column as a symbol alluding to Apollo Agyieus or Hermes became more common.[37] According to Désiré Raoul-Rochette in 1848, the relief of the Lion Gate constituted “*une oeuvre purement assyro-phénicienne*“[38] – a judgment shared also by the orientalist Georg Friedrich Grotefend in 1851.[39] Even in 1888, the iconography of the Lion Gate relief was related to Phrygian sculpture and dated to the 8th century.[40] The association with Asia Minor was often also due to its ascription by Pausanias as being a work of the Cyclopes coming from Lycia.

30 Bankel 1986, 117.

31 Translation of the German quotation given by Tsigakou 1982, 156 („Nicht einmal in Ägypten habe ich eine solch beeindruckende Architektur gesehen, und die Wüste, die sie umgibt, fügt noch zusätzlich zu ihrer Großartigkeit hinzu.“); de Chateaubriant 1811; Polychronopoulou 1999, 57.

32 Müller 1820, 18; Aström – Blomé 1964, 161. See in general Calder – Schlesier 1998, 463, fig. 1.

33 Quinet 1830, 189; quoted after Polychronopoulou 1999, 57.

34 Mure 1842, 166 f. Cf. also Perrot – Chipiez 1894, 800 f.

35 Mure 1838, 256; Mure 1842, 167 f. See also Evans 1901, 157 n. 3; Aström – Blomé 1964, 161–165.

36 Göttling 1842; Göttling 1851, V f., 52 f. See also Evans 1901, 157 with n. 6; Aström – Blomé 1964, 162.

37 Aström – Blomé 1964, 162 f.

38 Raoul-Rochette 1848, 55 f. 73 f.; quoted after Aström – Blomé 1964, 162.

39 Grotefend 1851, esp. 339; Aström – Blomé 1964, 162.

40 Ramsay 1888, esp. 369–371.

The high attention paid to the Lion Gate is demonstrated also by the fact that already in 1841, four years after its foundation, the Greek Archaeological Society at Athens partly removed the debris on the terrace in front of the door,[41] which can be remarked also in the coloured lithograph by Théodore du Moncel from 1843.[42] Thus, similar to other ancient monuments and despite its 'pre-classical' origin, the Lion Gate was the subject of the systematic re-Hellenization of the Greek nation.[43] The philologist Wilhelm Vischer, after his visit to Mycenae in 1853, rated the relief block of the Lion Gate „*das älteste Bildwerk Griechenlands und wohl ganz Europas*",[44] thus assessing it as an integral part of the art history of Ancient Greece. Exactly the opposite view was expressed in 1857 by the archaeologist Ernst Curtius who emphasized that this relief image, although being the earliest monument of European sculpture and to be associated with Apollo Agyieus, its style is „*so fremdartig, dass nichts an ihm griechisch genannt werden kann*", even the form of the column differed from classical Greek architecture.[45] Nevertheless, the association of the Lion Gate with Agamemnon appeared obvious to Curtius, „*wie auch Agamemnon nach alter Ueberlieferung ein löwenköpfiges Schreckbild als Schildzeichen führte*".[46] In early representations of the Lion Gate, non-classical elements of Aegean architecture such as the column tapering downwards occasionally have been 'corrected' and adapted to the classical style.[47] Sometimes the column was also taken as 'turned upside down' deserving some explanation. Enigmatic architectural elements such as the round beam ends in the entablature were also sometimes interpreted by means of mythology and symbolic ideas of classical antiquity. During the 19th century, ideas, drawings and reconstructions were strongly coined, on one hand, by Classicism. A variety of deities of the classical Greek pantheon were brought into relation with the relief of the Lion Gate.[48] On the other hand, given the obvious non-classical character of the monument, associations with Asia Minor, the Orient and Egypt as well as with Nuraghic Sardinia and megalithic Stonehenge were drawn.

41 Rangabé 1842, 9; Mylonas 1983, 18; Polychronopoulou 1999, 113; Lavery – French 2003, 2.

42 For this painting in the Benaki Museum in Athens, see du Moncel 1843; Blakolmer 2010b, 55, fig. 10. See also the painted view of Mycenae by du Moncel reproduced in Tsigakou 1982, 156, fig. 57.

43 See Heydenreuther – Murken – Wünsche 1993; Marchand 1996; Voutsaki 2003.

44 Vischer 1857, 307.

45 Curtius 1852, 405.

46 Ibidem.

47 Cf. Blakolmer 2010b, 53 f., fig. 8. For the history of the columns from the façade of the „Treasury of Atreus" at Mycenae during the 19th century, see esp. Finn 2002.

48 See esp. Aström – Blomé 1964, 186.

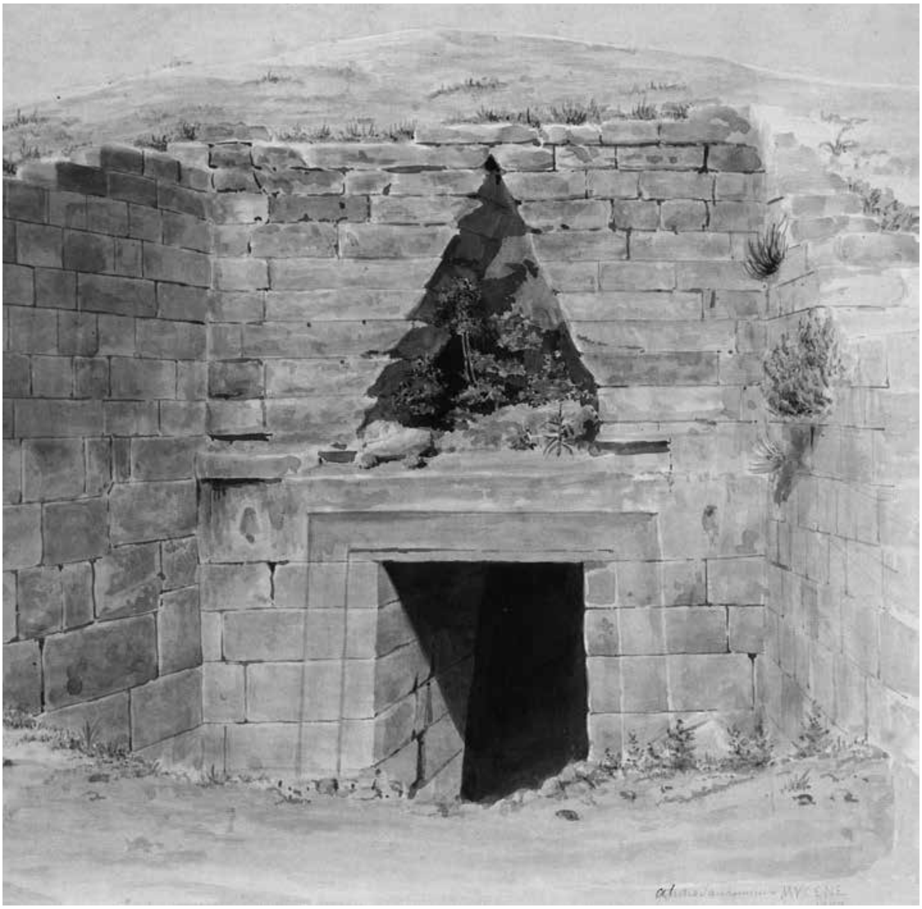

Fig. 4: 'Treasury of Atreus' at Mycenae, painting of the façade by Laurits Albert Winstrup, 1850 (after Bendtsen 1993, 151, fig. 138).

Tholos tombs at Mycenae

The largest tholos tomb at Mycenae and in all of Mycenaean Greece is the so-called 'Tomb of Agamemnon' or 'Treasury of Atreus',[49] a name borrowed by early European visitors from Pausanias and attributed to this most impressive sepulchral monument.[50] The uppermost part of its façade with the entrance (fig. 4) and sometimes also the deeply buried interior room including the enormous cupola and the side-chamber (fig. 5) were documented by travellers[51]: "*a most*

49 Wace 1921–23b; Wace 1926; Cavanagh – Mee 1999; Hiller 2009.

50 Paus. II, 16, 6. See Wace 1954, 21 f.

51 Finn 2002; Buscemi 2010.

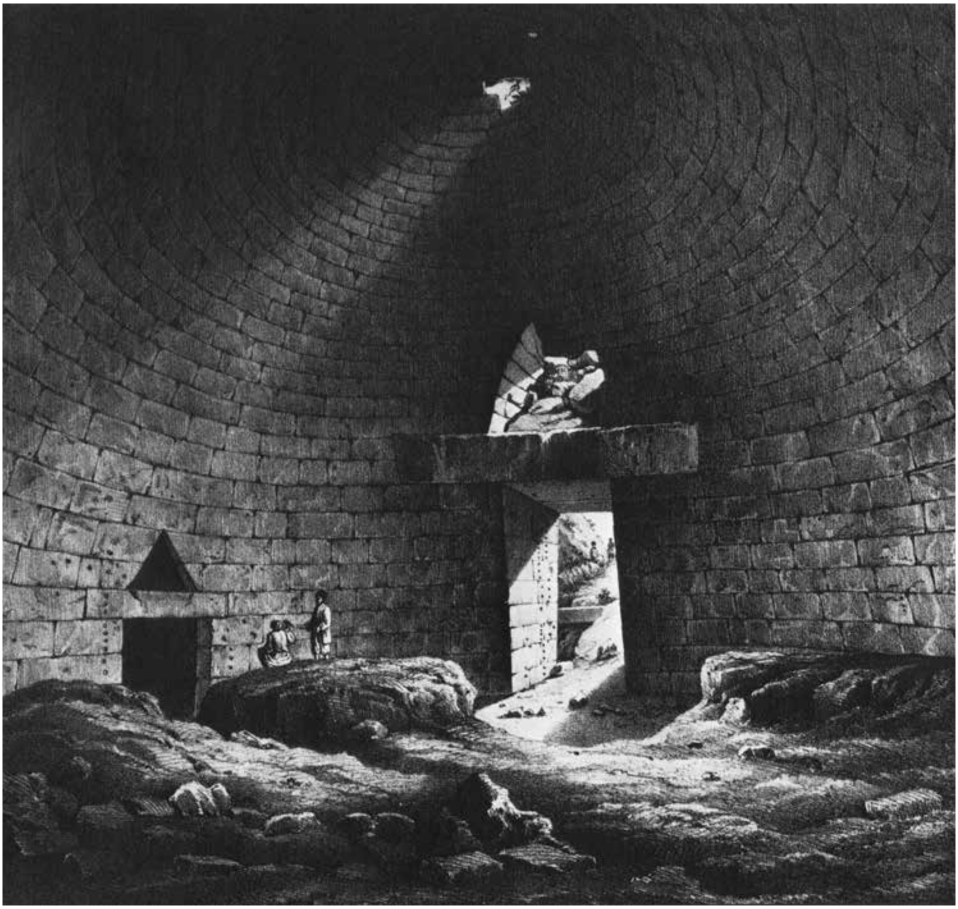

Fig. 5: 'Treasury of Atreus' at Mycenae, drawing of the interior by Edward Dodwell, 1805 (after Tsigakou 1982, 157, fig. 59).

stupendous conical subterranean building", in the wording of Philip Hunt in 1801.[52] As for its impressive architecture, the 'Treasury of Atreus' sometimes deserved an even more thorough study than the Lion Gate, giving rise to professional, detailed drawings by visitors in the 19th century.[53] Sebastiano Ittar, one of the architectural draftsmen accompanying Lord Elgin on his visit to Mycenae in 1802, associated with this tomb construction "[un] *stile asiatico, che molto rassomiglia a quello che noi chiamiamo Gotico*".[54] Regarding the decorated capital of the columns on the façade, Ittar recognized similarities with

52 Buscemi 2010, 74.

53 See esp. Buscemi 2010.

54 Buscemi 2010, 77.

Hellenistic and Ptolemaic architecture.[55] Based on his autopsy in 1829, Abel Blouet recognized in the Mycenaean tholos tombs "[le] *principe barbare d'enfouir des trésors sous terre*",[56] but he also delivered a thorough documentation and study of its elaborate vaulted dome construction, an architectural concept recurring much later again in classical antiquity, as he noted.[57] The strong indebtedness to ancient written sources, at that time, is exemplified by William Martin Leake in 1846 by excluding an attribution of this monument to Agamemnon since, according to Homer, this hero „*returned home poor and powerless*" from the Trojan war.[58]

Reconstructions of the façade of the 'Treasury of Atreus' are impressive testimonies of their time: while Ittar's reconstruction possesses baroque stylistic elements (fig. 6),[59] that presented by Chipiez included lions of Oriental or archaic Greek manner in the upper part.[60] Occasionally, a relief block similar to that on the Lion Gate was inserted into the triangle above the door of the 'Treasury of Atreus'.[61] The varying character of early drawings of the 'Treasure of Atreus' is demonstrated by a watercolour painted by Ludwig Köllnberger around 1837 (fig. 7), when he was soldier in the Greek army of the Bavarian-rooted King Otto[62]: this has only very superficial similarity with "*Agamemnons Grab*" and cannot be measured by the same standards as those of professional painters and architects at that time. In the 19th century an additional tholos tomb to which the name 'Tomb of Klytaimnestra' was given, could be visited, a further mythological nickname utilized until today in scholarship. The confusion at that time can be demonstrated by the fact that the Dutch traveller Thomas Hope, when making the first drawing of this tomb in the late 18th century, took it to be Pausanias' 'Treasury of Atreus'.[63]

Tiryns

It was the site of Tiryns, not far from Mycenae in the Argolid, where the ancient historian Pausanias associated the well-preserved and highly impressive Late Mycenaean citadel walls with the Cyclopes from Greek mythology.[64] These walls were also visited, described and documented in drawings during the 19th

55 Buscemi 2010, 79.
56 Blouet et al. 1833, 149.
57 Blouet et al. 1833, 150.
58 Leake 1846, 258.
59 Buscemi 2010, 80, fig. 14.
60 Perrot – Chipiez 1894, pl. VI (facing p. 634).
61 Cf. Burns 2007, 142, pl. XXXIIIb.
62 Heydenreuther 1993, 127, fig. 27. See in general Baumstark 1999.
63 See Tsigakou 1985, 223–225, pls. 45–53; Polychronopoulou 1999, 52 with n. 47.
64 Paus. II, 16, 5 and 24, 4.

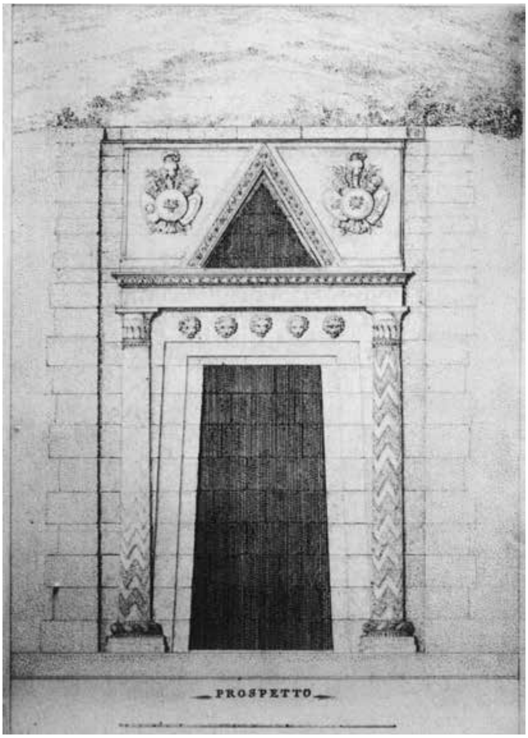

Fig. 6: 'Treasury of Atreus' at Mycenae, reconstruction drawing of the façade by Sebastiano Ittar, 1802 (after Buscemi 2010, 80, fig. 14).

Fig. 7: 'Treasury of Atreus' at Mycenae, painting of the façade by Ludwig Köllnberger, ca. 1837 (after Heydenreuther 1993, 127, fig. 27).

century. When Abel Blouet, in his chapter on Tiryns in 1833, mentioned a wooden statue of Juno (Hera),[65] he was pursuing the method of collecting all information for a site, just as Pausanias did, while being aware of the much earlier date of the "cyclopean" citadel walls. For early travellers, a special feature of Tiryns were the 'East Galleries' on the Upper Citadel with their well-preserved monumental arches as represented, for example, in a drawing by William Gell in 1805 (fig. 8).[66] On his visit to the Argolid in 1801, Edward Clarke saw in the Mycenaean construction of arches the origin of Gothic architecture.[67] Long before Schliemann, in 1831, Friedrich Thiersch and Alexandros Rizo Rangabé made an excavation for one day on the Upper Citadel of Tiryns and came across the floor screed of the court and three column bases in the palace of Tiryns which was excavated by Schliemann ca. half a century later.[68]

Orchomenos and further sites

An additional Mycenaean site has occasionally attracted the interest of travellers since the early 19th century: Orchomenos in central Greece with its so-called 'Treasury of Minyas', a naming by Pausanias again, referring to the name of a ruler in Boiotia according to classical mythology.[69] Among the earliest drawings of this tholos tomb can be counted that by Edward Dodwell in 1805 (fig. 9).[70] Already in antiquity, Pausanias himself had compared the 'Treasury of Minyas' in Orchomenos with the impressive citadel walls of Tiryns and also with the pyramids in Egypt as being admirable to the same degree.[71] In 1933, Abel Blouet recognized the strong similarity of the tholos tomb at Orchomenos and the 'Treasury of Atreus' at Mycenae[72] – an architectural relatedness accepted until today.[73] The very specific conservation situation on the site of Orchomenos is demonstrated by the fact that as late as 1862, the mayor of the modern village utilized numerous blocks from the 'dromos' of the tholos tomb for the construction of a church. This phenomenon, fortunately, was not the case at Mycenae and

65 Blouet et al. 1833, 149, 153.
66 Gell 1810a, pl. on p. 56a; Eisner 1991, fig. after p. 163.
67 Clarke 1812, 448. See also Polychronopoulou 1999, 57. For an interpretation as the origins of vaulted construction, see Leo von Klenze during his visit in 1834: Hamdorf 1986, 158.
68 Iakovidis 1993, 9.
69 Pelon 1976, 233–237, 414–416; Schliemann 1891; Marinatos – Hirmer 1973, 170, pl. 183. For early travellers at Orchomenos, see Bulle 1907, 1–5; Sarri 2010, 23–26.
70 Dodwell 1834, pl. 13; Fitton 1995a, fig. on p. 97.
71 Paus. 9, 36, 5 and 38, 3. See further Sarri 2010, 23.
72 Blouet et al. 1833, 149, 153.
73 Cf. Pelon 1976, 233–237, 414–416.

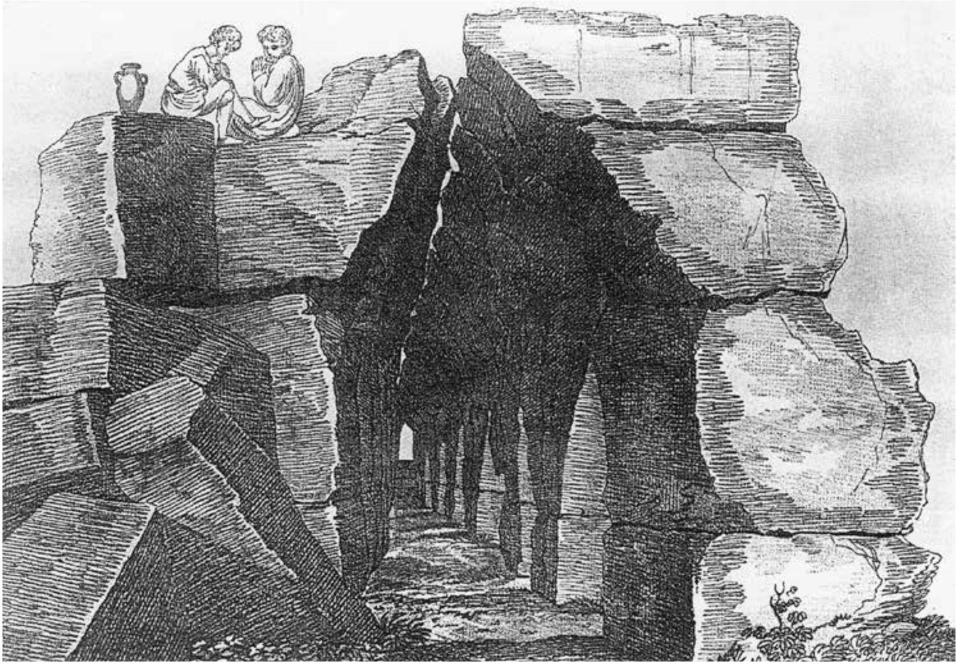

Fig. 8: 'East galleries' on the citadel of Tiryns, drawing by William Gell, 1805 (after Eisner 1991, fig. after p. 163).

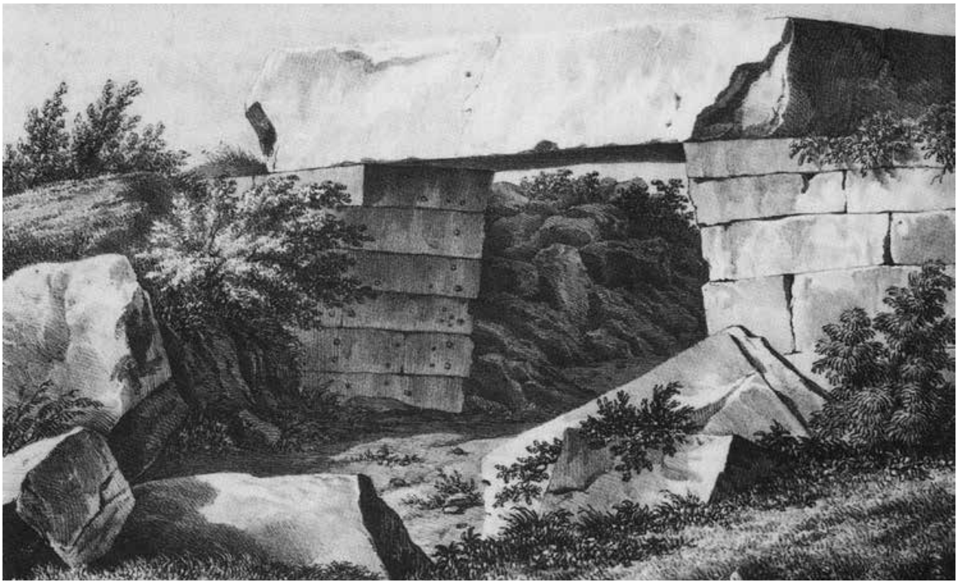

Fig. 9: 'Treasury of Minyas' at Orchomenos, drawing by Edward Dodwell, 1805 (after Fitton 1995a, fig. on p. 97).

Tiryns. Among the Mycenaean sites visited by travellers in the earlier 19th century ranged also Midea with its citadel walls, the Laconian Vapheio with its "*Tomb of Kassandra*", Gla in Boiotia, the "*Pelasgian wall*" on the Acropolis of Athens and further Bronze Age monuments.[74]

Aegean objects and art: seals, Cycladic figurines and pottery

How were isolated find-objects coming from prehistoric Greece evaluated?[75] Already before 1870, occasionally, quite spectacular Aegean Bronze Age objects reached Western and central Europe, such as seal stones mostly deriving from Crete and the Aegean islands and thus called ‚Island stones' at that time.[76] Olga Krzyszkowska counted no fewer than 50 Minoan and Mycenaean seals acquired by the British Museum before 1878.[77] These Aegean gems presented a more or less representative amount of motifs in miniature format, and it is no surprise that, before 1870, an 'oriental' or 'Persian' character was attributed to them, and they were dated to the 'period of the Pelopids'.[78] Charles Newton dated these seal stones to „*some remote time before Hellenic art of its own*" and ascribed to them a foreign influence.[79] An extraordinary example is the so-called 'Burgon Ring', purchased by the British businessman Thomas Burgon in early 19th century and given to the British Museum in 1842.[80] This splendid gold ring shows a highly realistic scene of two copulating Cretan wild-goats and thus – being neither ‚primitive' nor ‚classical' – announced what we today refer to as ‚Cretan naturalism' in the arts of Minoan Crete today.[81] As for Aegean seal images, a further point is worth mentioning: As Olga Krzyszkowska remarked, it is astonishing that already in 1809, Richard Payne Knight correctly associated not only the motif but also the style of several Aegean Bronze Age seals with the relief image of the Lion Gate (fig. 10), dating both to 'the period of the Pelopids'.[82] Thus, for the first time, Aegean art was recognized for its distinct character.

74 Blouet et al. 1833, 149; Perrot – Chipiez 1894, 427, fig. 150; 474, fig. 176; 506, fig. 190; Bulle 1907, 1–5; Buchholz 2002, 8.
75 See in general Krzyszkowska 2000; Finn 2002; Blakolmer 2004; Fotiadis 2006.
76 See Milchhöfer 1883, 39–90; Furtwängler 1900, I pl. II–IV; II 6–21; III 13–56. See also Krzyszkowska 2000.
77 Krzyszkowska 2000, esp. 156–162, fig. 4–6.
78 See Krzyszkowska 2000, 151–155, 160.
79 Fitton 1995a, 33.
80 Kenna 1967, 104, no. 68; Krzyszkowska 2000, 154 f.
81 See in general Matz 1956, 86–103; Groenewegen-Frankfort 1951, 185–216; Immerwahr 1990, esp. 40–50.
82 See the reproduction by Krzyszkowska 2000, 152–154, fig. 2.

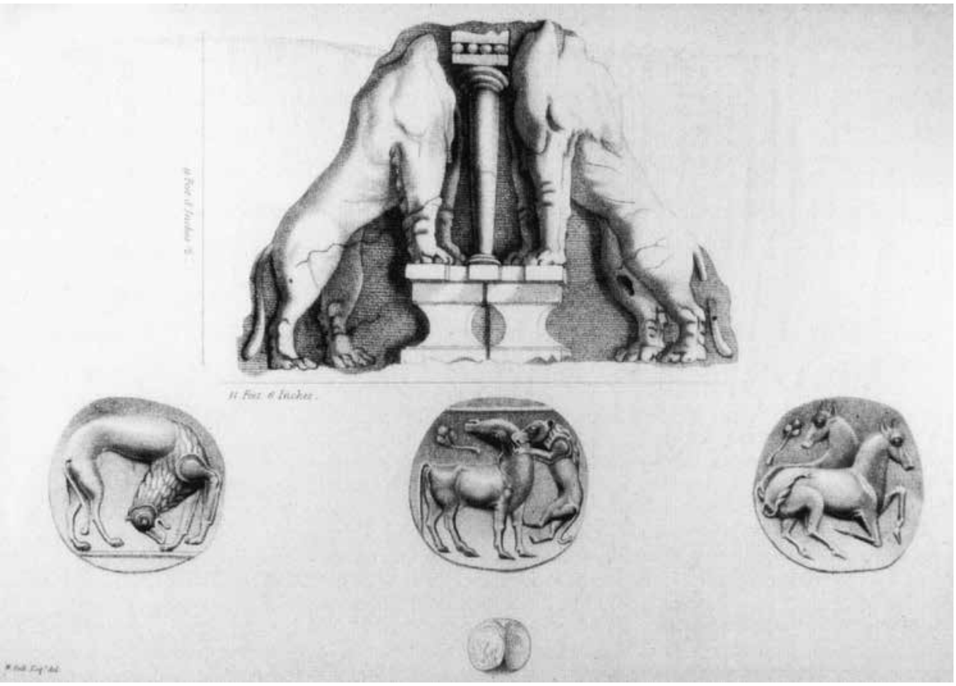

Fig. 10: Relief block of the Lion Gate and seal stones from Mycenae, drawing by Richard Payne Knight (after Krzyszkowska 2000, 153, fig. 2).

In the 19th century, the Early Cycladic figurines were viewed as enigmatic, ugly, barbarian and primitive.[83] Although these marble figurines were wide-spread in the 3rd millennium, they do not possess any typological successor in later Bronze Age art. Their traditional naming as "*idol*" already dates back to the late 18th century, and in the early 19th century they were characterized as "*von ganz eigenthümlicher barbarischer Gestalt*", as produced by "*Carians*", "*like imitation mummies*", "*of Pre-Hellenic culture*" or in connection with "*the ancient mythology of the Greeks*", in any case, however, "*tout à fait primitifs*".[84] Finally, mention must also be made of Mycenaean pottery reaching Europe as isolated sherds or entire vessels.[85] However, Mycenaean pottery constitutes one group of Aegean Bronze Age finds which appeared less exotic to the eyes of classical archaeologists.

83 Chryssovitsanou 2003; Tolis 2006; Horst 2011.

84 Cf. esp. Tolis 2006. Quotations taken from ibid. 201 f. See further Chrysovitsanou 2003.

85 Furtwängler – Löschcke 1879; Furtwängler – Löschcke 1886; Haussoullier 1880; Fabricius 1886, 135–149, pl. III–IV; Orsi 1889; Mariani 1895, esp. 333–348, pl. IX–XI; Myres 1895.

Conclusion

What conclusion can be drawn from these observations? Initially, Homeric Greece was like Medieval Europe. Afterwards, Bronze Age Greece became Homeric Greece coined by Classicism. Without any doubt, the struggle of the emancipation of Bronze Age Greece took place rather in the second half of the 19th century. The 19th century was the period when Aegean prehistory underwent manifold attributions oscillating between a European prehistoric character, an affiliation to the Ancient Near East or to the realm of classical Greece.[86] As shown earlier, monuments and artifacts from the Aegean Bronze Age were associated with monuments and styles known as Carian, Phrygian, Lydian, Phoenician, Persian, Assyrian or Egyptian.[87] Although such attributions – same as Nuraghic and Gothic – are mostly free associations instead of clear interpretations, they well demonstrate the nebulousness in classifying this civilization largely unknown and unfamiliar, at that time. Assessments such as these possessed per se a superficial character and should be taken by us no more seriously than attributions of Schliemann's finds in the Shaft graves of Mycenae ascribed by his adversaries "*to be Byzantine, Celtic, Scythian or even fake*".[88] In the 19th century, a major conflict can be observed regarding the classical Greek character of the finds from Mycenaean Greece. The more the Aegean Bronze Age was losing its ties to Homer and Classicism, the more non-European and oriental it became. Sometimes, we even get the impression that classical antiquity was perceived as having a closer familiarity with Ancient Egypt than with the 'megalithic', 'barbarian' monuments of Aegean prehistory.[89]

When was the 'turning point' in the early understanding of Aegean monuments and artefacts? When did scholars become conscious of the 'autonomy' of Aegean Bronze Age civilization? In spite of several long-known monuments, this was probably not earlier than the 1870s and is essentially owed to Heinrich Schliemann and his own as well as the succeeding generation of scholars: Christos Tsountas, Arthur Milchhöfer, Wilhelm Dörpfeld, and finally Arthur Evans.[90] However, already in the 1850s and 60s, that is, before Schliemann's excavations and a massive increase of Bronze Age finds, some remarkable insights into the relief of the Lion Gate came into being. Alexander Conze and Adolf Michaelis, for example, made clear that its entire central part represented elements of a wooden

86 Fitton 1995a, 39.

87 See, e.g., Ramsay 1888, 371. Cf. Fitton 1995a, 31–33; MacGillivray 2000, 141 f.

88 See Fitton 1995b, 74.

89 Fitton 1995a, 30; Blakolmer 2010a, esp. 141.

90 Evans 1943; McDonald – Thomas 1990, 83–110; Fitton 1995a, 104–148; Polychronopoulou 1999, 155–187; Buchholz 2002.

construction,[91] and Friedrich Gottlieb Welcker correctly interpreted the socle element as an altar.[92] At that time, Oriental interpretations, as Persian fire altars and the like, were widely replaced by less fantastic explanations; the connection with Apollo or Hermes, though, survived. The "Greekness" of the Mycenaean civilization, though, had undergone a revival by the time of Christos Tsountas in the later 19th century.[93]

A further aspect of development appears remarkable: as Olga Polychronopoulou has observed, under the influence of the Classicism in Europe since the 1850s, Mycenaean monuments were perceived more and more as an expression of „*prehistoric barbarity*".[94] Thus, the initial admiration of the Bronze Age monuments among travellers and scholars turned into a certain distrust in the light of an increased methodical severity – „*wissenschaftlich interessant, aber häßlich*", as Dorothea Ipsen characterized the notion of Mycenaean antiquities in the light of German travellers' reports in the early 20th century.[95] They were neither Classical, nor did they fit the Classicist's expectation. Although Schliemann's anti-positivistic 're-animation' of Aegean prehistory by utilizing Homer and Greek mythology was already somewhat out of fashion in the 1870s,[96] this romanticist approach survived throughout the 'Fin de Siècle' and was extended to Minoan Crete – but this is a different story.

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91 Conze – Michaelis 1861, 18 f. See also Adler 1865; Aström – Blomé 1964, 163.

92 Welcker 1864, 73; Aström – Blomé 1964, 164.

93 See esp. Voutsaki 2002.

94 Polychronopoulou 1999, 62.

95 Ipsen 1999, 225.

96 Cf. Marchand 2003, 118–124, esp. 119.

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NON-DESTRUCTIVE ANALYSES OF EGYPTIAN AMULETS FROM THE SLOVENE ETHNOGRAPHIC MUSEUM

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The Slovene Ethnographic Museum Egyptian collection comprises 95 objects. Although archival sources do not provide sufficient indication as to who collected these objects and where they were found, we do know that they were collected and donated during the 19th century, a period when individuals such as merchants, missionaries, government officials and others from the former Carniola travelled to Egypt and Sudan. The collection is very varied and therefore represents a great opportunity for the application of many different techniques of artefact analysis. The main objects contained in the collection are amulets reflecting the Egyptian imagination of life after death and magic. The objects date primarily from the era of the last Egyptian dynasties, mostly the Ptolemaic period. Some may be derived from different expeditions to locations ranging from Alexandria to Sudan, whose participants were Catholic missionaries and their co-workers led by Ignacij Knoblehar (1819–1858). These missions visited a number of ancient sites, with Knoblehar known to have a particular interest in Egyptian antiques because the National Museum of Slovenia holds a bronze figurine of Bastet and a bronze statue of Osiris on a wooden base, together with an inscription stating that Knoblehar discovered it in the ruins of Memphis.

Locations visited by Knoblehar and his companions on the way to Khartoum (during the period of the “Sudan mission”, 1849–1858) included Alexandria, Giza, Saqqara – Memphis, Luxor – Karnak, West Thebes (Ramesseum, Medinet Habu, the Valley of the Kings, private tombs), Aswan – Elephantine, Philae, Abu Simbel (fig. 1) and Meroe (fig. 2).

In December 1853, a mission caravan en route to Khartoum stopped near the ancient Nubian capital of Meroe, with Ignacij Knoblehar taking his new colleagues to see the famous ruins. The priest Oton Trabant subsequently sent a tin box containing several items that he had discovered among the pyramids to Ljubljana.[1] However, the precise nature of his discoveries is unknown, because the objects have since disappeared. But maybe not …

1 Frelih 2009, 86.

Fig. 1: Abu Simbel – drawing by Jakob Šašel, 1863, The Karlovac Town Museum.

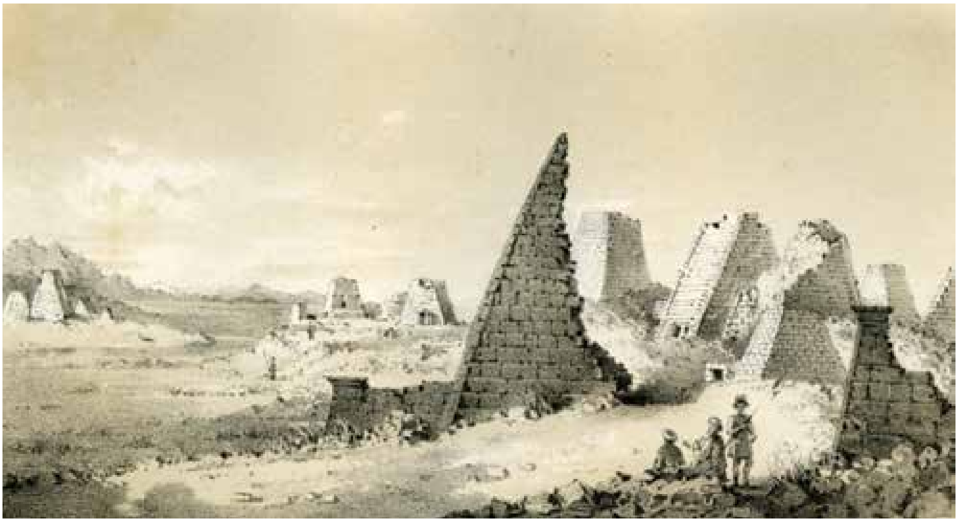

Fig. 2: Meroe, the capital of the Kushite kingdom (800–300 BC). From Bayard Taylor, Journey to Central Africa: Life and Landscapes from Egypt to the Negro Kingdoms of the White Nile. New York 1854.

Fig. 3: Selection of shabtis and amulets from the museum´s collection: shabtis EM 2697 and EM 2690; Ptah Pataikos EM 2726; Nefertem EM 2770; scarabs EM 2709 and EM 2711.

Non-Destructive Analyses

The increasing need for non-destructive investigations is a major issue, as sampling is in most cases restricted in view of the value or the uniqueness of the object. Even in cases that allow sampling, non-destructive testing offers the possibility of obtaining more information from one specific sample, as complementary techniques may be applied.

In the present paper, non-destructive techniques such as portable X-ray fluorescence spectroscopy and X-ray computed microtomography were used. These analyses aimed to provide information regarding the materials of the artefacts, i.e. their composition, type of material, technology of production and glazing techniques.

Fig. 4: Handheld non-destructive testing of shabti EM 2697 on the back (left) and front of the amulet's head (right) using the laboratory stage.

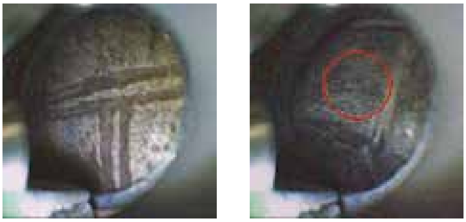

Fig. 5: Areas of two analysed scarabs. Left: EM 2709 with 8 mm spot size; right: EM 2710 with 3 mm spot size, complete with a bull's-eye superimposed on the image.

Portable X-Ray Fluorescence Spectroscopy

X-ray fluorescence spectroscopy (XRF) is a non-destructive analytical technique that reveals the elemental composition of an artefact (fig. 4). The sample is illuminated with an X-ray beam and the atoms struck by the beam then emit X-rays in response, usually at several different energies. As different elements produce different distributions of emitted X-rays, the spectrum of these emitted X-rays can be used to identify which elements are present in a sample. Analysis is rapid as spectra are acquired within 5 min. XRF is a surface/near surface technique, only measuring the portion of the sample directly in front of the instrument window. XRF is also portable and instruments can be easily transported to job sites, with an integrated CDD camera feature ideal for positioning, analysing and recording results for small components (fig. 5). A Niton XRF analyser can reliably operate at small spot sizes (3 mm diameter), as well as examine a larger fraction of materials (max. 8 mm diameter). Light element analysis involving He-purging directly quantifies element (Mg, Al, Si, P and S) levels.

Elemental analyses of all artefacts were performed using a Niton XL3t GOLDD 900S-He X-Ray Fluorescence (XRF) analyser. The artefacts were then grouped into several distinct classes according to their chemical compositions, which reflect the nature of the materials. Several different materials were recognised, with the majority of the artefacts composed of Egyptian faience with various glazes, followed by Egyptian blue and steatite (a metamorphic rock). With one exception (a polychromatic shabti), all the artefacts are monochromatic.

One of the major elements predominant in all artefacts is silicium, which reflects the presence of quartz. Ancient Egyptian faience consists of a quartz sand or ground quartz body, bonded together by varying amounts of glass phase and coated with an alkali lime-glaze which is typically coloured turquoise due to the addition of a copper colorant. As identified, the artefacts contain a range of copper levels. Early faience was glazed with a simple blue copper glaze, with later examples glazed in red, white/yellow and black. The peak of glazing technological excellence was reached in around 1300 BC with the manufacture of polychrome and inlaid faience. Polychrome faience went out of fashion after the death of Ramesses III (1198–1166 BC), with glazes subsequently reverting to the simple blue-copper variety.[2] Historically, faience colour varied from blue, green, greenish blue and sometimes red or black due to the addition of copper, cobalt, manganese and ferrous compounds.[3] The predominant blue used was valued because of its similarity to lapis lazuli in colour. Indeed, the colour of the artefact glazes varies between intense blue, light blue, light green and intense green hues. Variation in the blue colour of Egyptian faience could be dependent on the amount of added copper (from the powdered malachite), the extent of grinding, the method of application and firing techniques.[4] The addition of different elements was employed to produce other colours. For instance, the intense green colour of one artefact (Nefertem, EM 2770) is associated with faience covered with a lead-based glaze (believed to be a 22nd Dynasty introduction; Nicholson 1993 and references therein), as indicated by the enhanced lead levels, while the use of antimony as a colorant was detected in another artefact (Ptah Pataikos, EM 2726).

Furthermore, some artefacts (scarabs and an amulet of Isis - EM 2740) were recognised to consist of Egyptian blue considered the first synthetic pigment. This particular pigment is made by combining quartz, chalk (calcium carbonate), malachite (copper carbonate) and soda ash (sodium carbonate), and heated from 900 to 1000 °C. These artefacts are characterised by enhanced levels of calcium compared to objects made from Egyptian faience. The principal components of this multi-component material are calcium-copper tetrasilicate crystals (i.e. $CuSi_4O_{10}$,

2 Mulford 1982 and references therein.

3 Mulford 1982.

4 Mulford 1982.

Fig. 6: *Two energy dispersive spectra (main and light range) from scarab EM 2709.*

Fig. 7: Chamber of the microtomograph, with shabti EM 2697.

cuprorivaite) which produce the blue colour, and partially reacted quartz particles bonded together by varying amounts of glass phase.[5] Although predominantly used as a pigment, the Egyptian blue was employed to a much lesser extent for the production of small objects.

Some scarabs were found to be composed of the soft metamorphic rock steatite (characterised especially by an enhanced magnesium content compared to that of the other artefacts). By the middle of the 3rd millennium BC, faience predominated over steatite as the favoured material for small objects.[6] One advantage of faience is that its production via the modelling or moulding of moistened ground quartz is a more rapid process than the carving of steatite.

X-Ray Computed Microtomograhy

This non-destructive method enables the visualisation and measurement of an object's complete 3D structure, without the need for any special sample preparation process. The method involves the use of a series of X-ray images, each taken with a different orientation of the object. A special algorithm is then employed to reconstruct the 3D interior structure of the entire object without destroying the original model. X-ray computed tomography produces 3D images that can display both the interior structure of objects and their surfaces. For a sufficiently small object, a spatial resolution of under 1 µm can be achieved. However, resolutions are considerably lower for larger objects. Typically, resolution with a voxel (spatial image element) of dimensions one thousandth of an object's size in cross-section can be achieved.

Selected objects were examined via X-ray microtomography using an XRadia MicroXCT-400. Data were collected at an X-ray energy of 80 kV and a source current of 125 µA, and analysed using the AVIZO computer software program (figs. 7 and 8).

5 Hatton et al. 2008.
6 Vandiver 1983.

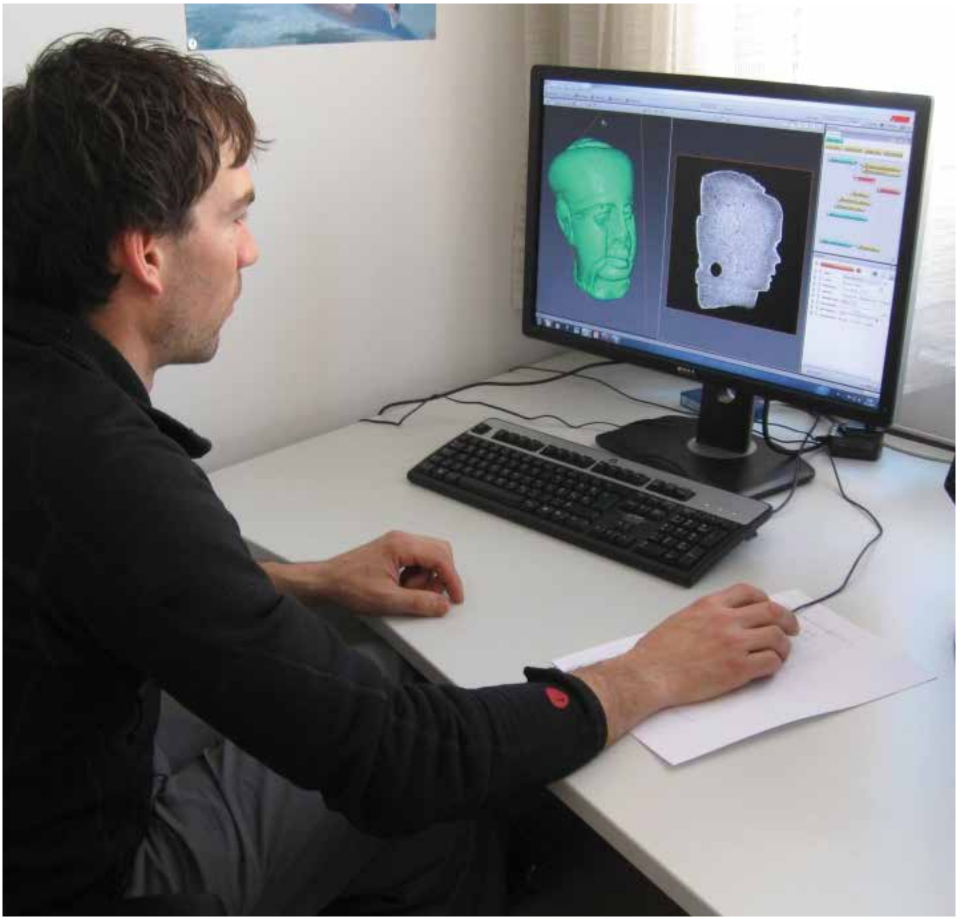

Fig. 8: Image data analysis using the AVISO software program (amulet of Ptah Pataikos, EM 2726).

X-ray computed microtomography revealed that the Egyptian amulets and shabtis held at the Slovene Ethnographic Museum were made using different materials and technologies. As shown in figures 9 and 10, it was possible to observe considerable microstructural heterogeneity, with the variation in porosity and glaze thickness indicative of the different glazing techniques described below.

Three distinct ancient Egyptian faience glazing methods are known to have existed:[7] (i) application glazing in which a slurry is prepared from a mixture of quartz, alkali flux, calcium carbonate and colorant (either directly or from a ground, pre-fritted mixture of the same components) and applied to the quartz body prior to drying and firing to about 950 °C; (ii) efflorescence glazing (self-

7 Nicholson 1993; Tite et al. 2002; Tite et al. 2007; Rehren 2008.

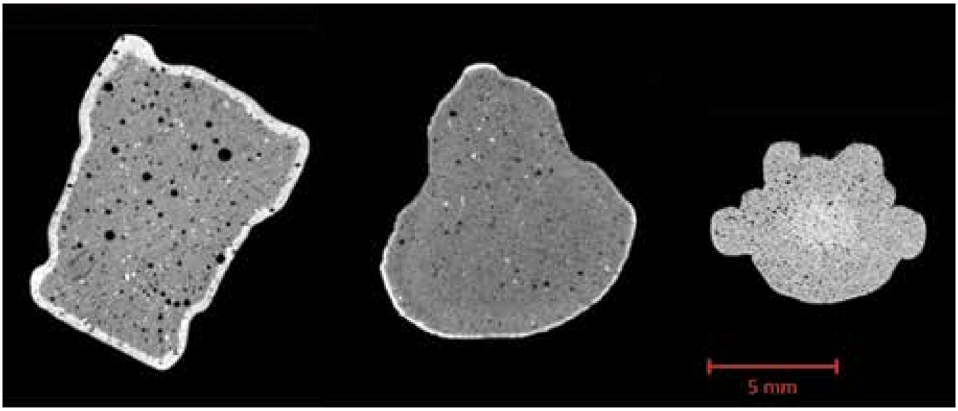

Fig. 9: Cross-sections of three artefacts (from left: amulet of the goddess Taweret, EM2733; amulet of the goddess Mut, EM2719; amulet of the goddess Isis, EM2740) revealing different glazing techniques and materials.

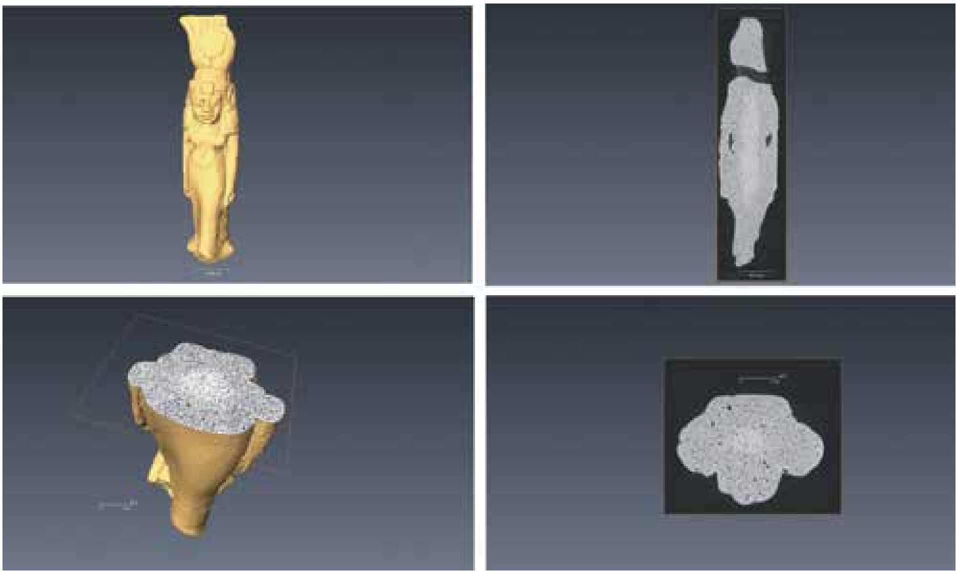

Fig. 10: Left: 3D reconstruction of an amulet of Isis, EM 2740. Right: longitudinal and transverse cross-sections of the artefact.

glazing method) in which the glazing components are mixed with the quartz. Water is added and the objects then formed from the resulting paste. During subsequent drying, the soluble salts migrate to the surface to form a thin layer from which the glaze is produced after firing; (iii) cementation glazing (Qom technique) in which the quartz bodies are buried in the glazing mixture and fired to about 1000 °C.

Conlusions

The Egyptian amulets and shabtis held by the Slovene Ethnographic Museum are made of different materials; most are of Egyptian faience, followed by Egyptian blue and the soft metamorphic rock steatite. The variation in glaze of the faience reflects both the chemical composition and the glazing techniques employed in making the investigated artefacts. The final results will assist in making comparisons with similarly analysed artefacts discovered in an archaeological context and for which certain data are already available (e.g. name of site, horizontal and vertical stratigraphy, etc.).

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THE REFLECTIONS OF EGYPT IN THE St. ANNA CEMETERY IN TRIESTE AND CEMETERIES OF THE SLOVENIAN COASTAL TOWNS

TINA ŠKROKOV, Izola

Introduction

In this article we will present some reflections of Egypt or Egyptomania on tombstones from the 19th and beginning of the 20th century in the St. Anna cemetery of Trieste and cemeteries of the Slovenian littoral – Koper, Izola and Piran.

Cultural and economic development of Trieste in the 19th century

The city of Trieste had a rich port which was of key importance for the economic and cultural development of the nation under the rule of the Hapsburgs. The economic development of Trieste in the 19th century was clearly represented in the cultural and scientific field. The Archeografo Triestino was being published in Trieste already in 1829. Founded by Domenico Rossetti (1774–1842), this was one of the main magazines in the field of history and archaeology of Trieste and Istria. He also founded the *Gabinetto della Minerva* society already in 1810 which he then renamed into the *Societa della Minerva society*.[1]

Gradually, a sort of museum collection was gathered within the society, from bequests and donations of its members. The collection included different objects spanning from ancient Greek helmets to commemorative medals and busts. The significance of the collection was also in that it formed the very beginning of the later "Trieste city museum of history and arts" (*Museo civico di storia ed arte Trieste*) together with some other private collections in the Trieste area. The abovementioned museum formed in 1875 out of the Winckelmann, Cumano, Rossetti and Zandonati collections.[2]

At the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th century a vast number of antiquities, especially Egyptian began to flow into the port of Trieste to local families. Most of these were donated to the "Trieste city museum of history and arts" (*Museo civico di storia ed arte Trieste*). In 1873 the city of Trieste established the "City museum of antiquity" (*Museo Civico d'Antichita*) as an independent

1 Žitko 2002, 16.
2 Žitko 2002, 16.

Fig. 1: The side entrance in the St. Anna cemetery in Trieste, designed by the neoclassical architect Matteo Perch (Photo: Tina Škrokov, 18. October 2011).

Fig. 2: The chapel in the cemetery of Koper (Photo: Tina Škrokov, October 2009).

institution. Thus the museum gained its own status and moved towards for a more professional direction. The museum was connected with the lapidary which was inaugurated already in 1843. The main purpose was to establish a place that would protect all of the objects stored in the museum.[3]

The reflections of Egypt on tombstones in the littoral coastal towns were not yet studied until now. In my diploma work at the Department of Archaeology and Heritage at the Faculty of Humanities University of Primorska I have collected and studied these tombstones under the mentorship of Prof. Irena Lazar.

The St. Anna cemetery in Trieste

The St. Anna cemetery is a monumental catholic cemetery, known especially for its architecture that was made in accordance with the systematic urban plan. The ground plan of all the parts of the cemetery was formed following the principles of symmetry and equilibrium. The cemetery was enlarged in 1825. The land on which it stands used to belong to the aristocratic Brulo family. The estate had a rural family villa and a family chapel dedicated to St. Anna.[4] The first cemetery was square shaped. It was surrounded by a 180 cm tall wall and the entrance was designed as a simple gate with a temple tympanum and four Doric columns. The gate still stands but it has a side entrance function (fig. 1). At the centre of the tympanum there is a rolled-up snake that is biting its own tail. Between the columns there are two crossed torches turned upside down on both sides above which there is a niche with a sarcophagus. These are symbols of life's brief duration and the immortality of the soul. The entrance was designed by the neoclassical architect Matteo Perch (1796–1843). The 19th century cemetery is divided with wide paths into four squares that were later divided by narrower paths into rectangular lots. The neoclassical chapel of St. Anna was built on the central ground plan where the main paths are crossing each other. The chapel was built in 1822 by the architect Ferrari.[5]

The construction of the monumental gates started in 1932 following plans of engineer Vittorio Prileggo. Solemn although simple gates with wrought iron railings stand between two stone buildings with cemetery offices and other services. The gates are adorned with three sculptures of stone from Vrsar made by sculptor Marcello Mascherini (Udine 1906 – Trieste 1983) and represent two angels and the resurrection of Lazar.[6]

3 Vidulli Torlo 2005, 91–92.
4 Felicori 2004, 160.
5 Felicori 2004, 161.
6 Felicori 2004, 163.

The Chapel in the cemetery of Koper

The influence of Italian culture and Trieste is shown also on the chapel in the cemetery of Koper. There stands a chapel that is situated on the western hill-side of the St. Cantianus hill (fig. 2). The chapel was blessed in 1850 after the last renovation by architect Girolamo de Almerigotti. The chapel has a rolled-up snake represented in the gable that originates from the Egyptian religious tradition. This perfect circle represents the concept of eternity and the safeguard of souls in the afterlife.[7] The design of the chapel in the cemetery of Koper is similar to the old entrance into the St. Anna cemetery in Trieste. The entrance was designed by Matteo Perch. In the tympanum of the cemetery's old entrance is depicted a snake biting its own tail. The entrance was erected in the first half of the 19th century, most probably around the year 1825.[8]

The Obelisk

The obelisk with its expressive proportions was a starting-point for numerous monuments (especially tombstones). Obelisks found in cemeteries can be in different sizes and proportions. They can be less than one meter short or higher than ten meters. In some cases the obelisk can be also used as a one of the four sides of an epitaph, dedicated to a buried person or family. Some other examples of using the obelisk as a tombstone are smaller versions of obelisks standing on spheres made of stone above a pedestal.[9] All of the mentioned characteristics can be also found in the cemetery of St. Anna in Trieste where we can observe a rich repertoire of tombstones in obelisk form. I will point out only one such tombstone. It is dedicated to the Corsi family. The tombstone is made of a pedestal in the shape of a square stone and an obelisk. The names of each family member are inscribed on the pedestal. Above it is the portrait of the deceased Nicolo Corsi chiselled in stone. The top of tombstone is decorated with an obelisk which is adorned with two stylized palmettos. Between the latter the obelisk is adorned with a Latin cross. On the top of the obelisk there is an inscription saying "Corsi family" (*Famiglia Corsi*).

In the cemetery of Piran there are tombstones in the form of an obelisk which are interesting from an art historical point of view (figs. 3, 4). There are fifteen examples, but some of the new tenants have changed the authentic image. The biggest and best preserved among them is an obelisk that adorns the tomb of architect Lorenzo Furiano from the year 1861.[10]

7 Škrokov 2010, 45.
8 Curci 2006, 13.
9 Humbert 2007, 191–192.
10 Milotti Bertoni 1999, 151.

Fig. 3: The broken obelisk is represented in flat relief on top of the tombstone, dedicated to Mario Moro (photo: Tina Škrokov, October 2009).

Fig. 4: The tombstone is designed in the shape of a broken obelisk, dedicated to Giovanni Zustovich (photo: Tina Škrokov, October 2009).

Two tombstones in form of a broken obelisk stand out in the cemetery of Izola. The first tombstone is designed in the shape of a broken obelisk meanwhile the other has a broken obelisk represented in flat relief on top of the tombstone. While examining the literature we couldn't find any symbol which would explain the exact meaning of the broken obelisk. The only and most similar example to be connected with is the symbol of a broken column.[11] It symbolizes a strong and inflexible person that supports someone, but cannot avoid death.[12]

The Pyramid

Pyramids usually mark structures with a special role because of its pure geometrical form and monumentality. The pyramid was a symbol of life and light, death and decline. The use of its shape as a tomb or tombstone reaches back to the 16th century and continued in the 17th, 18th, 19th and at the beginning of the 20th century.[13]

Many tombstones in the shape of pyramids can be found in the St. Anna cemetery. One of the most beautiful examples of such tombstones is dedicated to the Antonio Purich and Puri-Purini families (fig. 5). An accurate mathematical pyramid stands on a pedestal. The doors of wrought iron are adorned with plants that resemble the papyrus. The papyrus was a symbol of world creation and the first waters for the ancient Egyptians. They presented whole stems of papyrus to the gods and the dead as a symbol of victory and joy.[14] A winged disk draws attention towards the top of the wrought iron door, on which is depicted a Latin cross.

The entrance into the pyramid is adorned on both sides with two vases in the shape of Egyptian capitals that represent a closed papyrus flower. The chapel dedicated to the Antonio Purich and Puri-Purini families is adorned with capitals in the shape of closed flowers composed of sheaves of stems.[15]

A tombstone in the shape of a flat pyramid can be found in the cemetery of Koper. This type of flat pyramid shaped tombs was made by the neoclassical sculptor Antonio Canova. The tombstone from Koper is dated in the second half of the 19th century. The monument is dedicated to the De Madonizza family (fig. 6). The De Madonizza family was accepted in the great council in 1802. They were given the title "noble" in the year 1824.[16] Many pyramid shaped tombstones

11 Škrokov 2010, 40.
12 Tobias 1998, 43.
13 Kajfež 2008, 457; Marinko et al. 2008, 32.
14 Forty 2006, 32.
15 Marinko 1997, 53–54.
16 Škrokov 2010, 25, 78.

Fig. 5: The tombstones in the shape of pyramids in the St. Anna cemetery, dedicated to the Antonio Purich and Puri-Purini families (photo: Tina Škrokov, October 2011).

Fig. 6: A tombstone in the shape of a flat pyramid in the cemetery of Koper, dedicated to the Madonizza family (photo: Tina Škorkov, October 2009).

can be found in the cemetery of St. Anna in Trieste. We can mention the tombstones dedicated to the Antonio-Purich and Puri-Purini, de Hassek, Chiozza and Burgstaller-Bidischini families.

The symbol of a snake biting its tail – the Uroboros

This ancient Egyptian emblem symbolizes the reoccurrence of cosmic nature as its life after death and repeated renewal after a downfall. It is the concept of perfection. The uroboros is also a symbol of repetition and cyclic acceptance; it is an eternal transformation of death into life.

We can find a nice tombstone example in the St. Anna cemetery that is adorned with an uroboros. The latter is dedicated to Carlo D'Otavio Fontana. The tombstone is designed as a sepulchral stele that stands on a pedestal. On the latter there is an epitaph dedicated to the deceased. From the epitaph we can find out that Carlo D'Otavio was a numismatist and a commercialist. In the centre of the stele there are closed gates that symbolize the beginning and the end and the transition between this and the next life.[17] In front of them stands

17 Forty 2006, 117.

a statue of a woman. She has her hand placed on her heart and looks towards the top of the sepulchral stele where Carlo d'Otavio Fontana is sculpted in profile. The gates to the afterlife are closed, which can be interpreted as the deceased will not return and he will always be in the hearts of those who were close to him.[18] The image of the deceased is encircled by an uroboros-snake biting its own tail. The very top of the tombstone is adorned with a winged disk.

Fig. 7: The tombstone is designed as an entrance into a temple on top of which there is a winged disk, dedicated to the Vlach Minussi family (photo: Tina Škrokov, October 2011).

The Winged Disk

The winged disk as a decorative element is a symbol of lights victory over darkness and ever-present protection from the heavens. The repertoire of winged disks in the St. Anna cemetery is extremely rich. The top of almost every tombstone is adorned with a stylized winged disk. We would like to point out two tombstones that have their winged disks designed in an expressive Egyptian style. The first tombstone is dedicated to the Vlach-Minussi family (fig. 7). The tombstone is designed as an entrance into a temple with a winged disk right above it. The entrance into the temple is filled by a winged angel holding a bouquet of roses – a symbol of love.[19] He looks back to the picture of the deceased (Rosa Vlach-Minussi and Edmond Vlach-Minussi). The winged disk is depicted clasped by two birdheaded snakes. Similar winged disk also adorns the tombstone dedicated to the Mosetting and Corsi families.

The Symbol of the Lion

The lion was considered by the ancient Egyptians as a symbol of rebirth, renewal of power brought by the passing of night and day, effort and rest.[20] Tombstones with the image of a guardian lion were already present in the times

18 Chevalier et al. 1993, 679.

19 Tobias 1993, 43.

20 Chevalier et al. 1993, 314.

Fig. 8: The lions on the Banelli-Demarchi family tombstone (photo: Tina Škrokov, October 2011).

of ancient Rome.[21] Two lions are situated in the St. Anna cemetery as a part of the tombstone dedicated to the Banelli-Demarchi family (fig. 8). Their similarity can be compared with the lion which Antonio Canova designed for the tomb of the painter Tiziano.[22]

The lions on the Banelli-DemArchi family tombstone are formed expressing opposite feelings (common after losing a beloved person). On the left side of the tombstone the lion represents sadness and the other lion represents anger. Therefore the tombstone indicates to the contrast between the two feelings.

In ancient Egypt lions (and also other animals) were often shown in pairs facing each other. Animals were watching to the other side of the horizon (one to the east and the other to the west). The lions began representing the two horizons and

21 Chevalier et al. 1993, 314.
22 Kajfež 2008, 457.

Fig. 9: The tombstone in the form of a lying lion, dedicated to the Gravisi-Barbabianca-Bocchina family (photo: Tina Škrokov, October 2009).

the sun's path.[23] This way they controlled the course of the day and represented Yesterday and Tomorrow. In general the lions symbolized the renewal of power that is brought by the changing of night and day, effort and rest. They were also the antagonistic duality of day and night, summer and winter. The ancient Egyptians interpreted the symbol of the lion not only as the return of the sun and the rejuvenation of cosmic and biological energy but also as the rebirth itself.[24]

In the cemetery of Koper we can find a noteworthy tombstone in the form of a lying lion that adorns the Gravisi-Barbabianca-Bocchina family tomb (fig. 9). The lion that adorns the aforementioned family tomb can be compared with the lion that was designed by the Venetian architect Antonio Canova for his own funeral pyramid.[25] The Gravisi are an old noble family from Koper that originates from

23 Lucker 1996, 77.
24 Chevalier et al. 1993, 315.
25 Škrokov 2010, 57.

Tuscany. Important literary and educated men of Koper came from this family. One of the most important was Girolamo Gravisi (1720–1812), who was an archaeologist and philologists.[26] The tombstone dedicated to the Gravisi-Barbabianca-Bocchina family can be compared to the tombstone of the Benelli-Demarchi family in the St. Anna cemetery in Trieste. The lions that adorn both tombstones are very similar. The similarity is especially explicit in the comparison of the sad lion.

Tombstones with several Egyptian symbols

The tombstone dedicated to the Carlo, Vittorio and Giradelli families

The tombstone dedicated to the Carlo, Vittorio and Girardelli families is marked by many Egyptian and ancient symbols (fig. 10). Each symbol needs to be explained so the message carried by the tombstone can be understood. When we look at the tombstone we immediately direct our attention to the entrance. The latter shows the entrance to an Egyptian temple or tomb. The top of the entrance is adorned with a snake, which should protect the entrance of tombs and temples.[27] As an interesting fact, we need to mention the non typical depiction of snake heads. Instead of those, there are dog heads. The dog is often the connection with death, the underworld and invisible kingdoms in all of the mythologies. The first mythic function of the dog is as a guide in the darkness of death after being a companion in the light of the day. From Anubis to Cerberus with Toto, Hecate and Hermes he lent his appearance to all the great soul guides.[28] The entrance to the Egyptian temple is adorned with palm leaves and a winged disk.[29] The abovementioned characteristics can be also found on the mentioned tombstone. On the entrance there is an interesting motif of a band of hieroglyphs. It is enclosed by two pharaoh heads from both sides. In this case the hieroglyphs do not have any meaning and are depicted only as a decorative element. The surname of the family on the tomb is written under the hieroglyphs. Right above the gates we can see a stylized winged disk. From the gates a statue of a woman is stepping out and entering into the afterlife, which represents the deceased Anita Aldo Genel. The gates of the temple should be leading to eternal life.

An older winged man awaits the deceased in the afterlife. He represents the god Cronus and is depicted on numerous graves. His main attribute is the scythe, but he is also shown with an hourglass.[30]

26 Bonin et al. 2006, 465.

27 Foty 2006, 117.

28 Chevalier et al. 1993, 444.

29 Marinko 1997, 52.

30 Chevalier et al. 1993, 448.

Fig. 10: The tombstone dedicated to the Carlo, Vittorio and Giradelli families (photo: Tina Škrokov, October 2011).

Cronus symbolizes the nonexistence or interruption of time. On the discussed tombstone Cronus is holding an hourglass in his right hand which symbolizes the eternal fall of time, the relentless flow of sand until the end, where there is death like the death in the human cycle. The containers of sand represent Earth and Sky and the stream of sand between them is representing the exchange between one world and the other.[31] Thus the hourglass is a symbol of the passing of time and life's efflux and more so it symbolizes the passing of life and the inevitable death. The hourglasses were a popular motif on tombstones and monuments in the 18th century.[32]

The look of the deceased and Cronus meet in the hourglass. She has a scroll of papyrus in her left hand. A rolled-up papyrus is a symbol of acceptance. The winded

31 Chevalier et al. 1993, 448.
32 Forty 2006, 153.

or unwinded opapyrus corresponds to the ending of secrets and revelations.[33]

The tombstone dedicated to the Segre and Maria Alba families

Fig. 11: The tombstone dedicated to the Segre and Maria Alba families (photo: Tina Škrokov, October 2011).

A special form of tombstone in the St. Anna cemetery is dedicated to the Segre and Marija Alba Garroni families (fig. 11). The tombstone represents an angel looking towards the sky and holding a palm branch with his left hand on a pedestal with a Latin cross above it. The angel stands on ruins of Egyptian architecture. A broken obelisk is situated beneath his feet. The obelisk is an element of Egyptian architectural art that is present in Europe already from the ancient times. Caesar Augustus was the first to have an obelisk brought to Rome from Egypt. The tomb of the Segre and Maria Alba Garroni families, have an obelisk with four sides, its cross-section is square and the body of the obelisk has hieroglyphs all over it. The obelisk remained intact to this day as a monument and more importantly as a tombstone.[34]

Besides the obelisk the tombstone in question is also adorned with part of a head with distinctively Egyptian lines. It is a woman that could represent one of the Egyptian goddesses or queens. We can find a hidden remain of a winged disk under a mass of deformed ruin. Of the latter we can notice part of the feathers, a poorly visible disk and a snake that clasps one side of the disk.

The third distinctly Egyptian element we can find on this tombstone are the hieroglyphs. These are located on the pedestal and have a mostly decorative and symbolic role. We can see two hieroglyphs on the front side of the pedestal. The first one could represent the goddess of war and family life Neit. Her head ornament was the shield with two crossed arrows and the red crown of Lower Egypt. She was a funeral goddess and was one of the four goddesses which

33 Chevalier et al. 1993, 434.

34 Kajfež 2008, 456.

watched over the sarcophagus of Osiris. The second hieroglyph shows a snake wearing the abovementioned crown of Lower Egypt on its head and and Ank on its tail. The Ank is the hieroglyph for life. The Egyptian gods often hold an Ank under the nose of a pharaoh – symbolically breathing life into them. On the other side of the pedestal we can see a papyrus and a fish. The ancient Egyptians offered the gods and the dead gifts of whole steams of papyrus as a symbol of victory and joy. The fish symbolized the resurrection and life force. The Egyptians associated the fish with the Egyptian god Osiris.[35]

Epilogue

The review and analysis of the tombstones in the St. Anna cemetery and the cemeteries of the littoral coastal towns give an insight on the cultural-political image of the city of Trieste and Koper, Izola and Piran – the Slovenian coastal towns. The Egyptian architectural elements and epitaphs that we can find on tombstones reveal the spirit of the educated and wealthy society in those times, which contributed a lot to the formation and development of science and culture in the coastal cities of the northern Adriatic.

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35 Forty 2006, 11, 21, 32, 113.

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HEINRICH HIMMEL VON AGISBURG. AN EXCLUSIVE TRAVELLER AND WRITER

ANGELA BLASCHEK, Vienna

By pure chance, as I was browsing the works by Austrian writers describing Oriental trips in the 19th century, I found the author Heinrich von Himmel and to my astonishment there were four editions of his book *Eine Orient-Reise*, describing his trip of 1884 to Egypt and the Holy Land.

The title is very close to the famous opus *Eine Orientreise im Jahre 1881* of Crown Prince Rudolph of Austria. Incredible, I thought, who was this man? It was rather difficult to gather the sundry bits of his biography, as all information was very, very sketchy and rare to find. Eventually, reading his travel descriptions, his prefaces and epilogues in his four editions, as well as introductory words of the newspaper[1] *Das Vaterland* where he published his travelogues, I could gather some dates and facts of his life.

The travelogue with four editions

However, for my research, I looked for the *first edition*. I found it in the National Library in Vienna, and there it was – or rather they were: two separate small books, the first volume entitled *Egypt*, edited in 1885. The second volume was edited in 1886, one year later, and concerned the Holy Land. Its title was correspondingly *Jerusalem – Beyrut – Smyrna – Constantinopel – Athen*.

Both are in the *Fideicommis* of the Crown Prince Rudolf, decorated with a handwritten signature of Himmel. There was another interesting fact – the books were a „*Separatausdruck aus dem Vaterland*", thus an offprint from the newspaper *Das Vaterland*, where Himmel first published his travel impressions in a series of papers (I–XXI)[2] in 1885. The demand for his experiences was evidently so great, that the *Vaterland* edited them as offprints.

1 Himmel wrote his first articles for the newspaper „Das Vaterland" anonym, during the occupation in Herzegovina Drei Tage aus dem Leben eines k.k. Offiziers published on 7th September 1878, and Ali Pasch'a Auszug aus der Herzegovina published on 13th February 1879.

2 The travelogue from Egypt was published in sequences in 1885 in the newspaper Das Vaterland under the title Eine Orient-Reise in the numbers 83, 87, 89, 96, 98, 99, 100, 102 103 104 106, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 116, 118, 119, 120., exactly corresponding to the chapters in his book.

As Himmel travelled, on his boat to Alexandria, and also later on, he worked en route on his accounts of the journey and clean enveloped reports were sent to Vienna to the newspaper *Das Vaterland*. As he started his trip to Egypt on 28th august 1884, the first publication in the newspaper *Das Vaterland* was on 25th march 1885 in the number 83 under the title *Eine Orient-Reise*. The chapters of the sequences in the newspaper correspond to the book.

Beginning with 1st of January 1886[3] the newspaper *Das Vaterland* published the second part of Himmel's oriental trip, concerning the Holy Land, Beirut, Constantinopel and Athen. The editor opens his preface

„*The friendly acceptance, which the readers of Vaterland repeatedly extended to the travelogues of imperial and royal captain Heinrich Himmel allows the editors to continue the description of the Oriental trip, which we began in spring 1885. The trip took place in fall 1884*."[4]

Said continuation opened with the chapter XIX, and ended on Sunday, 18 April with the last chapter LVIII.[5]

The publication in a newspaper explains also why the chapters are so short and their number so high. 58 chapters, that would be a surprising number for a book, but it is perfectly understandable as a series of articles for a newspaper. It seems that the travel histories were extremely popular, so the *Das Vaterland* decided on the offprint in two little volumes.

It is also worth noting what was *Das Vaterland* – this newspaper first appeared in September 1860, with the subtitle *Zeitung für die österreichische Monarchie* (a paper for the Austrian monarchy), and at first had just four leaves, and its contents was initially chiefly political[6] later than even travelogues and poetry.

A second edition of Himmel's oeuvre was published in 1887, in one book including both volumes of the first edition, as *Eine Orient-Reise geschildert von Heinrich Himmmel, k.k. Hauptmann des Infanterie-Regimentes Georg I. König der Hellenen Nr. 99, Ritter des päpstl. St. Gregor-Ordens… und und, Druck und Verlag des St. Norbertus-Druckerei*. Here we find out about his career in the army, plus some additional personal dates.

3 In following editions of the newspaper Das Vaterland in the year 1886. Himmel's descriptions of his trip to the Holy Land 1884 are published in a sequence: 5, 6, 8, 10, 14, 17, 25, 28, 29, 30, 31, 33, 37, 38, 40, 41, 42, 44, 47, 52, 56, 57, 59, 61, 63, 65, 66, 68, 69, 70, 73, 76, 78, 87, 94, 101, 108.

4 Heinrich Himmel, newspaper Das Vaterland, no. 83 of 1885, p.1.

5 On the end of his travelogue he wrote A.m.D.g., the logo of the Jesuits Ad maijorem Dei gloria.

6 From 1st January 1893 there was also an evening edition.

There is a short epilogue, which Himmel wrote in Vienna, on 3rd of March 1887:

„*When I wrote my farewell words, little could I foresee that the 8000 copies, in which "Das Vaterland" and "Volksblatt für Stadt und Land" published my Orientreise as an offprint, would not suffice, and that so there would be so soon so many wishes for a new edition.*"[7]

In the last LVIII chapter of his sequences in the newspaper Das Vaterland Himmel writes:

„*In the same way as after my return from India and South America, the most respectable periodical offered its pages to me, so that I may inform the Christian-minded and educated audience about my latest journey.*"[8]

Thus I found out that he travelled rather a lot - to India, for example, in 1880. Again, he published an account of this earlier journey in the newspaper *Das Vaterland*, where it was published anonymus (only k.k. officer, without his name) in series under the title *Eine Indienreise*.[9] Himmel also went to South America in 1883/1884, and also in this case sent his travel stories to the newspaper *Das Vaterland* where the series was printed under the title *Aus fernem Westen*[10] (The Far West).

The second edition was also sold out immediately. Himmel's book was apparently a standing bestseller, responding well to the demands of its time, and as soon as in 1889 there came a third and enlarged illustrated edition published by Leo Woerl, Berlin, within Woerl's travel library. Its full title ran *Eine Orient-Reise geschildert von Heinrich Himmel, Major des k.k.Infanterie-Regmients Karl I., König von Rumänien, No. 6, Ritter des päpst. St. Gregor-Ordens, etc.etc.etc*. with 597 pages, of which 89 pages are dedicated to Egypt. At that time, Himmel was already a Major of k. k. Infantry Regiment, Charles I, King of Romania, no. 6, and the papal knight of the Order of St. Gregory.

He also wrote a new and very interesting preface for the 3rd edition, in October 1888, while in Budapest:

7 Himmel 1887, preface.

8 Himmel 1887, 326.

9 Eine Indienreise from February 1880 was published in sequences in Das Vaterland' nos: 114, 118, 119, 132, 138, 145, 147, 148, 151, 152, 153, 158, 162, 164, 167.

10 Aus fernem Westen in autumn 1883 was published in Das Vaterland in no. 342, 343, 346, 350, and further on in 1884 in nos. 4, 5, 10, 13, 22, 24, 27, 31, 32, 33, 47, 49, 53, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 75, 80, 84, 87, 89, 91, 92, 93, 95, 96, 98, 99, 100, 101.

“*Despite the print run of the Orientreise, which reached 10000 copies, it appears that a new edition is desired, so I obliged gladly to the suggestions that a new edition should be enriched by scenes from the Holy Land and illustrated.*”[11]

The third edition includes 105 illustrations,[12] which are made of woodcuts, and the publishing house Leo Woerl noticed hereby:

“*The illustrations were mostly made by us from the photographs supplied by Major Himmel, some were taken from Woerl's works on Palestine, Jerusalem and the Land of the Pharaohs by Fahngruber,*[13] *as well as from the opus Orient by Schweiger-Lerchenfeld,* [14] *and in part from the richly illustrated work by the Crown Prince Rudolf of Austria, where the pictures are by Pausinger,* [15] *and eventually a part of the illustrations was made by us from materials generously given to our disposal from the drawings by his Imperial and Royal Highness the Archduke Ludwig Salvator.*”[16]

For this third edition Himmel added aforementioned “images from the Holy Land” (pages 425-580); some 16 chosen locations in the Holy Land are brought even closer to the reader. They have been mentioned in the previous editions briefly and in text only, but were not considered further – these include Hebron, Jericho, Masada, Tabor, Tiberias, etc., now equipped with all the quotations from the Bible where they are mentioned. In his preface, Himmel mentions that he had only one goal in mind, to revive interest in the Holy Land and to strengthen it.

Finally, in 1901, there was *a fourth* enlarged edition, *Eine Orient-Reise* geschildert von Heinrich von Himmel K. und K. Oberst d. R. etc, etc, in the Jos. Roth'schen Verlagshandlung, Stuttgart and Vienna. The first time “von”, as he was ennobled in the meantime, Heinrich Himmel von Agisburg.[17]

11 Himmel 1889, preface.

12 In front of the book there is a Panorama of Jerusalem from the Mount of Olives, recovered from a steel engraving from Baedecker's Panorama. On the reverse of the subject index there is a map of European Turkey.

13 Johannes Fahrngruber (1845–1901), austrian priest, explorer and author of Aus dem Pharaonenlande – Eine Fahrt nach dem 'hunderthorigen' Theben, Wien, 1882.

14 Amand Freiherr von Schweiger-Lerchenfeld (1846–1910) k.u.k.officer, traveller and author of Die Orientreise des Kronzprinzen Rudolf, 1882.

15 Franz Xaver von Pausinger (1839–1915) austrian painter, he accompanied Crownprince Rudolf from Austria to Egypt in 1881.

16 Archduke of Austria Ludwig Salvator (1847–1915), explorer and author of Die Karawanenstraße von Ägypten nach Syrien, Würzburg, 1878.

17 The act of the enobling exist under the number 3360 in the Österreichisches Staatsarchiv, dated 14th February 1890. Himmel himself proposed 3 names: Seraphburg, Agisburg and Seraphheim.

This edition is without illustrations, only the 58 chapters with the description of his journey, second appendix with the Holy places, and a third new appendix: *Concerning Pilgrimages to the Holy Land - Ueber Volkswallfahrten nach dem Heiligen Land*. In the fourth edition I also finally found a photo of Heinrich von Himmel, in uniform, adorned with many metals, there he is 57 years old.[18]

All four editions have the same structure of contents. The LVIII chapters have Roman numbers; chapter I till XIX describes his journey in Egypt, the remaining chapters follow the journey to the Holy Land, Beyrut, Smyrna, Constantinople and Athens.

Travelogue to Egypt in 1884

In chapter I. of his publication Himmel opens his description of his journey to Egypt: "*As I heeded the cries of joy, with which the crews in the port of Rio de Janeiro greeted the New Year of 1884, in my soul I searched to answer a question, what shall this time bring…*"

After his South-America trip Himmel was returning to Austria, and continued to Carlsbad - where he hoped

„*to overcome at last at these springs the very last traces of pain and exhaustion of the field campaigns of 1878 and 1882.... The happenings in Egypt, the new era in the development of history of this remarkable country, all this interested me intensely, and I felt a growing desire to visit the venerable kingdom on the Nile[19], which I saw only fleetingly during my trip to India in 1880.*" [20]

But his travel wish list seemed to include also the Holy Land, Constantinople and Athens.

Himmel continues:

„*… motherly love and care had given to the traveller, now so shortly at home, a few happy, blessed hours, but my thought was already given to the South. Soon afterwards, I had to admit to my family the unexpected fact that I wished to go to Egypt. Soon were all the necessary preparations ready, and during a short stay in Vienna, I accepted the well wishes of my friends and benefactors and already on the 28th of August I was in Trieste, awaiting the departure of my ship, the Austrian*

18 The medals: Komturkreuz des Franz Josefs Ordens mit dem Stern, Ritter des Leopold Ordens, Inhaber der Silbernen Militärverdienstmedaille am Bande, Großkreuz des päpstlichen St. Gregoriusordens, Komturkreuz des Ordens vom Heiligen Grabe, etc.

19 On his trip to India on February 1880 Himmel sailed trough the Suez-Canal.

20 Himmel 1887, 2.

Lloyd steamer Espero. My next travel aim was Alexandria, the great merchant emporium of Egypt." [21]

Thus on August 28 of 1884, he embarked on the steamer Espero Lloyd in Trieste and set out to the Mediterranean. They could not visit Corfu, always the first station for all Orient travellers, where the ship was refused entry because there was cholera in Italy. After a six-day journey, they arrived to Alexandria on the 3rd of September 1884.

He immediately took a walk to the central point of Alexandria, the place Mohamed Ali, and saw whole rows of houses in ruins, after the British bombings of 1882, his comment is as follows:

„*These are the first traces of those days of horror, which, in my opinion solely the British were responsible for. The revolt of those days, which had been ended so effectively by the bombardment, seems to me to be of that kind, which serves so well to certain politics, namely politics which wants to get its hand in a foreign country and needs something to cover it up before the world. The traces of brutal cannonade multiply as one draws closer to the Mehmed Ali palace."*[22]

The next day he visited the Jesuit College in Alexandria, as he was closely connected to the Jesuits, and visited them already in South America and India.

Himmel researched Alexandria with a text of Strabo in his hand (or at least in his mind) :

„*It was with difficulty that the researcher could recognize a few more hints of streets, the palaces and monumental buildings, which are known from Strabo. Where is the wonder of the world – the acclaimed Pharos, where are the royal palaces of Cleopatra's and Caesar's, the splendour, which excited the admiration of the world, where is the museum, in whose halls the most learned men walked in those times, where is the tomb of Alexander the Great who rested here in a golden coffin? They have all disappeared like the magnificent amphitheater and Hippodrome, like the Serapeum and its statues, pillars of sun and moon, they are all gone, as well as the countless temples and cathedrals in which the pagan and Christian world had prayed for centuries. Of all the glory is nothing left but one tall pillar, a well-known landmark of Alexandria, the Pompey's Column.*"[23]

21 Himmel 1885, 2.

22 Himmel 1887, 17.

23 Himmel 1887, chapter IX.

After 3 days in Alexandria, he finally arrived by train to Cairo. His first journey took him to the citadel from where he saw the pyramids for the first time. The sight triggered in him a peculiar feeling of emotion and satisfaction. The grave of Mohammed Ali (who – at this time was dead for 36 years) made him look back into history.

The visit of the museum in Bulaq let him look back on the past even more thoughtfully; many coffins of the great Pharaohs, thirty mummies in their receptacles, „which have built from their avarice and impiety dignified mausoleums". He philosophized further on Sesostris and Ramses: „The body of Ramses the Great, a mere coffin with the number 5233 as an exhibition object in a museum."[24] It is clear from his observations and descriptions that he was very well read and familiar with the history of Egypt.

While in Cairo, Himmel also attended the Jesuit College, and remarked that the Pope had charged the Jesuits with the task to train the next generation of the Coptic clergy.

The next visit was dedicated to the pyramids, and his impressions were deep, Himmel writes: „*From my childhood I carried the image of the pyramids, extreme colossi. ... And now I looked at the Great pyramid, and its proportions seemed to grow. It was overpowering, the "immense architectural idea" is embodied in them.*"[25]

Himmel tells no measurements of the pyramids, but the names of the three great pyramids which clearly show that he knew Giza: „*Above all rises here Chut," the Shining ", the tomb of Khufu's (Cheops); then as second in range Uer, "the Great", the tomb of Chephren, whose portrait statue I saw in the museum of Bulak, and finally Haer, "the most precious," the tomb of Pharaoh Menkaura*" Himmel ascended the Great pyramid, but did not go to the burial chamber. From the interior he only saw the Great Gallery, but could not continue further due to heat and humidity.

Concerning the Sphinx, he wrote:

„*This rigid human face with the lion's body, looks for millennia to the east, the eyes so deep, its sight penetrating. Such a mysterious picture, however maimed, but still with the mild, thoughtful features of a very noble face recognizable .... Har-em-chu, "Horus in the sunshine" says the hieroglyphic inscriptions on the mysterious statue whose history reaches far back into time, even before the Giza pyramids.*"

There followed a trip to the Step Pyramid of Sakkara. There he cites a pyramid of "Uenephes" as the most important of a group of seventeen pyramids.

24 Himmel 1887, chapter XII.

25 Himmel 1887, chapter IX.

He also visited the vast corridors and halls, in which the sacred bulls of the era of the 18th up to 26th Dynasty (1700 to 500 BC) were buried in colossal granite sarcophagi. Additionally, he looked at several private tombs in this necropolis, including the tomb of Ti and his wife Neferhotep from the time of the fifth dynasty.

Further, Himmel visited the desert spa Helouan and Heliopolis. The latter site interested him, as it was the holy Annu of the ancient Egyptians, the On of the Bible, where the sun cult was practiced. Here the high priest Potiphar held his holy office, here Joseph, Jacob's son, in Pharaoh’s service, courted Aseneth, the Egyptian high priest's daughter, here were the teachers of God called to Moses. Of the famous site, only one obelisk survived.

Himmel, accompanied by a Jesuit, also walked in the footsteps of the Holy Family, which is supposed to have lived there, and looked at the tree and the miraculous Spring of Virgin Mary. He also wanted to get to know further Christian holy places, as in Old Cairo, such as the Sitt Miriam (Mary) Church, where the Holy Family was said to have also resided, and he saw also the second Sitt Miriam also called el-Moellake-church, belonging to the schismatic Christians and the George monastery with the Greco-Oriental rite.

Heinrich von Himmel was clearly a very devout man. During his stay in Cairo, he had visited all the Christian churches and attended the Sunday mass, and he was very inspired to experience the most sacred places of Christendom.

However, he did not limit his experience to his own religion alone. On the recommendation of his Jesuit friend, Himmel visited the monastery of the howling dervishes in Old Ciaro, the performance there was one of the most exciting spectacles imaginable for him.

Interestingly Himmel also went to the famous El Ayhar Mosque, with its university and 10.000 university students, and described the teaching environment. Classes were outdoors, every teacher hat his appointed place next to a pillar, surrounded bz a group of twenty to thrity students.

Cairo was the southernmost place Himmel visited in Egypt. The growing power of the Mahdi alarmed the Egyptians, the war preparations of the English and the political turmoil in Egypt thus prevented a Nile trip, and so Himmel decided to travel further to the Holy Land. From Cairo he went back to Alexandria by train, and then by boat via Port Said, but not to Jaffa, the usual port of Jerusalem, but to Beirut, where he arrived on 21 September 1884 and where passengers had to follow a five-day quarantine. But that was a yet another chapter of his travels.

Biographical notes

The biography of Himmel is a puzzle with many little pieces. The facts from the Austrian Biography Lexicon[26] say that Heinrich Himmel von Agisburg was

26 Ad vocem: Himmel von Agisburg, 319.

born in Schönberg (Šumperk), Moravia, on May 3rd 1843, and he entered in the Austrian k.k. Army a san officer. He took part in the campaign in 1866 in Custozza[27], and in the activities in 1878 and 1882 in Herzegowina. He died in Brixen, South Tyrol on 28th March 1915, 72 years old.

In the preface of his travelogue *Aus fernem Westen* on 14th December 1883 he writes that because of the insurrection campaign in Herzegovina 1882 he has now problems with his heart and his lungs, therefore the doctors recommended him to take holiday, and so he went to South-America and could not participate on the manoeuvres in 1883. On March 1885 he is stationed in Znaim with his k.u.k Infantry Regiment No. 99.[28]

It is from such various random notes that we reconstruct Himmel's biography. For example, we know that his 1880 travel to India and 1883/1884 to Latin America are mentioned in *Eine Orient-Reise* Volume I, Egypt, - where he finds himself on a ship in Rio de Janeiro at New Year's Eve, toward the end of his American journey, and is looking forward to his return back to Europe.

The first part of his journey, i.e. the Mediterranean trip and Egypt, he had already described and finished editorially on the ship Espero while returning and sent it by post to the newspapers *Das Vaterland and Volksblatt für Stadt und Land* in Vienna, which published it as a series, as we already know. After his return from Egypt and the Holy Land, Himmel was transferred to a new garrison, to Mostar in Herzegovina, where he summed up the second part of his book, concerning the Holy Land. The 3rd part concerning Syrien, Smyrna, Constantinopel and Athen was written also in Mostar in March 1886.

Eleven years after the previous edition, Himmel wrote another preface for his fourth puplication, this time in Bressanone (Brixen) in October 1900. Biography traces are to be found here once again. Namely, we find a dedication: „*In my heart, dedicated to good honest Agathe and our dear children, in true love and devotion.*" (Meiner herzensguten braven Agathe und unseren lieben Kindern in treuer Liebe und Anhänglichkeit gewidmet).

On the Adler Society, specialist for heraldry in Vienna, I stumpled to my great surprise on his wedding anonce, so he married Agathe Reichsfreiin Gudenus on 7th october 1890 in the housechapel in Gaad, near Budapest, in the same year of this enobling.[29] Even in the Adler Society exist an obituary of Himmel, and there are mentionned six children: Agathe, Ladislaus (certainly in memory of the Hungarian Archduke), Marie-Anne, Heinrich, Georg and Angela.

27 In the third war of Italian Independence, the second battle of Custozza took place on 24th July 1866 between Austrian imperial and Italian royal forces.

28 In the preface of Das Vaterland from 25th March 1885.

29 She was the daughter of Hugo Reichsfreiherr Gudenus, k.u.k. Kämmerer, and Charlotte Reichsfreiin Gudenus, born Csávosy von Csávos und Bobda.

In the Austrian Statearchive exists a handwritten curriculum vitae, dated Budapest on 14th February 1890 as application for his enobling. In this curriculum he writes that on 3rd June 1859 he entered in the k.u.k. Infantry-Regiment No. 54, and was promoted on 1st May 1863 to lieutenant, on 28th June 1866 to lieutenant colonel, on 1st May 1877 to captain, on 18th August 1888 to major of the k.u.k. Infantry-Regiment No. 6. As a colonel he retired in 1896, in 1908 he received the title general major.[30]

Another biographical detail emerged in the preface of his fourth edition in 1900, where Himmel tells the reader that he was appointed tutor to the Archduke Ladislaus, Son of Archduke Joseph and his wife Archduchess Clotilde, a grandson of the Palatine of Hungary. The Archduke lived in Alcsuther, where he celebrated his 20th birthday. On the hunt in Kis-Jeno the young archduke had an incident, his gun fired and injured him, and a little later he succumbed to his injuries at the Red Cross hospital in Budapest,[31] in September 1895, just twenty years old.

Himmel must have therefore spent several years in Hungary. It is possible that the appointment was some sort of a reward. A year later, in 1896 he is retiring after a period of forty-years in the k. und k. Army. Since then, he would have probably lived with his family in Brixen.[32]

In the preface of his fourth edition, he further describes that he had organized a pilgrimage to the Holy Land for 500 men of the diocese of Brixen in South-Tirol. The pilgrims' journey lasted from the 5th to 28th October 1898. In a new - third - appendix *About People's pilgrimages to the Holy Land*, Himmel informs us in detail about his organization of the pilgrim's trip, and advocates for further pilgrimages.[33] His devout service to the church, like his service to the army, was rewarded.

30 He mentions that he is owner of k.u.k. Kriegs-Medaille, of the Officer-Dienstzeichen since 3rd June 1882, Knight of the popal St. Gregory Orden since 1873, member of the geographian Society and the anthropological Society in Vienna.

31 Damillo Morgan, Erzherzog Ladislaus, sein junges Leben und Sterben. Wahrheitsgetreue, vom hohen Obersthofmeisteramte Seiner kaiserlichen und königlichen Hoheit des durchlauchtigsten Herrn Erzherzog's Josef durchgesehene Schilderung. 1895, Wien.

32 Brixen was very popular for retired officers to life there because of the good weather conditions.

33 He was also awarded Orden der Ritter vom Heiligen Grab zu Jerusalem, which the Guardian of the Franciscan order in Jerusalem was allowed to bestow, and thus make the pilgrims into knights. He was also awarded the order of Gregory the Great, the fourth most important order the Pope can bestow for the services to the Catholic Church.

Conclusion

So the biography of Heinrich Himmel is put together from small fragments, like his publication in the newspaper *Das Vaterland*, some biography traces in his prefaces of the fourth editions, allows us only glimpses into the fascinating life of this man. He also seldom talks about himself. Originally, Himmel wrote all his impressions and experiences in diaries, and confessed to his readers the difficulty to choose memorable things for his books - because of the great wealth of material, as he was as officer always en route, and had no library for checking details of history. But he is very informed about history and bible. He also mentioned than when he undertook his journeys he was not a rich man, but a humble officer. He had neither the favour of special circumstances, nor the protection of influential personalities in his life and the future can offer such a man little else more than the hope of travel through the humble paths of life's evening.

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THE JOURNEY OF FELIX VON LUSCHAN TO EGYPT IN 1889

HUBERT SZEMETHY, Vienna

My paper presented in Ljubljana in 2012 was not only concerned with the topic *Meeting point Egypt*, but also with the old Austro-Hungarian Empire and the old city of Laibach. We are primarily connected through our shared history, but also by the family of the scholar Felix von Luschan. With my contribution I wanted to reconnect him with his roots, back to his homeland – *Meeting point Ljubljana.**

If we believe the tales that have been handed down in the family, a certain Lužan Begovic was ancestor of the family. His verdict, conveyed by oral tradition from the year 1365, was: SEMPER FIDELIS. But "fidelis" is not to be understood in the sense of being "faithful", but rather as "jolly", "good-humoured", or "cheerful". This philosophy of life seems to have been valid for Felix von Luschan too, at least that is what we can gather from one of his letters to Georgina von Hochstetter, written on July 4, 1882 during an expedition in the south of Turkey – in a period full of privation – and referring to his ancestor:

"*Der alte Kerl hat sich gewisz auch nicht öfter gewaschen, als wir dies uns jetzt erlauben können und hat doch gewisz ganz munter gelebt. Es ist also nur der reine Atavismus, wenn wir uns hier trotz der Wassernoth nicht ganz unglücklich fühlen.*"[1]

It is unknown where this Lužan Begovic lived exactly, but it is said that he moved to Carniola after the battle of Kosovo in 1389. Reliable details about the family history are not available for the period before the lifetime of the grandparents of Felix von Luschan.

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*An extended manuscript of my lecture, held in Ljubljana in 2012, will be published in German in Akten des Symposiums zur Geschichte von Millstatt und Kärnten 2013 (Millstatt 2014), edited by Franz Nikolasch. In contrast to the Millstatt paper my text in this volume will stress the family history of Felix von Luschan and will only deal with five weeks Felix von Luschan spent in Egypt. His further trip to Beirut and Damascus will not be discussed. – I want to thank Clemens Steinhuber for help with the translation of this paper.

1 Berlin State Library – Prussian Cultural Heritage, Manuscript Department, Estate of Felix von Luschan, box 1, set of documents "Briefe Felix von Luschans an Hofrat Prof. Ferdinand von Hochstetter und seine Frau 1878–1883".

Fig. 1: Lukas von Luschan; Photo: E. Pogorelz, Laibach (Berlin State Library – Prussian Cultural Heritage, Manuscript Department, Estate of Felix von Luschan, box 4, "Familienpapiere").

Fig. 2: Anna von Luschan, born Hutterstrasser; Photo: J. Schweger, Atelier E. Dzimski's Witwe, Laibach (Berlin State Library – Prussian Cultural Heritage, Manuscript Department, Estate of Felix von Luschan, box 4, "Familienpapiere").

Felix von Luschan's grandfather was Lukas Luschan (fig. 1). He was born in 1786 in Safniz (today: Žabnica), south of the city of Kranj (then: Krainburg) as the son of impoverished parents. His father was Bartholomäus Luschan, a farmer, of his mother only the name Apolonia Alizh († c1806) is known. With much zeal, Lukas Luschan managed to finance his study of law, which he finished on May 21, 1814.

On July 5, 1819 he married 20-year-old Anna Maria Hutterstrasser (fig. 2) at the Cathedral of Saint Nicholas in Laibach. She was born on April 15, 1799 as daughter of the tailor Ignatz Hutterstrasser and Maria Raab. At this time he lived in Laibach at No. 255.

His cursus honorum in justice lead him from minor administrative posts at the newly established court in Karlstadt (today: Karlovac in Croatia) to Prague, in 1824 to Laibach and in 1830 to the higher regional court in Klagenfurt, where he was in charge of the crown lands Kärnten/Carinthia and Krain/Carniola. In

1854 he moved to Graz and retired in the following year aged 69.[2] At this time his health had begun failing and a long-lasting, painful illness soon confined him to the bed. In his final years he ordered an altarpiece by a Carinthian painter for the pilgrimage church of Ehrengruben (today: Crngrob), close to his place of birth. Prior to its installation in the church this painting was exhibited at the Ursuline Church in Laibach.[3]

At the age of 81 Lukas von Luschan died on December 23, 1867 in the morning at half past five at Laibach, Wienerstraße 61. According to the death certificate he died of "exhaustion". Two days later he was buried in his own tomb at St. Christopher's cemetery.[4] He was survived by his wife Anna (she died in Laibach, Maria Theresia Straße 10, on October 21, 1878), four sons (Max, Gustav, Otto, and Albert) and two daughters (Emilie, married to Johann Heinricher, and Wilhelmine, married to Johann Pogatschnigg).

In an obituary, printed in a Laibach newspaper a week after his death, the following was written about him:

"*Der unermüdliche Fleiß und Diensteifer, die umfassende Gesetzeskenntniß, Umsicht und Genauigkeit, mit welcher der Verewigte durch mehr als 30 Jahre als Rath erster und zweiter Instanz sich dem allerhöchsten Dienste widmete und zu einer geregelten Justizpflege in den Herzogthümern Kärnten und Krain wesentlich beitrug, die besondere Treue und Anhänglichkeit, welche derselbe während seiner langen Dienstzeit stets gegen das durchlauchtigste Kaiserhaus*

2 Compiled according to Berlin State Library – Prussian Cultural Heritage, Manuscript Department, Estate of Felix von Luschan, box 4, set of documents "Familienpapiere"). Cf. Knoll 2009, 23–27; Rugále – Preinfalk 2012, 117–121.

3 Laibacher Zeitung Nr. 299 (30. 12. 1867), 2044 ("Nekrolog"). – Cf. Koman 2000, 34: "Na zahodni steni te ladje visi oljna slika Oznanjenja, ki je bila nekoč v glavnem oltarju. Slika je münchensko delo, v cerkev pa je prišla kot darilo sodnika Jožefa Lužana iz Žabnica. Na mestu osrednje podobe glavnega oltarja je leta 1880 zamenjala Layerjevo Oznanjenje iz leta 1796.“ ("On the western wall of the [south] nave the oil painting 'Annunciation' can be seen, which at one point had been part of the main altar. The painting is a work from Munich, and became part of the church as a gift by judge Josef Lužan [actually: Lukas Luschan] of Žabnica. The painting became the central piece at the main altar in 1880, replacing the 'Annunciation' (1796) by [Leopold] Layer.") – I want to thank Miha Preinfalk for this information, and Mateja Kos, National Museum of Slovenia, for her investigation. As this detail was discovered only shortly before article submission, the Institute for the Protection of Cultural Heritage of Slovenia could not be reached for comment before going to print.

4 In 1906 a new cemetery was established near the Church of the Holy Cross and the old St. Christopher's Cemetery was abandoned; as a consequence the grave of Lukas von Luschan no longer exists today.

und den Staat bewies, erwarben ihm bei der wohlverdienten Jubilirung die allerhöchste Anerkennung der Verleihung des Ordens der eisernen Krone dritter Classe, welche die Erhebung in den Ritterstand des österreichischen Kaiserstaates zur Folge hatte."[5]

Fig. 3: Coat of arms of Lukas von Luschan (Rugále – Preinfalk 2012, 117).

The obituary mentions his tireless enthusiasm and diligence, his extensive knowledge of the law, and the care and accuracy of his service in the Duchy of Carinthia and the Duchy of Carniola. This is also attested by records which show that Lukas von Luschan had been decorated on November 21, 1855 by Emperor Franz Joseph I with the Imperial Order of the Metal Crown 3rd class, by which the person in question also received knighthood in the Austro-Hungarian Empire.

The coat of arms shows, among other details – the draft differs in some details from the final coat of arms –, five (2–1–2) golden bees on a blue background and two crowned helmets with three ostrich feathers in blue and gold (fig. 3).[6]

The bees were probably meant to indicate Lukas von Luschan's enthusiasm:

"*Die Bienen versinnbildlichen den Eifer des Wappenherrn [i. e. Lukas von Luschan], welchen er als Vorsitzender des Schwurgerichtes und bei den andern ihm übertragenen wichtigen Geschäften an Tag gelegt hatte.*"[7]

But in addition to the symbolic representation of the never resting zeal of the bees, the emblem may also contain another reference to Lukas von Luschan, namely to his place of origin, to Carniola.[8] Since the time of Anton Janša (1734–1773) Carniola had been well-known for beekeeping. From the mid-19th century, the so-called Carniolan honey bee has been exported by beekeepers of Carniola all over the world, but mainly to North and Central Europe. Its scientific name is *Apis mellifera carnica* [Pollmann 1879]. It is the most common type of bee in Europe today, and was also brought to the New

5 Laibacher Zeitung Nr. 299 (30. 12. 1867), 2044 ("Nekrolog").

6 Rugále – Preinfalk 2012, 117.

7 Siebmacher 1879, 176.

8 I want to thank Miran and Veronika Pflaum for suggesting this interpretation at the conference in Ljubljana in 2012.

Fig. 4: Maximilian von Luschan; oil painting on canvas by Heinrich von Angeli, 1866 (Berlin State Library – Prussian Cultural Heritage, Kunstschatznummer 91).

Fig. 5: Christine von Luschan, born Hocheder; oil painting on canvas by Heinrich von Angeli, 1866 (Berlin State Library – Prussian Cultural Heritage, Kunstschatznummer 29).

World, in particular by Slavic emigrants, where a variety was named after it: the "New World Carniolan Bee".

One of Lukas von Luschan's sons, Maximilian, was born on September 18, 1821 in Karlstadt. He pursued a career in the legal profession, studied law in Vienna and graduated on May 5, 1846. First employed at the Viennese lawyer Ferdinand Suppantschitsch, he moved to Klagenfurt in 1850, where he worked at the k. k. General-Procuracy for Carinthia and Carniola, and from there in 1851 to Krainburg (Kranj) as assistant to the prosecutor. The following year he was appointed to the position of a notary in Oberhollabrunn in Lower Austria.

On September 18, 1853 he married 18-year-old Christine Hocheder, daughter of the well-known geologist Johann Karl Hocheder[9] in Vienna. After their marriage Maximilian and Christine von Luschan (figs. 4, 5)[10] lived in Oberhollabrunn (in 1928 renamed to Hollabrunn) at No. 91 (today Hauptplatz 8). On August 12, 1854 Felix von Luschan was born there. He had two brothers, Max, who died as a high school student at the age of 18, and Oscar, who later worked as a notary in Millstatt in Carinthia.

9 ÖBL 2 (1959) 343; Riedl-Dorn 2001.

10 Cf. Biehahn 1961, 24 No. 73, 74.

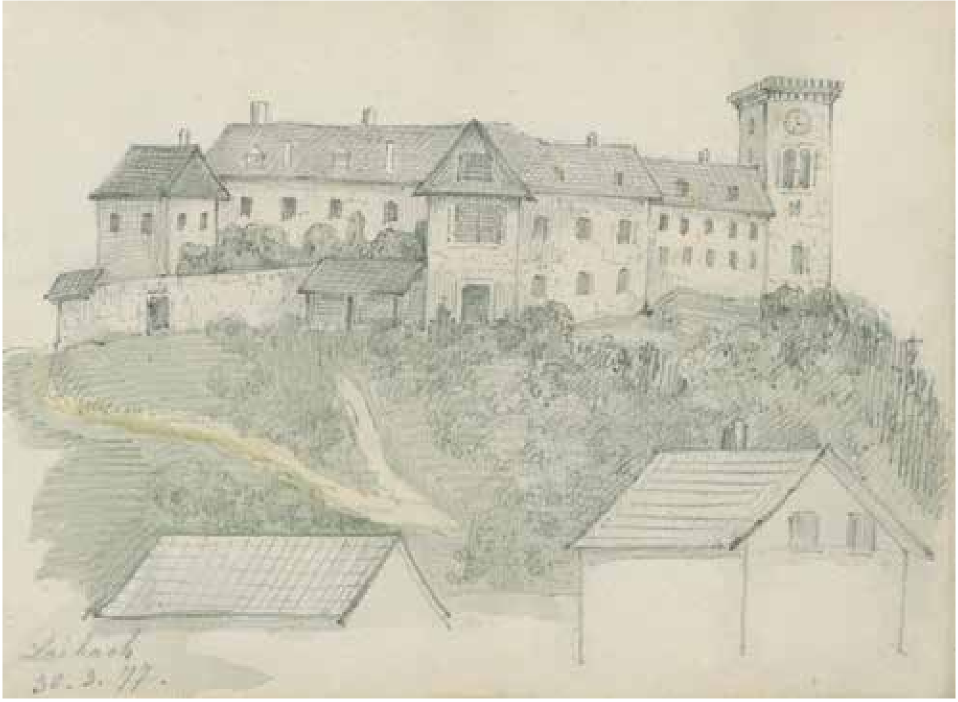


Fig. 6: Sketch of Laibach, March 30, 1877, by Christine von Luschan (Berlin State Library – Prussian Cultural Heritage, Manuscript Department, Estate of Felix von Luschan, box 2, bundle 1 "Skizzenbücher von Christine von Luschan").

In 1863 the family moved to Vienna. They lived in the first district, Stoß am Himmel 3. Felix attended the academic high school and graduated, with some difficulty, in 1871.

Not much is known about his youth, but we do know from letters that together with his parents he repeatedly visited his grandparents in Laibach during his school holidays. His mother Christine von Luschan frequently created drawings during their travels and there are a few sketches preserved, depicting Laibach, Weitenstein and Cilli (figs. 6–8).

Felix was not destined to be a jurist, he was interested in other things: medicine, anthropology, excavations, and travelling. During his first excavation in the summer of 1871 he discovered an undisturbed cremation grave near Villach in Carinthia, which he then published in the *Mittheilungen der Anthropologischen Gesellschaft in Wien.*[11] During the winter semester 1871 he began studying medicine. In 1873, he became bookkeeper of the Anthropological Society of Vienna (Wiener anthropologische Gesellschaft) and prepared the collection for

11 von Luschan 1872; Gleirscher 2008.

Fig. 7: Sketch of Weitenstein near Cilli, April 11, 1877, by Christine von Luschan (Berlin State Library – Prussian Cultural Heritage, Manuscript Department, Estate of Felix von Luschan, box 2, bundle 1 "Skizzenbücher von Christine von Luschan").

the world's fair in Vienna. From 1874 onwards he managed the collection of the society as curator. In this function he was in close contact with the geologist Ferdinand von Hochstetter, to Hochstetter's academic circle and to his family.[12]

Whenever he had the opportunity he embarked on journeys and always wrote detailed letters and accounts of his travels back home. These documents are today part of his estate at the Berlin State Library – Prussian Cultural Heritage.

Between 1875 and 1877 he was regularly in Munich during his holidays, where he remained in close contact with the painter Gabriel Max, who owned a significant anthropological collection. The likeness of Luschan was even used in one of Max's paintings: Venus and Tannhäuser.[13] In 1878 he was dispatched to Paris, to set up the anthropological exhibition of the Austro-Hungarian Empire at the world's fair. From there he was conscripted and served as a military physician and was part of the campaign in Bosnia in 1878/79. During this time his mother

12 ÖBL 2 (1959) 345; NDB 9 (1972) 291–292 (O. Kühn); Riedl-Dorn 1996, 73–75; Riedl-Dorn 1998; Knoll 2009, 27 f.

13 Szemethy 2012.

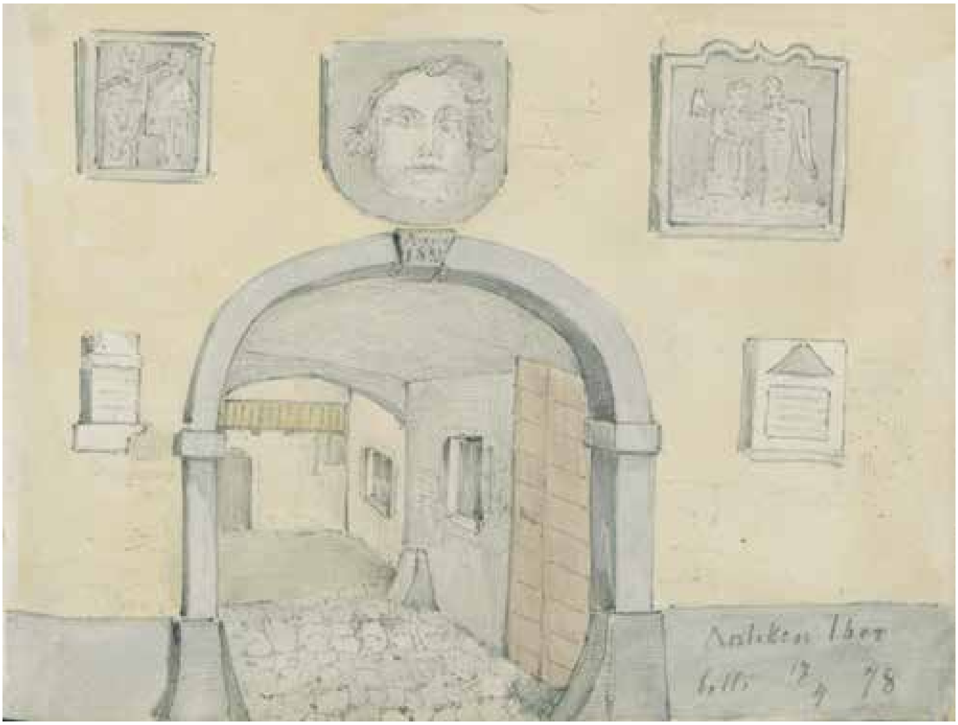


Fig. 8: Sketch of the Antikentor in Cilli, April 17, 1878, by Christine von Luschan (Berlin State Library – Prussian Cultural Heritage, Manuscript Department, Estate of Felix von Luschan, box 2, bundle 1 "Skizzenbücher von Christine von Luschan").

died unexpectedly in July 1879 and he was consequently released from military duty and returned home. But there was nothing to keep him there. He writes to his paternal friend and mentor Ferdinand von Hochstetter:

"*Ganz zusammengebrochen unter der Last des Unglücks, das plötzlich über mich hereingebrochen ist [...] ich habe mich schon jetzt definitiv entschlossen, irgendwo auswärts mein Fortkommen zu suchen, der stabile Aufenthalt in Wien wäre mir unter den jetzigen Verhältnissen ganz unerträglich; der Tod meiner Mutter hat mich heimat- und obdachlos gemacht.*"[14]

In 1880, he travelled to Montenegro and Dalmatia at his own expense[15], and in 1881 and 1882 he participated in the archaeological expeditions to Caria and Lycia under the direction of Otto Benndorf. On these projects he had the function

14 Quoted by Knoll 2009, 34.
15 Mader 2014.

Fig. 9: Emma and Felix von Luschan, 1885, on their wedding day (Private archive Luschan).

of physician and photographer, but also collected as much as possible: flora, fauna, ethnological objects, coins, antique artefacts, skulls.[16] Following these expeditions he travelled through Anatolia during the autumn of 1882 with Graf Carl Lanckoroński. Immediately afterwards he was again on his way towards the Commagene, together with Karl Humann and Otto Puchstein.[17]

His father died soon after his return, on September 12, 1883. But neither this personal tragedy, nor the mental illness of his brother Oscar could keep him in Vienna. Restless he was again drawn towards the regions of Anatolia which he had already travelled before to conclude his anthropological research.

It would need a woman to bind this restless man, at least for some time, to a single place. This woman was Emma von Hochstetter, the daughter of Ferdinand von Hochstetter. He married her on July 22, 1885 in Millstatt (fig. 9), where Luschan had built a beautiful mansion ("Villa Felicitas"). In the same year he was appointed assistant to the director at the *Königliches Museum für Völkerkunde* in Berlin by Adolf Bastian, where he worked with much enthusiasm on the systematic extension of the Africa- and Oceania-collection.

16 Szemethy 2005; Szemethy 2009.

17 Wartke 2010.

In 1888 the first archaeological excavation in Sendjirli (today: Sam'al) began – an endeavour which owed its existence to the initiative of Felix von Luschan.[18] Sam'al was subsequently excavated in five campaigns from 1888 to 1902, which resulted in considerable academic findings and added numerous objects to the collection of the museum in Berlin.

To recuperate from the exertion of this first Sendjirli-expedition, Luschan went on a vacation to the Orient together with his wife Emma in early 1889.

From this journey a detailed and as of today unpublished account to Luschans's brother Oscar exists. This travelogue is part of the estate of Felix von Luschan (box 3, bundle 6) in the Manuscript Department of the Berlin State Library – Prussian Cultural Heritage.[19] The written records span eleven sheets of writing paper. They give an account of the events within a timespan of two months, from leaving Vienna on January 28 to March 27, 1889, the day the travellers arrived in Constantinople. Here the autograph ends abruptly.

Felix von Luschan however only began to write down the account in the form of a letter on March 12, 1889, in Port Saïd while on board of the Russian steamer Lazareff, when he was already on his way back from his vacation (fig. 10):

"*Lieber Oscar*

es ist wirklich eine Schande, dass ich meinen diesmaligen Reisebrief erst hier beginne, wenige Stunden bevor wir egyptischen Boden verlassen, aber es ging diesmal wirklich nicht anders; ich war bis zur letzten Zeit ernsthaft unwol gewesen und kam nicht einmal zu den allerdringendsten durch den Augenblick gebotenen Arbeiten; Du musst also entschuldigen, wenn dieser Bericht sehr verspätet kömmt und natürlich auch entsprechend summarisch gehalten ist – ohnehin gibt es auf einer Reise wie diese, die sich immer auf gebahnten Wegen abspielt weniger zu erzählen als auf irgend einer meiner früheren Touren."

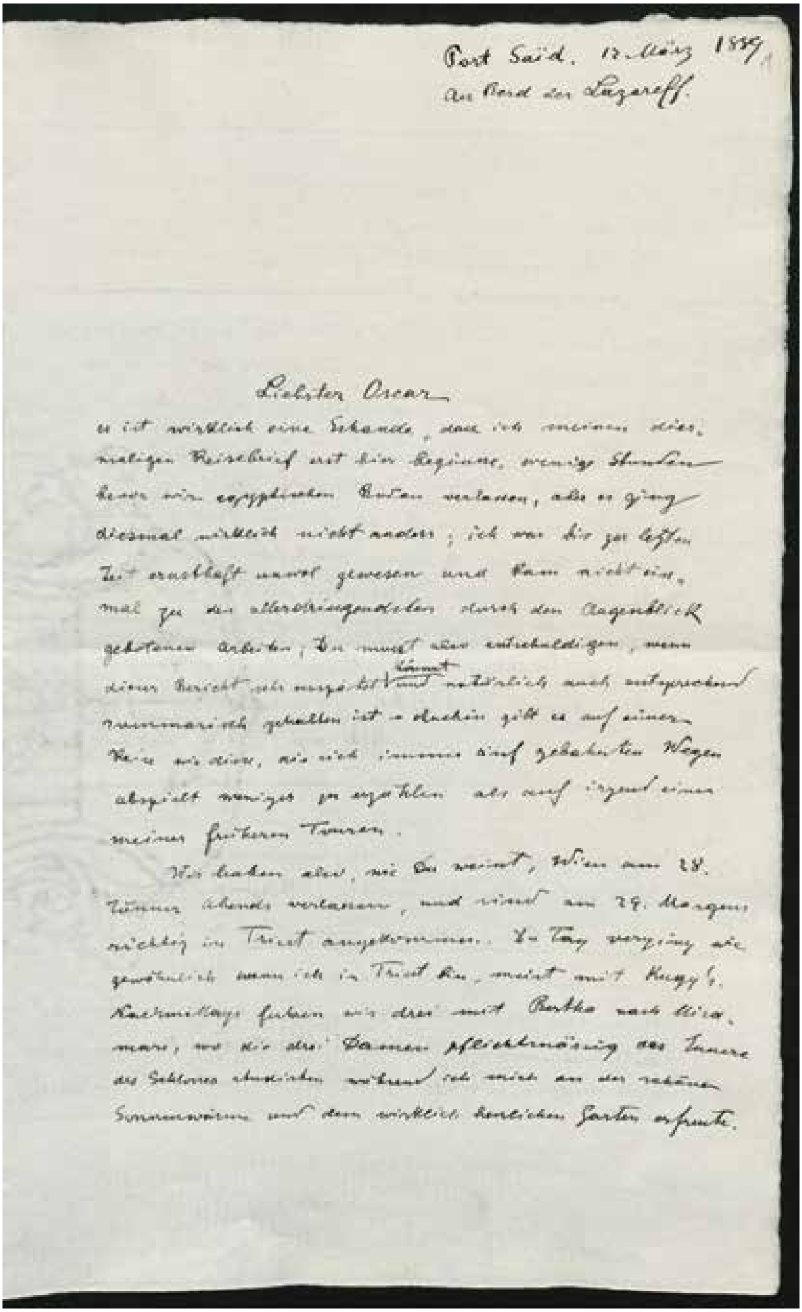
The text was therefore not written on site, but was created by Luschan from a certain temporal distance to his experiences. In the way the text is structured, we can assume that the manuscript is based on diary entries.

Felix von Luschan, his wife Emma and a person only identified as 'Daisy' left Vienna on the evening of January 28, 1889. In Trieste, they met with the family of Julius Kugy, the famous alpinist[20], whom Luschan knew since his youth, and visited Castle Miramare. On the morning of the following day, the curator of

18 Wartke 2005, 7–52.

19 I presented excerpts from these letters for the first time ever at the conference in Ljubljana. – Quotations from the letters written in German will not be translated but are reproduced in their original form.

20 ÖBL 4 (1969) 331 f. (Hösch-Kaltenegger); NDB 13 (1982) 248 (K. Mägdefrau).



Port Saïd. 12 März 1889
an Bord der Lazareff.

Liebster Oscar

es ist wirklich eine Schande, dass ich meinen dies-
maligen Reisebrief erst hier beginne, wenige Stunden
bevor wir egyptischen Boden verlassen, aber es ging
diesmal wirklich nicht anders; ich war bis zur letzten
Zeit ernsthaft unwol gewesen und kam nicht ein-
mal zu den allerdringendsten durch den Augenblick
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dieser Bericht sehr verspätet kömmt und natürlich auch entsprechend
summarisch gehalten ist – ohnehin gibt es auf einer
Reise wie diese, die sich immer auf gebahnten Wegen
abspielt weniger zu erzählen als auf irgend einer
meiner früheren Touren.

Wir haben also, wie Du weisst, Wien am 28.
Jänner abends verlassen, und sind am 29. Morgens
richtig in Triest angekommen. Der Tag verging wie
gewöhnlich wenn ich in Triest bin, meist mit Kugy's.
Nachmittags fuhren wir drei mit Bertha nach Mira-
mare, wo die drei Damen pflichtmässig das Innere
des Schlosses ansahen während ich mich an der schönen
Sonnenwärme und dem wirklich herrlichen Garten erfreute.

Fig. 10: Beginning of the letter of Felix von Luschan from Egypt to his brother Oscar (Berlin State Library – Prussian Cultural Heritage, Manuscript Department, Estate of Felix von Luschan, box 3, bundle 6).

the *Museo di storia naturale*, Carlo Marchesetti[21], showed his museum and the objects which had been acquired within the years before to them. In the afternoon, they received the news of the death of crown prince Rudolf.

On January 31 they boarded a ship and arrived in Alexandria on February 5, according to plan. From there, after a mouth-watering breakfast at the Hotel Abbat and a short stroll through the city they continued to Cairo by train at 4 pm:

"*Die Eisenbahnfahrt nach Kairo ist übrigens ein grosser Genuss und unvergleichlich interessant. Der Schienenstrang läuft immer durch dichtbewohnte und gut bebaute Landschaften, meist neben einem Schiffahrts-Canale oder neben Saumwegen, so dass man fortwährend interessante Details aus dem öffentlichen und intimen Leben Egyptens vor Augen hat. Für Emma war das natürlich kein geringer Genuss, aber auch für mich war es höchst überraschend, so mit einem male den enormen Unterschied kennen zu lernen, der Egypten von der Türkei und dem übrigen Orient auszeichnet. Dort geht alles langsam und gemächlich – oder auch gar nicht, hier aber hat jedermann Eile, alles geht im Laufschritt, und niemand scheint freie Zeit zu haben.*"

Four hours later, at 8 pm, they arrived in Cairo. They went to the famous Hotel du Nil, where they had planned to stay for the next weeks. However, since it was located in an incredibly narrow, sleazy, and foul-smelling side alley of Muski Street, the main artery of Cairo, and also because the room prices were absurdly steep, they moved to Pension Fink the next day. They also attended a memorial service for the Austro-Hungarian crown prince, alongside the dignitaries of Cairo who had assembled and paraded their medals.

The Pension Fink had been recommended to them by Adolf Erman[22], a well known Egyptologist, who had been successor to Karl Richard Lepsius[23] as curator of the Ägyptisches Museum in Berlin, but also was promoted in Westermanns *Illustrierte Deutsche Monatshefte*[24]. This pension was not only half the daily rate, Luschan writes:

21 ÖBL 6 (1973) 69 (H. Riedl); Bandelli – Montagnari 2005.

22 Erman 1929; NDB 4 (1959) 598–599 (H. W. Müller); Schipper 2006.

23 Ebers 1885; NDB 14 (1985) 308–309 (J. Settgast); Mehlitz 2011; Lepper – Hafemann 2012.

24 Jacob 1891, 82: "Unser Absteigequartier war Pension Fink, im neuen Ismailiastadtteil inmitten wohlgepflegter eleganter Gärten von tropischer Vegetation gelegen. Eine junge Dattelpalme entfaltete in üppiger Kraft vor unseren Balkons ihre schattenspendenden Zweige [...] eine liebenswürdige Deutschösterreicherin, nach welcher die Pension den Namen führt, war unsere Wirtin, und an der Wirtstafel, an welcher die Pensionäre zu zwei Mahlzeiten [...] sich vereinigten, dominierte [...] fast immer die deutsche Sprache."

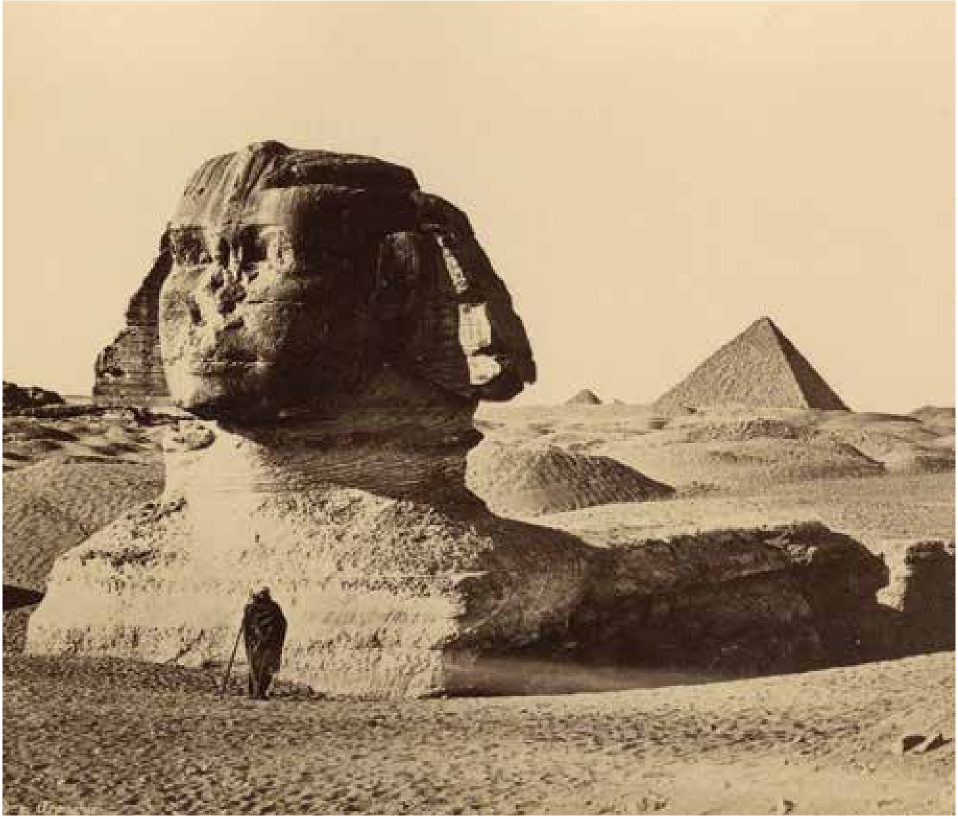

Fig. 11: The Great Sphinx of Giza; Photo: J. Pascal Sébah (photograph collection of the Department of Egyptology, University of Vienna).

"*der Hauptvorteil […] liegt in der brillanten Lage im vornehmsten Stadttheil, in der neuen Ismailija, mit breiten Strassen und grossen Gärten zwischen welchen fast nur Villen, Paläste von grossen Würdenträgern und die verschiedenen Europäischen Consulate gelegen sind, so dass wir sehr glücklich waren, die grässliche Umgebung des Nil-Hotels mit einer so guten Gegend vertauschen zu können.*"

We also learn from Felix von Luschan who else lodged at Mrs. Fink's in Cairo. There were, for example, the merchant Wilhelm Daniel Hell[25]; a Lieutenant Junkers from Spandau with his young, lovely wife, who were on a journey to India and had stopped in Cairo; there were Austrian diplomats and a few Jewish and

25 Wilhelm Daniel Hell was the owner of the chemical factory "Hell & Sthamer" in Billwerder, today an urban district of Hamburg. Hell was married to Louise Johanna Helene Lutteroth since 1861.

Swiss merchants, but also several ill-bred spinsters from Scotland, some crazy and eccentric Americans and Englishmen, and a corpulent Anglo-Indian widow, who soon was nicknamed "Venus von Kilo".

The time in Cairo was as it should be on a journey taken for recreational reasons, mostly free of stress. The Luschans spent the majority of their time at Esbekieh Garden: "*einem herrlichen und sehr gut gehaltenen Park in unserer nächsten Nähe, mit wunderschönen Palmen und anderen prächtigen Bäumen, der wol einer der schönsten Gärten der Welt sein dürfte*."

Only few excursions were scheduled, most of them to the Pyramids of Giza (figs. 11, 12),

"*welche wir immer wieder von neuen anstaunen mussten; auch die dortigen Beduinen, welche meist von Algier eingewandert, die ganze Umgegend gepachtet zu haben scheinen und jeden Fremden als ihr Opfer betrachten, konnten uns nicht abschrecken.*"

Luschan made friends with the Bedouins there, and bought several antiquities as well as more than fifty old skulls of mummies for his collections from them. He found the bustling activity at the pyramids fascinating and quite enjoyable. The Bedouins immediately recognized the origin of every foreigner and greeted them in their own language. Felix von Luschan was greeted with the dictum "*Kolossal, pyramidal, schneidiges Local*"[26], and he made an attempt to extend this phrase: "*ich habe auch den Versuch gemacht, ihnen als höchsten Superlativ auch das Wort „trichinenhaft" beizubringen, hoffe aber, dass diese Frivolität nicht haften geblieben ist.*"

Whether or not the travellers climbed one of the pyramids is not recorded, however, it is mentioned that they enjoyed watching others do so:

"*Ausser dem Verkauf von kleinen Email-Figürchen und echten und falschen Scarabäen leben die Leute von dem Transportiren der Fremden auf die Spitze der grossen Pyramide; da die einzelnen Steine über einen Meter hoch sind, ist natürlich solche Beihülfe durch gewandte flinke Naturmenschen sehr erwünscht;*

26 This dictum was still some time a winged word in Egypt, cf. Langmesser 1900, 38. At the top of the Pyramid of Khufu Langmesser's thoughts were interrupted with these words by one of his associates, who had helped him climbing up: "*Da tritt plötzlich mein brustkranker Beduine zu mir, zeigt pathetisch auf die Wüste hinaus und radebricht in gebrochenem berliner Jargon: „pyramidal! – kolossal! – schneidiges Lokal!" – Diese Leutnants=Weisheit im Munde eines Beduinen giebt uns mit heiterem Lachen der Gegenwart wieder; das Lächerliche hat das Erhabene besiegt.*"

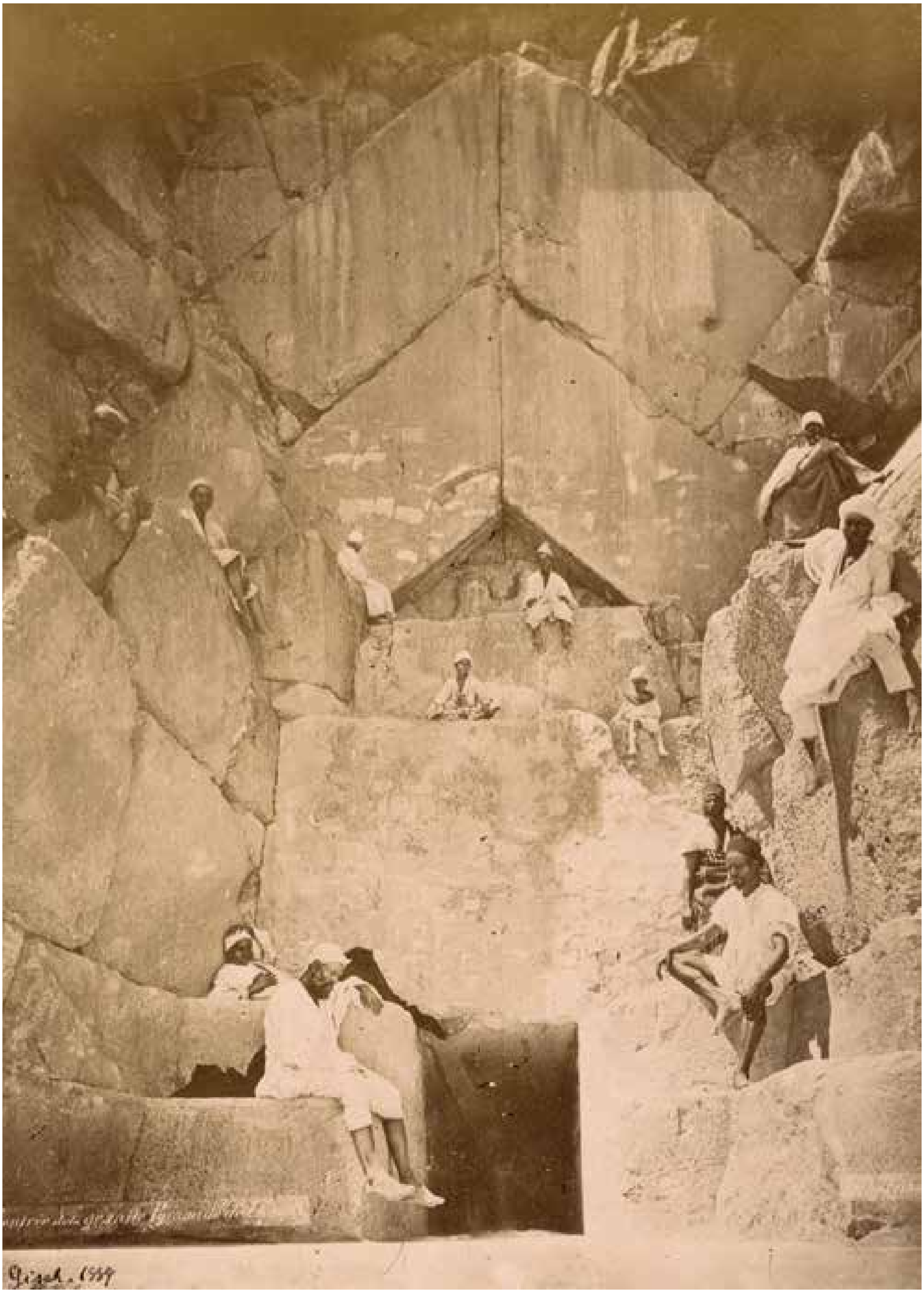

Fig. 12: Entrance to the Great Pyramid of Cheops (photograph collection of the Department of Egyptology, University of Vienna).

Fig. 13: Giant statue of Ramesses II in Memphis; photo: J. Pascal Sébah (photograph collection of the Department of Egyptology, University of Vienna).

einzelne sind hiezu auch ganz besonders trainirt und klettern für einige Groschen auch allein hinauf, mit einer geradezu affenartigen Geschwindigkeit: „Arabisch acht Minuten hinauf hinunter“ erbieten sich stets eine Menge von Leuten und halten es auch in der That; ich sah wirklich einmal einen Araber in 5 Minuten hinauf und in den nächsten 3 Minuten hinunter klettern, für eine Höhe, welche die des Stephans-Thurm's um ein gutes Stück übertrifft, eine sehr achtbare Leistung. Es wäre interessant, Herz und Lungen dieser Leute zu untersuchen; leider war ich jedes Mal zu stumpfsinnig, um mich zu einer solchen Untersuchung aufzuraffen; ich bin aber überzeugt, dass sich aus dem gewerbsmässigen Erklettern der Pyramiden Herz-Hypertrophien entwickeln müssen.”

Further excursions brought them to Memphis and Saqqara, to the colossal statue of Ramesses II (fig. 13), to the Pyramid of Djoser (fig. 14), the Serapeum of Saqqara and to the mastaba of Ti, which had been discovered in 1865 by Auguste Mariette,

“*eine ganz unvergleiche Grabanlage deren Wände ganz mit herrlichen Reliefs bedeckt sind, mit Tausenden von Figuren, welche in Relief und bemalt das*

Fig. 14: Pyramid of Djoser in Saqqara; photo: Zangaki (photograph collection of the Department of Egyptology, University of Vienna).

egyptische Leben vor 5000 Jahren so frisch und anschaulich darstellen, dass man fast den Eindruck hat, alles in lebendiger Wirklichkeit vor sich zu sehen."

In Cairo, extensive visits to the museum which had been founded by Mariette were arranged. With clear words Luschan describes the chaos he witnessed (*"die schöne Wirthschaft, die da herrscht"*). Emil Brugsch Bey[27] and his officials would sell the whole collection, if they could:

"*Das zunächst auffallende ist der Mangel eines ordentlichen Inventar's, so dass ∞ viele Stücke und nicht die schlechtesten gar nicht gebucht sind, und daher ohne viel Lärm verschwinden können. Noch viel schöner aber ist die „Salle des ventes" welche mit dem Museum verbunden ist; hier werden durch die Beamten selbst an den Nächstbesten zu jeder Stunde des Tages allerhand Alterthümer, von kleinen Osirisfigürchen angefangen bis zur prächtig eingesargten intacten Mumie verkauft und zwar unter Garantie für die Echtheit aber um ungefähr*

27 Emil Brugsch, egyptologist, curator of the Bulaq Museum, later assistant of Mariette and Gaston Maspero, brother of Heinrich Brugsch. Cf. Erman 1929, 213–215.

den 10 bis 100 fachen Preis gegen den, welchen man bei den Arabern, oder den Händlern in der Stadt zahlt; ausserdem werden da, natürlich meist an Australier und Amerikaner Gipsabgüsse verkauft welche in einer unglaublich scheusslichen Weise bronzirt sind und genau genommen das hässlichste sind, was man sich auf diesem Gebiete überhaupt vorstellen kann. Für alles, was man im Museum kauft, bekömmt man, neben der Garantie der Echtheit auch riesige officielle Briefe, welche den Transport per Bahn und die Ausfuhr ermöglichen. Ohne solche Briefe ist es gewöhnlichen Reisenden ganz unmöglich, grössere Mengen von Alterthümern, oder gar einzelne schwere Stücke zu transportiren. Dass wir trotzdem Jahr für Jahr 20 – 30 Kisten mit werthvollen Alterthümern allein für das Berliner Museum exportiren können, ist natürlich hiedurch nicht ausgeschlossen, – man muss sich nur an die richtigen Leute wenden – es heisst, dass Brugsch Bey [d. h. Emil Brugsch] das ganze Museum verkaufen würde, wenn man ihm nur das entsprechende Bakschisch gäbe. Auch für Alterthümer, welche man sonst kauft, bedarf man der Erlaubnis des Museums, sie auszuführen".

For all antiques export permits were necessary:

"*und selbst meine Schädel mussten von Brugsch durchschnüffelt werden, bevor ich das „Teskereh" bekam – natürlich auch für Geld. So werden manchmal Hunderte von Pfund täglich im Museum bezahlt für Antiken, Abgüsse, und für Ausfuhr-Teskereh's, aber nichts wird verbucht, alles verschwindet in den Taschen der Beamten*".

On some of their excursions the Luschans were accompanied by Franz Pascha[28] (Julius Franz), who had been chief architect under the viceroy of Egypt (Wālī) Muhammad Sa'id Pasha in the beginning of the 1860s, and had been appointed court architect by Khedive Ismail (1863–1879). They visited the large quarries, from which the material for the pyramids and other magnificent buildings had been extracted, and the most awe-inspiring mosques. Felix von Luschan considered the Mosque-Madrassa of Sultan Hassan (fig. 15) the most beautiful building of the Arab world, and he added at this point: "*ich hoffe Dir bald die gewöhnlichen käuflichen Photographien derselben und auch 16 eigene Aufnamen zeigen zu können, welche ich von ihr gemacht.*"

Luschan writes in more detail about the new building immediately next to the dignified mosque, the Al-Rifa'i Mosque (fig. 15). The construction had started in 1869, but had been suspended after the abdication of Khedive Ismail in 1879, and would only be completed later, in 1912:

28 Erman 1929, 209, 276; Stern 1993, 54–56; Reid 2002, 214, 223; Pflugradt-Abdel Aziz 2003; Pflugradt-Abdel Aziz 2013.

Fig. 15: Mosque-Madrassa of Sultan Hassan (left) and the Al-Rifa'I Mosque (right) in 1907, (URL: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/ Mosque-Madrassa_of_Sultan_Hassan, 3. 1. 2014).

"*Der vorige Khediv hat denselben begonnen, sicher in der Vorstellung damit ein Werk zu schaffen, das Jahrtausende überdauern wird; aber seine Architecten waren denen des großen Sultan Hassan nicht ebenbürtig; an vielen Stellen sind Säulen geborsten und Steine unter der Wucht der aufruhenden Last wie ein Stück Brod zerquetscht; seit seiner Absetzung ruht der Bau, der noch nicht unter Dach war und geht wol einer sicheren Zerstörung entgegen wenn er auch bei dem fast regenlosen Klima der Stadt noch Jahrhunderte lang ein sprechendes Zeugnis von der Ohnmacht moderner Pharaonen sein wird. Bezeichnend für die Wirthschaft, die bei dem Baue geherrscht, ist dass einer der Architekten Jahre lang vor der voraussichtlichen Eindachung um einige Hunderttausend Franken Teppiche für die Moschee eingekauft und ein anderer um einige Tausend Pfund sogar Goldplättchen zur Vergoldung der Decke. Die Teppiche sind jetzt von den Motten zerstört, nur die Reste derselben sind jetzt in der grossen Moschee auf der Citadelle verwendet, und die Goldplättchen sind verschwunden – aber die Leute hatten ihre Percente beim Einkauf und sind wol noch heute stolz auf die gute Idee,* *rechtzeitig an alle Bedürfnisse gedacht zu haben. So verräth sich auch in Egypten der echte unverfälschte türkische Orient.*"

Luschan also describes the building history of Gezirah palace and its surrounding park as typically Egyptian. The palace had been built to house dignitaries during the opening ceremony of the Suez Canal and now, unused, slowly fell into decay:

"*Die kostbarsten Teppiche werden von den Motten zerfressen und von allen Decken blättert der bunte oder vergoldete Stuck ab; nur die groszen Empfangsräume sind noch halbwegs in Stand gehalten sowie das Boudoir und das Badezimmer der Kaiserin Eugenie.*"

Felix von Luschan particularly illustrates the increase in prosperity he witnessed in Egypt with one example: the health resort of Helwan with its sulphur springs, located south of Cairo. The orientalist and diplomat Baron Alfred von Kremer[29] had recommended Luschan to stay there instead of staying in Cairo. For this reason he felt compelled – especially for being a physician – to visit the resort, and stayed there for a short time at the Grand Hotel des Bains. His verdict therefore is based on first-hand experience:

"*Zur Zeit seiner Gründung, als wirklich Hotel und Badehaus noch allein in der Wüste gestanden mag es wirklich ein schöner und gesunder Aufenthalt gewesen sein; jetzt ist es Baden oder Vöslau ins Egyptische übersetzt und ich danke für solches Obst. Auch die Gesellschaft im „Grand hotel des bains" schien uns beim grossen zweiten Frühstück ebenso gemischt und nur noch langweiliger als im Hotel de Nile.*"

In this, on the whole beautiful resort with its two hotels and several hundred villas, many of them with their own gardens, he was extremely bothered by the dirt:

"*jetzt ist Heluan ebenso schmierig und staubig und ungesund, als Kairo selbst. Der Vergleich wird Dich wundern; vermuthlich bist Du nemlich ebenso wie die meisten anderen Menschen, und wie ich selbst noch vor wenigen Wochen in der Wahnvorstellung befangen, dasz Kairo ein gesunder Ort ist. Ich kenne kaum einen ärgeren Irrthum. Zunächst ist es ja klar, dasz eine Gegend um so gesünder ist, je reinlicher und je weniger dicht bewohnt sie ist – nun ist Kairo zweifellos die schmierigste und am dichtesten bevölkerte unter allen orientalischen Städten; dasz jemand hier eine Schwindsucht los werden kann, würde ich als*

29 ÖBL 4 (1969) 253 f. (Gottschalk-Marx); NDB 13 (1982) 5 f. (P. Fuchs).

ein Wunder ohne gleichen betrachten; dasz aber ein ganz gesunder Mensch hier schwindsüchtig werden kann, halte ich für ausgemacht. Ich kann zugeben, dasz der von organischen Substanzen freie trockene Wüstenstaub unseren Lungen nicht schadet, aber dasz der Straszenstaub von Kairo etwas anderes enthält, als Gift, wird mir schwerlich jemand klar machen; thatsächlich habe ich auch ohne jede Ausname immer gesehen, dasz lungenschwache Leute in Kairo von Tag zu Tag schlechter geworden sind, niemals besser. Die schöne Sonnenwärme ist zwar an und für sich eine herrliche Wohlthat und man ist umso dankbarer für dieselbe je mehr man daran denkt, wie zur selben Zeit ganz Europa in Schnee begraben liegt, aber die Sonne allein thut es doch nicht und ich zweifle jetzt nicht mehr daran, dasz jede <u>*einsame*</u> *Alpenhütte in unseren Bergen auch im Winter zehnmal gesünder ist für eine kranke Lunge, als irgend eine dicht bewohnte Stadt im sonnigen Süden*."

Luschan also showed dissatisfaction with the guests who had assembled there:

"*[…] war glaube ich nicht eine Seele dabei, deren Bekanntschaft uns erwünscht hätte scheinen können; meist ganz maaszlos ordinäre Wiener Protzen mit einem Dialect der einen bis in die Knochen hinein wehthat, und dann amerikanische Bierbrauer oder Schuhfabrikanten die auch nicht viel anständiger aussahen. Selbst mit unseren Deutschen Landsleuten war kein Staat zu machen.*"

In his letters Luschan also writes about his impressions of the German society of Cairo, to which he was invited at receptions on a few occasions. The Germans were headed by Baron Oswald von Richthofen[30], the German representative at the Public Debt Commission, and German consul Karl Ludwig Wilhelm Arthur von Brauer[31]:

"*Bei beiden Herren, bei Brauer und Richthofen bin ich geladen gewesen, bei dem ersteren zu einem steifen Diner mit egyptischen Paschas, bei dem ich neben dem Kriegsminister Mustapha Fehmi[32] sasz und das heitere „Unglück" hatte, ihn zu fragen, wie er seinen kleinen Finger verloren – er war ihm nemlich von dem Bruder des vorigen Khediv, den er erdrosseln musste um dem Sohne desselben die Thronfolge zu sichern, im Todeskampfe abgebissen worden*".

Luschan's verdict on the numerous Germans who were living in Cairo was – with the exception of his appraisal of Emil Brugsch Bey – mostly positive:

30 von Brauer 1936, 229, 234–235, 410, 413, 416, 422–423; von Richthofen 2007.

31 von Brauer 1936, esp. 219–242 ("Generalkonsul in Kairo"); NDB 2 (1955) 543–544 (W. Andreas); Herzog 2008, 227–232.

32 Goldschmidt 2000, 51.

“*zwar fordert auch hier der Bierteufel, der dem Deutschen im Orient so gefährlich ist, seine Opfer, und viele und nicht die unbedeutendsten Mitglieder der Deutschen Colonie kommen aus dem chronischen Alcoholismus und einer leichten Form von Delirium tremens eigentlich gar nicht heraus, aber es ist doch viel mehr Ernst und wissenschaftliches Streben in den Leuten als sonst; vor allen mehr als in Smyrna, wo ich mich immer von neuen über die Verkommenheit unserer Landsleute verwundern musz*.”

Luschan wrote a detailed account on the bazaars of Cairo, about woodwork and on the production of brass bowls and platters, and he was also deeply impressed by the Arab Museum[33], which Franz Pascha had established during the previous years, where many invaluable objects existed: candelabra, Qur’an reading desks, sepulchral stelae, glass lamps and celadon-vases,

“*welche ganz unbeachtet in einer finsteren Nische gestanden hatten; es sind meines Wissens die einzigen <u>Vasen</u> dieser Art, die bekannt sind, bisher wenigstens habe ich nur Schüsseln und Schalen dieser Gattung gekannt. Wie es scheint, rühren sie von einem indischen Fürsten her, der sie Mehmed Ali zum Geschenke übersandt hat. Natürlich habe ich sie photographirt; es sind fast die einzigen Stücke im ganzen arabischen Museum, von denen nicht grosse photographische Aufnamen existiren und im Handel sind.*”

Felix von Luschan had originally planned to conduct detailed anthropological studies while in Cairo, but since he was in bad health during his stay he could barely carry out any research. His physical condition at that time was bad. He had returned home from Senjirli with malaria and repeatedly suffered from massive fever attacks during his trip through Egypt. Only within the last few days and then only with the support of his wife Emma he managed to measure and photograph a few dozen of the locals. From these inquiries and the – in total – approximately 100 skulls which he had partly acquired himself at the great pyramids, partly found in Saqqara, and partly had received from Upper Egypt from a fellow traveller, he expected new insights, which should go further than the works of the

33 Julius Franz had founded a museum of Arab art in 1880 and contributed much to the safeguarding and preservation of unique Islamic works of art. Since 1883 the museum had been housed in the old al-Hakim Mosque and would later be moved in 1903 into the new building in the Bab Al-Khalq area of Cairo on Ahmed Maher Square. This new museum was built by the Austrian architect Max Herz, who had been director of the Arab museum since 1892. Cf. Stern 1993, 55 f. For Miksa (Max) Herz-Bey see Stern 1993, 57–60; Reid 2002, 237; Ormos 2009.

anthropologists Emil Schmidt[34] and Rudolf Virchow[35], because: "*Besonders über die Kopten scheinen die bisherigen Ansichten ganz verkehrt zu sein*".

Luschan was surprised about the political situation in Egypt. As information about it was scarce in Europe he wrote a detailed account of the British occupation forces to his brother. He reported that the battalions made a reasonably decent impression on him, the best part being the 'Negroes', which had proven themselves in Upper Egypt, and shortly before also at Suakin on the west coast of the Red Sea.

This, of course, was also known to Hauptmann Hermann von Wissman[36], an explorer and then imperial commissioner for German East Africa, whom Luschan knew from Berlin, and who also stayed in Cairo to recruit black troops before leaving for East Africa. Luschan commented curtly:

"*schade dasz er seine gute Kraft auf eine so absolut aussichtslose Sache verwenden musz, wie Ostafrika es doch sicher ist. Kleinasien, Mesopotamien und vor allen die Kyrenaika das wären Colonien für Deutschland, aus denen wir mit der Zeit etwas machen könnten – aber Ostafrika!*"

Towards the end of his stay in Cairo, Felix von Luschan visited the Arab library, which had the most beautiful and best preserved Qur'ans from the early period of Islam in its collection, as well as magnificent Persian, Arabic and Turkish manuscripts with exquisite miniatures and ornamental borders. A young German was director there, and Luschan describes the following incident:

"*Die sämmtlichen Korane liegen als heilige Schriften unter Glas in versperrten Pulten und der Director darf sie nicht berühren; will er ein Blatt umgewendet haben, so musz er einen der Diener rufen, der die Schlüssel hat; dieser schlieszt auf, brummt wol etwas über den ungläubigen Hund, der seine heiligen Bücher beschnüffeln darf, wendet um, schlieszt wieder ab und beobachtet dann aus der Ferne, ob sein Chef nicht vielleicht doch im Geheimen einen der anderen Pulte öffnet. Nur die Schränke mit profaner Litteratur sind diesem selbst direct zugänglich!*"

Luschan left Cairo with his wife on March 10. He had promised Emma to show her Beirut and Damascus and to shop at the bazaars. Via Larnaca, Rhodes and Smyrna they went to Constantinople and from there back to Berlin.

34 Hewett et al. 1907, 236 f. For Schmidt's Egyptian research see Schmidt 1885.

35 Vasold 1988; Andree 2002; Goschler 2002; Saherwala 2002. For Virchow's research see Virchow 1888a; Virchow 1888b.

36 Becker 1911; Schmidt 1925; von Brauer 1936, 231, 233, 240, 332; Morlang 2005.

Concluding remarks

When we try to classify the travel report of Felix von Luschan under the so-called genre of travel literature, we still have to keep in mind that these are private records, which had been solely destined for his brother Oscar, who lived in Millstatt in Carinthia. His narration was never intended for a broader audience. Still, the account offers us interesting insights and points of view of the Arab world in the late 19th century. The letters are therefore profoundly valuable as historical sources, especially as a source of information about the daily life of the German society of Cairo.

It is exciting, inspiring and at the same time also informative to go with Felix von Luschan on this journey spanning multiple weeks, to travel with him through Egypt, Beirut and Damascus. Through accurate visual descriptions of situations and people, clear images come to life in the mind of the reader. While Luschan informs his brother along general lines about the countries and their inhabitants, in my opinion, the most fascinating aspect of this letter is that it does not focus on the local population, but instead puts the foreign 'visitors' – travelling through Egypt for business or as tourists – in the foreground. Luschan only mentions the famous landmarks of Egypt in passing. He does not want to waste time describing them in detail and suggests to his brother that if he wants to know more, he should read travel guides by Baedeker or Meyers *Reisebücher*.

In addition Felix von Luschan did not only write letters to his brother, he also took photographs, as we can gather from his notes, and preserved in this way essential impressions of his journey. Today, about 20 photographs of once 74 from this journey are held in the collection of the Department of Egyptology in Vienna as a donation by Felix von Luschan.[37] When this donation was made and on which occasion could not be determined. What we can say with certainty is that these photographs are from well-known photographers and that Felix von Luschan acquired them from dealers in Egypt. His own photographs from his trip to Egypt in 1889 remain missing until this day.

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Abbreviations:
NDB – Neue Deutsche Biographie.
ÖBL – Österreichisches Biographisches Lexikon.

37 I thank Irene Kaplan and Peter-Christian Jánosi for providing me with information about von Luschan's photographs.

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JAROSLAV PETRBOK – ORIENT AND THE BALKAN PENINSULA TRAVELS*

ADÉLA JŮNOVÁ MACKOVÁ, Prague

Jaroslav Petrbok

Jaroslav Petrbok (1881–1960) was born in Prague, obtained secondary school education for teachers and was employed as a teacher at primary schools in the area of Prague. He cooperated with the National Museum in Prague in capacities of geologist and paleoanthropologist. He became well known researcher in malacozoology, specialising in the Tertiary and Quaternary mollusks.[1] He made scientific research and organised travels abroad during his specially funded paid holidays from September 1922 till August 1928. From September 1928 he worked again as a teacher, because the State School Council was no longer able to provide funds for him. Consequently he obtained only a few study days, and travelled during the summer holidays.[2]

Jaroslav Petrbok loved travelling and was on the road whenever he could. He wanted to know foreign countries, and study their cultural and natural wealth. He undertook his journeys with nearly no money, but he saw himself as different from just another of many globetrotters of his age, wandering penniless around the world for fun. He was, and perceived himself as being, a researcher working in Palestine, Egypt, Syria or Iraq, and in addition he organised travels for teachers to improve their knowledge about oriental countries, in other words he was a pioneer in specialised study trips.

The documents concerning the journeys are very rare. Papers of Jaroslav Petrbok are preserved in the National Museum archives. We can use his correspondence, scrap-archives (his own articles), and his book *Jewish ethics and work in Palestine.*[3] His passports are preserved in the records of the Police Headquarters Prague, Section II, general records.[4]

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* This article was prepared within the project supported by the GAČR (No. 409/09/0295).

1 Permit to temporarily cease teaching, Prague, The National Museum Archives, (ANM), personal records fol 23/8, Jaroslav Petrbok.

2 Viz Biographical records, Prague, ANM, personal records, fol. 23/8, Jaroslav Petrbok.

3 Petrbok 1927.

4 Prague, National Archives (NA), document collection Police Headquarters Prague, section II, general records, box 8577, fol. P1541/15.

Fig. 1: ANM, collection Jaroslav Petrbok, box 25, fol. 2155. Travel to Bulgaria 1925, Varna.

Travels to the Balkan Peninsula

Jaroslav Petrbok travelled very often to Bulgaria because of his geological and paleontological research. During 1914–1949 he undertook altogether 15 trips. During these mainly paleontological researches he found many Palaeolithic sites and further encouraged archaeological research in Bulgaria (fig. 1). No doubt friendly relations of the Balkan states with new Czechoslovak republic contributed to this activity.

Petrbok also organised camps for scouts. The first one was held in 1921 in Yugoslavia. One year later, Petrbok, under the auspices of scouts-socialists, organized the camp by the seaside in Varna in Bulgaria. For the group of forty people, concessionary rail fare was secured together with the free accommodation or accommodation under the tent. From the letter to the Ministry of Railways we have learned that among the travellers, 6 painters (graduates of an Academy of Art), one physician and two geologists who were supposed to gather artefacts for the National Museum. Petrbok managed to obtain a subsidy of CZK 5,000 from the Ministry of Health in order to explore seashore in order to find suitable places for camping. In Varna, the exhibition of 85 pictures of three Czechoslovak painters – Janoušek, Jan Prouza and Živný – took place. The last expedition, which Petrbok led as a camp of scouts – socialists, was the expedition to Romania under the auspices of Scouting Club. Due to financial and other discrepancies Petrbok decided that, in the future, he would organize

Jar. Petrbok,

člen Čsl. sbk. „The international Commision for the Study of the fossil Man" při mezin. geologických kongresech, člen „Mezinárodního ústavu pro paleontologii a paleetnologii fossilního člověka" v Brně, spolupracovník „Biogical Abstracts" v Pensylvanii U. S. A. atd. atd.

P Ř E D N Á Š Í

s původními vlastními dia, (případně s biografovými prvotřídními filmy „Keren Hajessodu" a „Keren Kajemet" o Palestině).

I. Černé Moře.

1. **Bulharsko** dle cest z r. 1914, 1922, 1925, 1927, 1928, 1932, 1933. 100 dia.
2. **Dobrudža** dle cesty 1923. — 80 dia.
3. **Táboření u Černého Moře** (dle uvedených cest. — 60 dia.

II. Palestina.

1. **Palestina historická a moderní.** — 120 dia.
2. **Palestina archeologická a přírodní.** - 80 dia.
3. **Arabi a Židé v Palestině.** Moderní kolonisace. 200 dia nebo biografové filmy.

III. Pračlověk.

1. **Vývoj pračlověka v době ledové.** — 100 dia.
2. **Nejstarší umění světa.** — 60 dia. („Venuše", malby v jeskyních atd.
3. **Venuše a předhistorické poklady Moravy.** 60 dia prof. Dra Absolona.

IV. Jadran a jeho kouzla. — 150 dia.

V. Český Kras a jeho obyvatelé v době ledové. Novinka na rok 1934. Kraj i turisticky většinou neznámý. — Jeskyně a vlastní vykopávky autorovy.

Autor nikdy přednášek **nečte,** ale o všem krásnou formou lidově vypravuje.

V biografech mluví při běžícím filmu.

Přednes dokonalý a při tom vědecky přesný.

Adresa:

Jar. Petrbok, Praha, Národní Museum.

Fig. 2: ANM, collection Jaroslav Petrbok, box 21, fol. 2076. List of lectures.

Fig. 3: ANM, collection Jaroslav Petrbok, box 25, fol. 2155. Jaroslav Petrbok in his office 1922.

such projects on his own (fig. 2).

Petrbok organised summer school camps for secondary school teachers and their families in Yugoslavia and Bulgaria. From 1924 he tried to establish an organisation of teachers – scouts. In one of his articles from Czechoslovak Teacher's magazine he wrote:

"*Holidays at sea ceased to be a rich man's privilege, as camping and scouts organisations opened up possibilities for everyone including the least well off. Youth travellers can visit Asia Minor, Istanbul or Italy without difficulty, whereas not long ago these destinations were for privileged few, such as a professional traveller Kořenský. ... During my 1924 trip I observed carefully camping options and cheap eating out options (solid lunch for 4 to 5 piasters). In my experience it is best to compose the travelling group of people of approximately same social standing and education. Thus I would recommend teachers to organise their own scout inspired organisation, independent and not connected to existing groups, which are often in a state of litigation.*"[5]

Petrbok planned two types of trips. First series included camps near the sea in

5 Petrbok 1924, 73–74.

Bulgaria with a trip to Istanbul, or camps in France with a trip to Tunisia. Both of these summer travel series were prepared for teachers and their families. Trips to Istanbul and Tunisia were planned for several days to enable as much sightseeing as possible. We know from existing archived records that travels to Bulgaria took place for sure in 1925 and 1926. Second serie of trips was planned only for adults and young adults as study trips through Middle East (mainly to Palestine planned for 6 weeks).

Scientific travels to the Orient

Jaroslav Petrbok undertook several scientific expeditions to the Orient – Egypt, Palestine, Syria and Iraq. Based on both, the sources still in existence and the Petrbok's publications, we may at least partially reconstruct his expeditions to Palestine which were connected with the research held in Egypt and Syria. The Petrbok's journey to Iraq undertaken in 1936 also comprised a stay in Syria but, unfortunately, no sources are available (fig. 4).

In 1924 Jaroslav Petrbok undertook his first research journey to Palestine. During this time and during the next two expeditions in 1925 and 1926 he worked on Quaternary molluscs and collected prehistoric stone tools for Prehistoric Department of the National Museum and entomological material for Jan Obenberger, entomologist of the National Museum in Prague. Petrbok was travelling on his own or with Czech painter John Prouza.

Unlike of Jiří Baum, financially independent private scientist cooperating with the Department of Zoology of the National Museum, Petrbok undertook his journeys with minimum cash. For his first travel to Palestine, Petrbok saved money from his teacher's salary, for the second travel he earned money by giving lectures and writing articles. In addition, he was supported by his colleagues from the National Museum:

"*...my friends were collecting money for me: first of all the National Museum, of course; the archaeologists: made photos of a map and enlarged it three times, the zoologists provided me with 3 beef bladders and a bottle of formalin, the entomologists provided me with a net for insect, a box of kreosot sawdust and pincers. Then, my tripod was repaired in the museum, I was provided with written recommendations and Peroutka's basketry lent me a basket. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs gave me publicity material, which was so useful for travelling, and an identification card.*"[6]

Petrbok stated that he saved 3000 CZK for his third journey and got 1000

6 Petrbok 1927, 11.

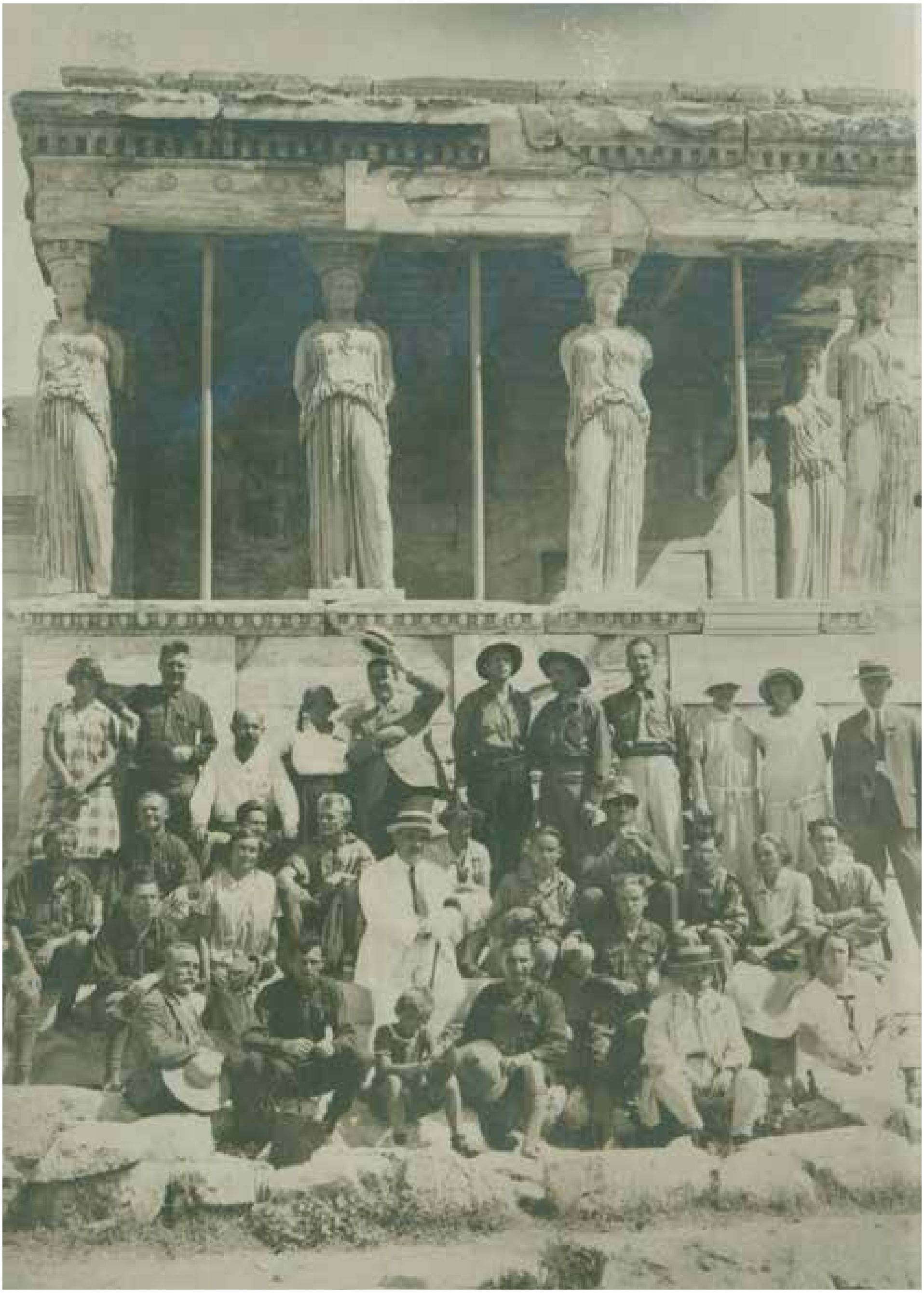

Fig. 4: ANM, collection Jaroslav Petrbok, box 25, fol. 2155. Travel to the Orient 1926, Athens.

CZK from unspecified sources. This journey was partially financed by state institutions. The National museum in Prague granted transport of material from Palestine to Prague – 2500 CZK[7] and in January 1926 Petrbok got a subvention 5000 CZK from the Ministry of Education to undertake a three month study journey to Palestine. Thanks to this financial support he added also research work in Syria and Egypt.[8] In addition to the funds, Petrbok also obtained an official recommendation for Czechoslovak representative offices and scientific institutions.[9]

Petrbok was travelling by train to Constanta and continued by ship *Romania* run by *Serviciul Maritime Romain*. This society let him sail free in the 1st class in summer 1924 and in the 2nd class next year:

”Like in the last year, I travel with “Romania”. However, the ship is incredibly overcrowded. Instead of 150 people, 500 of them travel with the 3rd class. They sleep next to and over each other. In cabins and on the deck. All borders between the 1st, the 2nd and the 3rd class fell. All sleeping berths of sailors are sold. ... The state Romanian steam navigation Serviciul MaritimeRomaine let me sail free in the 2nd class (with the mark-up of 10 dollars for a stokers sleeping berth); I was late. On my way back, I will sail for free in the 2nd class again.”[10]

In his articles and the book describing two journeys to Palestine (1925 and 1926), Petrbok leaves no doubt about the way he travels – the way propagated and

7 Petrbok 1927, 78. “The National Museum provided for any transport of objects, which, however, I have to collect first, 2,500 CZK. Therefore, the money is not mine and must be settled. 3,000 CZK! 3000 CZK! It is a yield from all lectures and writing.”

8 The Ministry of Education and National Education of Public, attended January 25, 1926, Prague, ANM, personal papers of Jaroslav Petrbok, box 10, fol. 1119. n. 762/26-IV.

9 Ministry of Foreign Affaires, Prague, February 1, 1926, n. 76/26-V/4. Official letter for embassies in Bucharest, Cairo, Alexandria, Jerusalem and Beirut, Prague, ANM, personal papers of Jaroslav Petrbok, box 10, fol. 1123. “Mr. Jaroslav Petrbok, member of the state geological institut in Prague, undertakes a scientific and collecting journey to Palestine, Syria and Egypt in order to perform a geological research of local formations. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs requests hereby that the above embassies meet Mr. Jaroslav Petrbok’s needs where possible and provide him all reliefs permitted under the valid legal regulation.”
The National Museum confirmed that Jaroslav Petrbok works as a volunteering scientist for the museum. Such confirmation relating to the Petrbok’s travel to Iraq and dated 1936 has been preserved. Viz Confirmation. The National Museum – Department of Zoology, Prague, ANM, personal papers of Jaroslav Petrbok, box 10, fol. 1171.

10 Petrbok 1927, 13.

ran by him for a whole life. Petrbok was willing to set out on a scientific journey under the conditions not acceptable for everyone.

"Here, aboard – like aboard of all immigrant ships of the world – most of people are poor ones and all of our 500 people have available 3 toilets where long queues of people are waiting all day long; there is one washbasin for 3 – 4 people. Today, not even fresh water is available since it is necessary to have it for drinking. People in the 3rd class are catching hot water, which is available, in small pots and make themselves tea... I am cooking my tea the same way. I have sugar, bread and cheese for about 3 days. In my opinion, it is better to eat for 3 days when the sea is quiet and for the 4th and 5th day orange peel will be left over which will provide some taste together with hot water. On top of it, raw orange peel includes many vitamins. By the way, I have 8 kg of extra weight so I can afford to sacrify 2 kg."[11]

In Palestine, Petrbok stayed in Jewish settlements. The Palestinian authority equipped him with a special card allowing him to stay for free in the whole Palestine. During all of his journeys in Palestine, Petrbok stayed in Czechoslovak settlements kibbutz Bet Alfa and in kibbutz Daganea Alef. This experience left in Petrbok an optimistic view of Jewish agricultural settlements to which he dedicated extensive passages in all of his published works (focused on Palestine). For Petrbok, a left-wing teacher with two small children, a teetotaller and a person coming from socially weak environment, this type of community represented an ideal community. Part of Petrbok's work consisted of gathering collections for his colleagues in the National Museum. In addition to Palaeolithic tools for the Department of Prehistoric Archaeology, Petrbok brought a huge amount of zoological material. He was one of the collaborators of Jan Obenberger (an entomologist) who participated in the creation of zoological, entomological mainly, collections of the National Museum.

"In a fountain filled with the dirtiest water, I found a big ball of about half a meter long worms – Gordius sp. That was the prey very interesting, and I really do not know how many of them have already been described from Palestine. In all my travels I have come to this for the first time. Here and there I collected rare instruments from palaeolith, caught grasshoppers and everything what just came to my net. In the evening after working all day, I had to catch in the net sleepy or sleeping insects in the slope."[12]

11 Petrbok 1927, 16.
12 Petrbok 1927, 52.

Teachers' travels to the Orient

Petrbok used his knowledge of the countries he visited to organise trips for other teachers. First travel was held in 1926[13], cost approximately 3000 CZK (compare with the salary of Petrbok – 1820 CZK)[14] and took 6 weeks. They travelled by train to Constanza in Rumania, where they boarded a steamship to Pireus. They spent three weeks in Athens and its surroundings, and on Peloponnesus. The travel was supported also by the Greek Ministry of Culture; they had free accommodation, a guide and discounts for train tickets.[15] Then they continued by a steam-ship to Egypt to visit Alexandria and Cairo and later to Palestine and Syria. We can consider this journey as a really educational journey including Greece, Syria, Palestine and Egypt. This journey was aimed at providing the teachers with an opportunity to meet ancient and modern monuments and from his point of view much more interesting daily life of Jews building modern Palestine and to transmit this first hand knowledge to their students.

"*In Palestine today, we can go for dual purposes: either to behold historic Palestine, namely: long-dead, past or new Palestine, surprising with its expansiveness and desire to live, live, live. [...]This Palestine, new, modern, is, however, more important than the historical and sentimental.*"[16]

Journeys undertaken in the coming years were not formed directly for teachers, even though he still called them so. In fact, everyone was allowed to sign in for the journey through advertisements in the press (National People's Politics and Law) and Petrbok's book on Palestine. Also for journeys in 1928 and 1929 financial conditions changed, they were laid out for only three weeks and the price climbed to 4,000 CZK. The journeys included only Palestine and Egypt.[17]

These travels were a sort of predecessor to travel clubs that organised travels to the Orient from the early 1930s. Also the club travels were sometimes organised to acquaint middle class public, including teachers, with the ancient

13 Viz Jůnová Macková–Navrátilová–Havlůjová–Jůn 2009, 354–360.

14 Viz Personal datas, Prague, NA, document collection Police Headquarters Prague, section II, general records box 8577, fol. P1541/15.

15 Embassy of the Czechoslovak Republic in Athens, Prague, ANM, papers of Jaroslav Petrbok, box n. 11, fol. 1394.

16 Petrbok 1925, 118–119.

17 Preliminary programme of travel journey to Palestine and Egypt 1928 and 1929, Prague, ANM, papers of Jaroslav Petrbok, box 25, fol. 2217.

civilisations but also the reality of life in the Orient in the first half of the 20th century. At least the journey held in 1926 can be described as a non-profit project, in which each member had its own budget and paid only overhead charge of 200 CZK, i.e. 1/15 of the price of the entire journey, including visas. The following journeys, as evident from the increase in price and shorter paths, have probably been conceptualized as economic activity, but no other journeys are documented and little gain could be one of the reasons why the sources are silent as regards other journeys.

Lectures

Petrbok was also preparing talks illustrated with slides about visited regions and about his work. The talks were given to general public in Prague and in other places in Czechoslovakia. The beginning of his lectures is dated to 1922 when he started to travel more extensively and due to his working holidays was able to cooperate with the National Museum (fig.). His lectures were lively and interesting; he was using his own glass diapositives made during his travels or scientific expeditions.

In Petrbok's lectures, several topics were the most frequent. The lectures on the countries which he visited during his travels can be divided into the scientific lectures intended for narrow scientific audience and lectures for the general public. Palestine became his specific topic. He introduced the Zionist movement in Palestine whose work he really admired. During these lectures he also projected films.

Conclusion (collections)

Petrbok actively promoted and spread the idea that Oriental travel is a part of education now accessible to most. However, when travelling, he also used some approaches close to package tour (discounted travel), albeit in more rudimentary conditions of camps, and with governmental support as his trips were meant to emphasize the strong educational element.

His research activities were manifold and Petrbok's paleontological, prehistoric or ethnographic collections were deposited in the National museum. In the database of prehistoric collections of the National Museum 3,328 items donated by Jaroslav Petrbok is registered, the database of the department of palaeontology makes in these days (September 2012) available 30 items. Perhaps the best known and most important gift of Jaroslav Petrbok is endocranium of Neanderthal of travertine from the village of Gánovce u Popradu, which he gave to the National

Museum in 1957. The collections of Jaroslav Petrbok donated to the Department of Geology and Palaeontology of the National Museum in 1960 were estimated at 500,000 CZK.

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MERRYMAKING ON THE NILE: TRAVEL AS A MEANS OF EXPANDING SOCIAL HORIZONS

AMANDA HEGGESTAD, Aalst

Introduction

With new advances in communications, steam travel, and general ties with the outside world, more and more nineteenth-century British travelers began looking farther afield than the traditional Continental Tour to satisfy their wanderlust. By the beginning of the Victorian era, the Nile, in particular, had captured the British imagination and had become a popular destination for those with the means to reach it. Over the course of Victoria's reign, Egypt attracted increasing numbers of British travelers, as British interest in the ancient Egyptian world grew, logistics and accommodations there improved, and politics drew the two countries ever closer.

It is not hard to understand what drew Victorians to the Nile. Clearly, at a time when Egyptomania held a grip on much of British society, the ancient sights along the Nile, in and of themselves, offered significant allure to travelers. In addition, Egypt proved an ideal destination for travelers seeking religious inspiration, intercultural experience, or improved health in the warm, dry weather. But the Nile offered other, perhaps less obvious, benefits, as well. For many, the *dolce far niente* of a Nile tourist's life offered a welcome reprieve from the stresses of industrial Britain. For those less idle-minded individuals, Egypt offered new material for serious and amateur scientists to ponder: flora and fauna different from those available in Britain, unique and bold geographic features, and images and encounters that could lead a traveler to question their philosophies of race, civilization, and prosperity. Travel accounts of the period reveal all of these motivations for a Nile tour, but they are almost invariably peppered with another common Nile pleasure, which bears a bit more examination to fully understand: social encounters.

On the surface, one might dismiss socialization as the most natural recreation of all for a traveler – after all, humans are social beings. But considered with a bit more care, it becomes clear that this Nile pleasure cannot be taken for granted. In published and private Victorian travel accounts, social reasons are seldom, if ever, listed among the primary reasons for travel to Egypt. Indeed, it seems odd that one would travel to a land so far from the existing social networks of home in order to seek out social interactions, particularly in an era when introductions formed the basis of virtually all new relationships. Moreover, most Victorian travelers considered a Nile journey tantamount to "leaving civilization behind" – an odd moment, perhaps, to meet new people and begin merrymaking in earnest.

But make merry they did. Victorian accounts overflow with references to social activities: paying calls, picnicking, playing cards, celebrating weddings and fantasias. Even the driest accounts of Nile travel, such as William Arnold Bromfield's private journal – heavily focused on climate, flora, and fauna – offer a glimpse of conversations and outings shared with acquaintances fostered in Egypt.[1] Rarely, a traveler (like the most notable example, Florence Nightingale) might actively avoid social encounters, but most seem to have pursued them enthusiastically, despite any difficulties caused by their remoteness from "civilization."[2] Ultimately there were a number of distinct advantages to socializing on the Nile, though the extent to which a traveler could or did act upon them varied according to time and mode of travel. An examination of travelers' social activities along the Nile over time, as related in published and privately printed accounts, will help clarify to what extent these advantages outweighed any drawbacks to such social endeavors.

A hint of exoticism

Just as Egypt itself offered an exotic new landscape to explore, its people brought a touch of exoticism to the Victorian social agenda, which would have been largely absent at home in Britain. Ironically, though Victorian travelers spent day in, day out surrounded by Egyptian "natives" (a term applied to virtually anyone of African, Eurasian, or Middle Eastern origin resident in Egypt), most travelers viewed poor "natives" as subjects of scientific interest, exotic characters to observe, or objects of pity or nuisance, but almost never as individuals worth knowing better. Consider, for example, how some travelers dropped unannounced and uninvited into fellahs' homes as though they were entitled to be there, simply to see what the huts looked like inside.[3] Even those who did overcome their existing class and racial prejudices enough to form some affection for a poor Egyptian tended to do so in decidedly patriarchal terms, firmly taking the upper hand in the relationship. For example, William Arnold Bromfield reported that, had a loving mother not intervened, his travel companion would have whisked one particularly amusing "native" boy up the

1 See, for example, Bromfield 1849–1851.

2 See, for example, Nightingale 1987, 178.

3 See, for example, Lewis 2005, 100.

Nile with them.[4] Unlike that remarkable child, most poor "natives" simply slipped under travelers' social radars.

More affluent "natives," however, represented a welcome opportunity for exotic close encounters. Festive occasions offered a relatively easy way for travelers to penetrate the "native" social scene and partake of sundry exotic customs. For example, Howard Hopley's servant, Said, managed to gain an invitation to a local wedding for Hopley's party, who in turn invited another European from a newly arrived *dahabieh* to join them. In exchange for a half hour's music and dancing entertainment, Hopley's party presented the bridegroom with *baksheesh* and a parting entertainment of their own, "*For Smith had brought a roman candle or two and a big rocket with him, in order – as he expressed it – to astonish the natives; and on leaving, he astonished them accordingly.*"[5] While this wedding invitation was wrangled last-minute, some festivities were somewhat more coordinated ventures. One long-serving and oft-mentioned consular agent, Mustapha Aga of Luxor, was particularly noted for the fantasias he regularly threw in honor of European travelers. Exotic music and dancers topped the list of activities at such soirees, and while some travelers disapproved (Harriet Martineau, for example, deemed the dancers "*disgusting*"[6]), most seemed tempted to at least sample the local entertainments.

More intimate social encounters with affluent natives, often arranged through European acquaintances or (particularly early in the period) the Consul General, could prove equally exotic. Many travel accounts describe feasts devoid of silverware, where it was deemed most honorable for the host to handle a choice morsel for the esteemed guest.[7] Some Victorians were fascinated; others, disgusted, but most were curious enough to attend a native meal, when the opportunity presented itself. Taking exotic meetings to the next level, women travelers, in particular, were generally keen to call on harem inmates in their natural environment, and most early women travelers used their local connections to gain access to the harem. Local expatriate Mrs. Lieder, a former tutor to the royal harem, seems to have been a great resource for early Victorians in this respect, introducing women travelers, such as Isabella Romer and Eliza Platt, to various Cairene harems.[8] Later in the period, introductions came from more diffuse sources, but visits to native homes continued to be reported with interest in travelers' written accounts.

Some of the exotic aspects of Egypt appealed to Victorian travelers enough that, at times, even predominately European spaces went out of their way

4 Bromfield 1856, 73.
5 Hopley 1869, 108.
6 Martineau 1875, 228.
7 See, for example, Romer 2005, v.1, 333 f.
8 See, for example, Platt 1841, v. 1, 247, or Romer 2005, v. 2, 96.

to emphasize the exotic locale (as in the elaborate lattice decorations at Mena House).[9] Nevertheless, not all travelers could be thrilled by Egypt's exotic nature alone. Margot Asquith recalled a tedious *dahabieh* tea with the *Vice Reine*, where conversation was limited to "*the obvious – the weather, the Nile, the ship, or the teacups.*"[10] In the words of Eliot Warburton several decades earlier:

"*Whatever may have been in old times the prejudices against Europeans, the Cairenes are now both anxious and willing to cultivate our acquaintance, and express themselves with apparent frankness upon every subject. One soon gets tired, however, of people whose principal contribution to society is the smoke of their pipes; whose every principle (if they have any) is so opposed to our own; and whose information (if they choose to give any) is so little worth having.*"[11]

Warburton's afterthought underscores how even those travelers most interested in fraternizing with the locals could hinder their own efforts at cultivating native acquaintances and embracing exotic ideas by clinging to Victorian ideals of class and civilization. In the end, it seems that many Victorian travelers longed for a *hint* of the exotic – but not necessarily more.

A relaxed social environment

Despite the opportunity to sample the exotic, some aspects of Nile social life resembled social customs back home. Certainly at the beginning of the period, letters of introduction played a significant role in penetrating local expatriate society. Where letters were lacking, the Consul General filled in, sometimes facilitating introductions for travelers to the extent that his name returns again and again throughout the pages of early Victorian travel accounts.[12] Early in the period, a few notable expatriates, such as the Krusés, the Lieders, and Dr. Abbott, served a similar function, seemingly dropping everything to make travelers feel welcome. The Lieders in particular went above and beyond in helping early Victorian travelers, even reportedly taking in a despondent young lady whose fiancé died while she was on her way to India to marry him.[13]

This relative ease of access to expatriates living in Egypt was complemented by a rather relaxed approach to visiting. Unlike the calling protocol of contemporary Britain, Eliza Platt noted that "*8–10am is the appropriate time for making calls in*

9 Nelson 1979, 10 f.
10 Asquith 1925, 62.
11 Warburton 1854, 162 f.
12 For example, Platt 1841, throughout.
13 See Romer 2005, v. 1, 96 f.

Cairo, followed by a siesta till 4 or 5pm."[14] Although Miss Platt cited this general rule for calls in Cairo, most Victorian travel accounts (hers as well as others) hint that social gatherings and calls may have been paid to and from expatriates, "natives," and other travelers, willy nilly throughout the day. This change of routine is the sort of factor that would have enabled Victorians to feel they had some "regular" social contacts, particularly with other Europeans, but with a bit of exotic flourish here and there.

As the period wore on and Britain assumed a greater role in the administration of Egypt, fewer travelogues mention letters of introduction, and fewer expatriates stand out as beacons of hospitality for Victorian travelers. Even consular officials played a smaller and smaller role in travelers' experiences, as hotel managers took over many of the functions that early Consul Generals had served. Over time, as the expatriate community grew, it became increasingly difficult for travelers to penetrate expatriate society, unless they were well-known or well-connected. Expatriate balls and other events were held regularly, but for those just passing through, invitations were sometimes hard to come by. Hannah Maude Buxton's vague hopes of joining a ball held at her family's hotel on the day they arrived were dashed, when her family was escorted into a small dining room, closed off from the festivities. Better-connected Katherine Petherick, on the other hand, gushed, "*Many were the pleasant dances, dinners, and picnics to which we were invited; and the friendliness the Europeans evinced towards us must ever live in our heart.*"[15]

Social opportunities didn't vanish, however, as expatriates became less welcoming. Travelers still could, and did, mingle amongst themselves, and the rules for doing so were far more relaxed than they would have been at home in a British parlor, or even within the Egyptian expatriate communities. Fellow travelers could strike up conversations – even friendships – without introduction from a common acquaintance. Their desire to do so, however, varied, at least while they were still in the metropolises of Alexandria and Cairo. Individuals bound for India were generally viewed neutrally, or perhaps with a touch of pity for the hard journey they faced, even though they flooded hotels, and travelers sometimes had to literally step over them; few of the travelers studied made significant efforts to cultivate friendships or form antagonisms with them, unless they stayed in Egypt for more than a day or two. Reports of fellow Nile-goers, by contrast, tended to be decidedly positive or negative, particularly in the metropolises of Lower Egypt. Some travelers complained heartily about the people sharing their hotels, particularly criticizing the conduct of others seated around the *table d'hôte*. S.S. Hill was so appalled at the anti-European sentiments emanating from the

14 Platt 1841, v. 1, 61.
15 Buxton 1895, 18; Petherick 1869, 4 f.

Europeans seated around the dinner table, that his first *table d'hôte* in Cairo was also his last; thenceforth he chose to dine separately from the majority of the hotel residents.[16] Other travelers, however, got to know other hotel residents well enough to call them "*friends*."[17]

Once travelers left the comparatively "civilized" city of Cairo, however, most reveled in the opportunity to meet any and all other Westerners on the Nile, co-linguals and compatriots in particular. Even by the end of the period, when telegraphs and expatriate communities extended to Upper Egypt, travelers continued to consider contacts with other Europeans a precious break from the journey "beyond civilization." As Howard Hopley put it, "*The meeting of friends or countrymen is quite an event on the Nile. It is about the only break in your journey which reminds you of nationality or home.*"[18] Still, though most Nile travelers may have been anxious to meet other Westerners abroad, the way they talked about other travelers and went about meeting them differed significantly, depending on their own mode of travel.

Travelers who chose to ascend the Nile by *dahabieh* had the luxury to select (and limit the number of) their companions for the journey, could drift along the river at a leisurely pace, and could call halts more or less whenever they chose to do so. *Dahabiehs* hoisted the flags of the travelers' home countries, so that all boats along the Nile would recognize the passengers as Westerners. As the slow pace of travel, *dolce far niente*, and limited social circle onboard the *dahabieh* increased the travelers' desire to meet new people, the flags made it particularly easy for other Nile travelers (presumably in a similar state of mind) to spot them. When two dahabiehs met on the Nile, travelers generally saluted one another by dipping their flags to one another and/or firing rounds into the air. Then, unless circumstances really would not allow it, most Western travelers pulled alongside one another (particularly if the boats hosted the same nationality or native language), to exchange calls and visit one another's dahabiehs, regardless of whether travelers knew one another beforehand. Travelers exchanged news (and newspapers, if they had them), inspected one another's vessels, and swapped stories of Nile experiences. Isabella Romer's travelogue summarizes such a Nile meeting thus:

"*…as in the middle of the Nile English formalities, and even English etiquette, are laid aside, and English people meeting there for the first time, scarcely look upon each other in the light of strangers, an exchange of visits took place, and we found the occupant of the boat to be Mr. Davidson, of the Madras Civil Service,*

16 Hill 2005, 22 f.

17 Middleton 1883, 160.

18 Hopley 1869, 98.

returning from an excursion to Thebes to join at Cairo the next overland mail going out to India. Half an hour has been most agreeably passed by us with this intelligent traveller; and now, while the gentlemen are discussing a bottle of Guiness's porter, I am scribbling away in all haste, in order that I may 'sign, seal, and deliver' my despatches to Mr. D., who has kindly volunteered to take charge of them, and post them from Cairo – an opportunity not to be lost."[19]

Romer's brief visit with Mr. Davidson was about as long as any such midstream encounter would be –calls paid back home would scarcely have lasted longer, and Nile travelers had the added incentive to make use of any current or wind in their favor.

More extended visits were reserved for moments when two or more *dahabiehs* would moor next to one another. This was almost always occasion for celebration, and often the travelers would arrange a dinner party aboard one or other *dahabieh*, take advantage of Western companionship. Sometimes, friends or acquaintances might attempt to pre-arrange such *dahabieh* parties, as in the case of Agnes Smith Lewis's [failed] plans to celebrate the New Year with friends at Luxor, but as all plans were subject to the vagaries of the Nile and *dahabiehs* often moored near another unexpectedly, they were just as often impromptu affairs.[20] While all encounters were entertaining, if the nearby dahabieh carried a friend or acquaintance, travelers, as Howard Hopley put it, "*fraternized as they only do who meet them in far distant lands,*" sharing coffee and pipes, and, in Hopley's case, attending a local celebration together before setting off fireworks in honor of the New Year.[21] Eliot Warburton was so enthusiastic about meeting a friend of his on the Nile that he managed to prolong a visit with him until dawn![22]

When they weren't throwing dinner parties or whiling away their time shooting (alone or with other travel parties), reading, writing, sketching, sewing, playing cards, or playing piano in their saloons, most *dahabieh* travelers struck off to see the sights. For *dahabieh* travelers with no set agenda, this provided another major occasion for leisurely socializing with other travelers, particularly in heavily toured areas, like Thebes or Philae. Warburton describes the joy of meeting another party among the tombs of Thebes:

"*It was a merry day we passed among those tombs; we had not heard the sound of any European voice but our own for nearly two months, when, turning into one of these sepulchres, we met a large party exploring like ourselves. We*

19 Romer 2005, v. 1, 129 f.
20 Lewis 2005, 119.
21 Hopley 1869, 98.
22 Warburton 1854, 77 f.

invited them to 'our tomb' where Mahmoud was preparing coffee, and, as their commissariat had been neglected, they were too happy to be our guests. Mahmoud was at first startled at the unexpected increase of our party, but soon set himself vigorously about preparing dinner for nine out of a luncheon for two. Our new acquaintances consisted of a handsome young Russian Prince, – an antiquary who was residing at Thebes, named Castellari, – a German traveller, two Italians, and two Frenchmen."[23]

As ever, a bit of food and (loosely defined) shared heritage went a long way toward keeping *dahabieh* travelers amused.

While *dahabiehs* remained available for those with the leisure and financial wherewithal to hire them through the end of the era, the mid-Victorian period saw the rise of steam traffic on the Nile, creating a convenient alternative kind of Nile cruise, particularly when Cook became active on the Nile, in 1869.[24] Commercial steamer travelers, generally found themselves sharing a boat with 20 or 30 other random passengers (some steamers could hold triple that estimate), most of whom they would not have known prior to their Nile trip, with no consideration for compatibility of the personalities onboard, and no flexibility in the touring schedule. Unlike *dahabieh* travel, there was little risk of loneliness aboard a Nile steamer. Indeed, Margot Asquith complained, "*It is one of the drawbacks of ship life that, unless you lock yourself in the bathroom, or lie in your berth, you are never alone. It is as necessary for me to be alone some part of every day, as to wash, dress, read, or ride.*"[25]

Henry Duff Traill described the range of personalities gracing his steamer's manifest thus:

"*We are a motley and polyglot band, no doubt, numbering, as we do, among us a highly-respected English bishop in partibus infidelium, a London surgeon of world-wide fame alike for his personal skill and for the success with which he has advanced the borders of his science, a German sculptor of high distinction, and a jockey whose name, as that of one of the foremost and most accomplished of English horsemen, is familiar to every turf-loving member of our widely-scattered race. Invalids in search of health, idlers in search of distraction, busy men in search of rest, or at any rate change; Germans indulging in their newly-acquired national taste for rambling; Frenchmen anxious to look on the land with which they claim so mysteriously sentimental a connection; Americans calmly bent upon doing the world within a fixed period and being 'on time' at the finish – these make*

23 Ibidem, 151.

24 Thomas Cook Archives Overview 2012.

25 Asquith 1925, 46 f.

up the remainder of our company. A Harmless, nay, an eminently respectable, if for the most part an, Egyptologically speaking, unlearned party.”[26]

Traill’s account, like most travelogues recounting steamer experiences, suggests that, despite the wide range of nationalities, professions, and travel goals aboard the steamer, passengers did their best to accommodate one another and get along. While soot, pests, and cabin size received ready criticism, fellow passengers by and large received praise. On the Nile, steamer passengers were somewhat more likely than *dahabieh* travelers to pass the time dancing or playing the piano (common areas may have had more room than dahabiehs, and were more likely to accommodate such things), but like *dahabieh*-goers, they would also play cards or chess, and steamers carried a large enough population to rotate players if desired. One steamer passenger even mentioned having started a Nile whist club for the duration of the tour.[27]

Despite the readily available social life inherent in steamer travel, steamer passengers, too, enjoyed the company of travelers from other vessels. For steamer passengers, this would have happened exclusively during excursions or at regularly scheduled mooring sites, and the steamer’s rigorous agenda would have limited the travelers’ opportunities to socialize at length even at these times. Certain places, like Thebes (with its many sights) and Aswan (as the end point before Philae and the First Cataract), would have attracted high concentrations of travelers at any given time, making them ideal contact points.[28] Although it would have been highly impractical for the entire steamer group to descend upon a *dahabieh en masse*, it was not so uncommon for individual steamer passengers to visit friends and acquaintances on board their *dahabiehs*, or for *dahabieh*-goers to pay a call aboard a steamer. Although this was very often a social occasion, such visits were sometimes mixed with business, as dahabieh travelers dropped off letters for home, which would reach their destination more swiftly by steamer. In extreme cases, the dahabieh travelers might even defect and board the steamer for the home journey, bored with Nile life or anxious to return to “civilization.”[29]

The main drawback to such relaxed Nile acquaintanceships was their fleeting nature. Although it was not impossible for long-term friendships to form from Egyptian experiences, bonds formed from travel often proved fickle. A period advice book, *Hints to Lady Travellers*, by Lillias Campbell Davison, sums up the potentially come-and-go nature of friendships while traveling abroad:

26 Traill 1896, 91 f.
27 W. 1876, 12.
28 See, for example, Maughan 2005, 50.
29 See, for example, Wace 1865, 77.

"True, it is part of the etiquette of travel that fellow-travellers, or neighbours at a table d'hôte, may converse without having the magic formula gone through of a pronunciation of both their names – and that such an interchange of civilities does not necessarily constitute a future acquaintance..."[30]

This principle – and the prospect of its being bent or ignored – shows through in some period travel accounts. Florence Nightingale, for example, entertained a horror that a certain travel acquaintance might claim friendship with her back in England.[31] While travelers were encouraged to be civil and make friends with fellow travelers for the duration of their travels, there were no guarantees or expectations that this friendship would survive the journey. This, combined with the sheer distance between travelers' homes and those of (at least some of) the people they met, meant that some friendships would die or devolve to occasional correspondence. Pleasant though they were, many Nile friendships were, in short, less durable than home-grown relationships.

Access to social superiors

The relaxed rules of social interaction in Egypt carried another significant advantage for merry-making travelers: it made for easy access to social superiors. At home in Britain a complex system of introductions, presentations at court, and class considerations determined whom a person could meet. The Nile, on the other hand, attracted all sorts of traveler – even the most glamorous sort – and the conditions of travel rendered them open to contacts with other Westerners. This gave the average Nile traveler a chance to meet illustrious Europeans whom they may never have otherwise chanced to meet.

Just as Warburton hosted an impromptu picnic for a Russian prince (see above), many travelers found themselves brushing elbows with Europe's elite in a way that would have been unthinkable back home, both in the Lower Egyptian metropolises and beyond. For much of the period, for example, Shepheard's Hotel was a great hub for notable British travelers. G. H. Allsopp trumpeted that "*at one time, there were no less than five* [British legislators] *within Shepheard's fold. Here let me name one person in particular, viz., Captain Burton, the great African traveller, the discoverer of the source of the Nile*[...]"[32] Allsopp was not content with mere proximity; he went on to have at least one of these luminaries to lunch on his *dahabieh* before departing up the Nile.[33] Further up the Nile, dahabieh-goers

30 Davidson 1899, 56.

31 See, for example, Calabria 1997, 53.

32 Alsopp 1877, 19.

33 Ibidem, 26.

could capitalize on the remoteness from Western contacts to hob-nob, however briefly, with notables that they met.

Steamer travelers, however, were not cut off from the prestige of noble contacts. Indeed, steamers carried passengers of all sorts of nationalities and ranks, from ordinary middle-class travelers to noblemen; Henry T. Wace, for example, steamed along the Nile together with a marquis.[34] Despite the rigid schedule that steamer travelers followed, even they encountered the occasional illustrious traveler at stopping points and major tourist attractions. William Charles Maughan's steamer group, while lunching in the Memnonium, saw the Grand Duke of Mecklenburgh with his party. Although it would have been impractical for the entire steamer group to meet this noble, the German steamer passengers made bold and introduced themselves, and "*were received by the Grand Duke with flattering courtesy and consideration.*"[35] So, while mode of travel may have affected the duration of high-placed social encounters, it did not seem to deter European notables from receiving fellow Westerners along the Nile.

Because of the peculiar context of such meetings and the brevity with which any given traveler would have been able to connect with European luminaries, the chances of a real, lasting social advantage growing from these meetings were slim. Nevertheless, it did give some travelers, however briefly, access to a social world otherwise out of their reach – not a bad achievement when drifting upstream "beyond civilization." That said, of course, it also gave a certain cachet to the stories travelers could later tell about their time on the Nile, and rendered the whole idea of Nile travel somewhat more glamorous.

Rich social venues

The final major advantage of social life on the Nile was the variety of rich social venues which welcomed Western travelers and helped them forge new acquaintances amongst themselves and with European expats, as well. At the beginning of the period, there were a relatively limited number of such organizations in Egypt's metropolises, and in 1838, for example, Eliza Platt already described the Egyptian Society as "*a declining organization*."[36] Nevertheless, only a few years later, Eliot Warburton described several academic meeting points in Cairo, which seemed to inspire a highly sociable atmosphere:

"*Cairo, nevertheless, affords to the traveller and the student many sources of entertainment and information, there is an excellent library, liberally open to all*

34 Wace 1865, 75.
35 Maughan 2005, 52.
36 Platt 1841, v. 1, 96.

strangers, principally under the care of our consul, Mr. Walne. There is also a literary institution, founded by Dr. Abbott and M. Priess, having in view not only a collection of literature connected with Egypt, but the publication from time to time of new discoveries and old MSS. In the former are held 'weekly conversaziones', where the appearance of the guests is as various as the information to be obtained […] I must not omit allusion to the valuable Antiquarian Museum of Dr. Abbott, and the well-chosen collection of antiquities and natural history belonging to Clot Bey, both of which are most liberally open to the inspection of strangers."[37]

Although these various institutions rose, fell, or otherwise transformed over time, intellectual gatherings of one kind or another continued to function as a mechanism for socializing for much of the Victorian period. Two decades after Warburton's visit, S. S. Hill still confirmed that Cairo's academic lectures were dull until the pipes came out, when people began playing cards, drinking coffee and punch, and playing chess.[38] By the close of the era, however, social venues in the cities evolved away from academia and focused more on entertainment.

Although some of the festivities that arose by the end of the era were reserved exclusively for expatriates, Victorian travelers could attend any number of other social events that required little or no preexisting connection with the expatriate community, and which attracted Europeans of all sorts. In Cairo and beyond, the Turf Club, Ezbekieh garden parties, the opera, gymkhanas, and horse races all offered travelers the chance to brush elbows with other Europeans. Not all travelers approved of these developments. William Charles Maughan, for example, complained that Cairo's opera and race course undermined the morals of everyone present.[39] Despite Maughan's criticism of the Khedive's Western entertainments, however, even he could not deny the quality of the spectacles, and a good number of other Victorian travelers attended these events with light hearts and in good spirits. Thus, though access to the expatriate community became more difficult over time and academic organizations dwindled, most travelers could partake of new and exciting social venues, designed specifically with Westerners in mind. Eventually, these venues created not only a place for travelers to meet other Europeans, but also a sort of "home away from home," with a slight Oriental twist.

Conclusion

A land considered well beyond the boundaries of civilization might not be the most intuitive place to launch a whirlwind of social activity, but for nineteenth-

37 Warburton 1854, 164 f.

38 Hill 2005, 212–216.

39 Maughan 2005, 21.

century British travelers, the Nile did indeed spark a vibrant and varied social life. Though one might argue that the remoteness from life back home in Britain, cross-cultural misconceptions, and the transient nature of Nile acquaintanceships limited the impact of such interactions, it is clear that Nile social life came with a number of advantages unavailable to Brits on their own home turf.

In Egypt, travelers could partake of the exotic, while maintaining some of their home country's framework for socializing, making interactions exciting and new, but not completely daunting. A number of desirable meeting-places helped new friendships along and ensured that travelers did not want for entertainment. Relaxed social rules abroad meant that travelers could meet new people with relative ease, without the same strain on respectability that came with more formal acquaintanceships at home. Moreover, the thirst for Western contact meant that travelers may even receive gracious receptions from Europeans well above their own station, and this in turn could add to the prestige of their own travel account. In short, though Nile social life may have come with certain limitations, those willing to dive in and make merry enjoyed an experience unlike any they would have been likely to encounter back home, and were certainly better off for it.

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TEACHING THE HISTORY OF EGYPT AND NUBIA – THE 1860S SCHOOLBOOKS OF THE SLOVAK GRAMMAR SCHOOL IN REVÚCA

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Motto

"*In addition to this, because we do not have books yet, we have to copy everything*."

Cyril Braxatoris, a student of the grammar school in Revúca

Slovak secondary grammar school in Revúca

Since 1849, the organization of education in Catholic schools of the Austrian Empire was regulated by two documents, *Grundsätze für die provisorische Organisation des Unterrichtswesens in dem Kronlande Ungarn* and *Entwurfe einer Organisation der österreichischen Gymnasien und Realschulen.*[1] The documents contained the rights of the nations living in the monarchy to be educated in their maternal language at elementary and secondary schools. On 1 September 1859, Franz Joseph I issued the so called Protestant patent (in German *Protestantenpatent*), regulating the internal affairs of Protestant churches in Transleithanien, among others the educational rights of the church. The patent enabled Protestants of both confessions to found their own schools.[2] Short constitutional period of the monarchy in years 1860 to 1861 was followed by four years of the so called Provisory.[3]

It was during this Provisory when a group of Slovak officials and intellectuals used the autonomous right of the Lutheran church of Augsburg confession to found grammar schools, financed either by the church or by private funding. One such grammar school was founded in the Gemer-Malohont County, in the town of Revúca (fig. 1) and opened in September 1862.

1 Leisching 1985, 172–174. J. von Puttkamer (2006) deals with the school policy of Hungary in the second part of the 19th century with further references. Hungarian school policy in the education of Slovaks was studied by Bokes (1955), Podrimavský (2003), Mésároš (2004, 156–188).

2 Gottas 1985, 502–508.

3 Short overviews of Austro-Hungarian history in the latter half of 19th century in English was published by Kováč (2011) and Podrimavský (2011).

Fig. 1: Town Revúca in the year 1870. Courtesy of Literary archive of Slovak National Library in Martin, signature PR 24/1.

The language question was a key element in the Slovak National Movement of the 19th century. The Slovak language, as defined by the Štúr group in the 1840s,[4] gradually became one of the main aspects of the self-determination of Slovak nation and nationality. The importance of the language was stressed in all national and political programs since the *The Demands of the Slovak Nation* in 1849. One of the main uses of the Slovak language was in the education.[5] It was partially used in the elementary education, but secondary schools in Transleithanien were mostly Hungarian or German.[6]

The use of the Slovak language in the educational process faced practical difficulties. The secondary education was in its formation phase and there were hardly any schoolbooks available in Slovak. Printed schoolbooks were written in the Czech language – the official language of the Hungarian Lutheran church of the Augsburg confession. Teachers were thus forced to compile the teaching material by themselves. Those primary 'schoolbooks' were copied or transcribed by students.

4 Šoltés 2011.

5 Podrimavský 2003.

6 The secondary grammar school in Banská Bystrica (Neusohl) had some Slovak professors already in the 1850s; the school in Revúca was, however, the first school to offer a complete curriculum in Slovak as the main language used in the education (Holotík 1980, 780).

Fig. 2: Teachers of the secondary grammar school in Revúca in 1868 (Samuel Ormis – in the middle of the top row, August Horislav Škultéty – in the middle of the middle row). Courtesy of Literary archive of Slovak National Library in Martin, signature A III_21.

The teachers of the grammar school in Revúca and their lectures

Ancient History was taught by two lecturers at the Revúca grammar school who were at the same time two most important figures of the Slovak pedagogy in the 19th century – the first administrator of the Revúca grammar school, August Horislav Škultéty, and the founder of the Slovak theoretical pedagogy, Samuel Ormis (fig. 2). Two sets of notes on Ancient history are kept in the Literary archive of the Slovak National Library in Martin. The first set is based upon the material provided by Škultéty and the second one reflects the History classes as taught by Ormis.

Fig. 3: August Horislav Škultéty. Courtesy of Literary archive of Slovak National Library in Martin, signature SŠ 35_1.

August Horislav Škultéty

August Škultéty was born on 7 August 1819 in Krtíš. Before he was born, his father had worked as a teacher at the secondary grammar school in Modra and then became a minister in Krtíš. Škultéty studied at the secondary grammar schools in Banská Štiavnica and Kežmarok, and in 1836–1839 he pursued theological education in Bratislava. In 1839, he became a deputy of the professor Palkovič in Bratislava where he taught until 1841. He spent following 21 years as a chaplain and a minister of three parishes (Tisovec, Dlhá Ves, Rozložná). In 1862, Škultéty was elected the first administrator of the secondary school in Revúca (fig. 3), where he taught until its closing down by Hungarian Ministry of Education in 1874. In 1875, he became a minister of the parish in Kraskovo. Škultéty compiled the history of the Revúca secondary grammar school and published it in 1889.[7] He died on 21 May 1892.

In Revúca, Škultéty gave lectures on Slovak language, History and Religious education. Several Slovak studies examined his pedagogical profile[8] and recently a monograph was published.[9] Škultéty wrote eleven schoolbooks, among others

7 Škultéty 1889.

8 Bolfík 1970; Gallo 1994.

9 Michalička 2012.

Fig. 4: Samuel Ormis with his family. Courtesy of Literary archive of Slovak National Library in Martin, signature SO 15_16.

four History schoolbooks about Ancient, Mediaeval and Modern History.[10] Each of eleven schoolbooks remained a manuscript and was never published.

Samuel Ormis

Samuel Ormis was born on 1 July 1824 in Revúca. He studied at the protestant secondary grammar school in Banská Štiavnica (1838–1846), following with the studies of theology in Bratislava (1846–1848). Ormis worked as a tutor for a short time and from 1849 until 1852 he worked as an assistant professor at the secondary grammar school in Banská Štiavnica. He was a professor at the secondary grammar school in Rožňava in years 1853–1855 and then a protestant minister in Nižná Slaná (1855–1863). His longest and the most important position was at the Slovak secondary grammar school in Revúca in years 1863–1874 (fig. 4). He died on 18 October 1875 in Revúca.[11]

Ormis was active in several spheres of the Slovak National Movement. He joined the Štúr group in Bratislava in the 1840s, but did not take an active part in the revolution of 1848–1849. His most valuable contribution is in the field of the Slovak pedagogy. Not only had he practice in teaching, he also wrote several schoolbooks.[12] Ormis founded several charitable societies and popularised modern methods in agriculture and crafts, collected Slovak folk tales and wrote some dramas.

In 1868 Ormis initiated a creation of a pedagogical seminary, attached to the grammar school in Revúca. The main aim of the seminary was the education of students and graduates, either from Revúca or from other schools, who would then become teachers in Hungary.[13] Ormis wrote three volumes of *Pedagogy*, first book-length treatise on the theory of teaching and teaching practice ever written in Slovak, for the purpose of its usage as a fundamental schoolbook for the seminary. Its first two volumes were later printed;[14] the third volume remained in manuscript. Published volumes of *Pedagogy* were based on two German schoolbooks – *Lehrbuch der Erziehung und des Unterricht* by Curtmann and *Evangelische Pädagogik* by Palmer.[15] Ormis adopted and edited the translation and commented at least some parts. He created first pedagogical terminology in

10 List published in: Bolfík 1970, 60.

11 Life and work of Samuel Ormis was studied in monograph by T. Srogoň (1976).

12 His primer was approved as a textbook for all Protestant schools in Hungary (Srogoň 1976, 43) and his textbook of biology was recommended by the Austrian Ministry of Education as a textbook for lower grammar schools (Ibid., 29).

13 Srogoň 1976, 63–65.

14 Ormis 1871; Ormis 1874.

15 Srogoň 1976, 75.

Slovak language. He was also influenced by the works of the classics in the area of pedagogy, such as Rousseau, Pestalozzi and Herbart, but mostly by the work of John Amos Comenius.[16]

Ancient History as a subject at the grammar school in Revúca

History was part of the secondary education curriculum as a joint subject *Geography and History*. The subject was divided into three parts that were taught in three years: Ancient, Mediaeval and Modern History. Škultéty taught the Ancient History for the first time in the school year 1863/1864 in *secunda* and next school year in *quarta*. In school years 1865/1866 up to 1870/1871, the Ancient History was taught by him in *quinta*. The curriculum was changed several times in the process of education and addition of further classes (secondary school was opened originally only with two classes), only in 1865/1866 it became a regular subject of the quinta.[17] The content of Škultéty's lectures, according to the available manuscript, was divided into two parts – from earliest times to the reign of Cyrus and than from Cyrus to the reign of the first Roman caesar, Augustus. According to other evidence, the Ancient History until the fall of the Western Roman Empire in 476 AD had to be lectured in one school year.[18]

The evidence related to the History lectures also comes from other source, namely from the published letter of one of the students, Cyril Braxatoris, the son of the Slovak poet Andrej Braxatoris–Sládkovič.[19] On 28 September 1865, he wrote to his father:

"*Concerning the school, we have plenty of work, as you will acknowledge by yourself from the following.* [...] [Monday] *10–11.* [Hour] *History, By Mr Škultéty, our teacher of Ancient History, we are used to be given 2–3 sheets per lesson and we have gone through 5 sheets already and we have to write everything at home.*"

History was also taught on Tuesday, between 3:00 and 4:00 p.m. and on Friday, between 2:00 and 3:00 p.m. Other reminiscences on Škultéty were collected by Michalička;[20] students appraised his generosity and rhetorical talent.

Following the school year 1870/1871, Ancient History was not taught by Škultéty anymore. It was most probably in this time when Samuel Ormis took

16 The sources of the pedagogy of Ormis were analyzed by T. Srogoň (1976, 91–114).

17 The list of the classes taught by Škultéty was published by Michalička (2012, 51–58).

18 Michalička 2012, 52.

19 Braxatoris 1970.

20 Michalička 2012, 58–60.

over the lectures in quinta.[21] Ormis taught the subject for three years until the Revúca grammar school was closed down in 1874.

Excursus: History education at the Slovak secondary grammar schools in Martin and Kláštor pod Znievom

Second Slovak Protestant secondary grammar school was founded in Turčiansky Svätý Martin and opened in 1867. Third secondary grammar school was the first Slovak Catholic grammar school, founded in Kláštor pod Znievom and opened in 1869. History was taught together with Geography on both schools. Ancient History was taught in *secunda* at secondary school in Martin by Jozef Nedobrý from his own manuscript.[22] Director of the school in Kláštor pod Znievom, Martin Čulen, preferred education in natural sciences and natural history, general history as subject was planned in *quarta*, from Ancient to Modern Era.[23] History was taught by Cyrill Gabriel Zaymus and Samuel Jaroslav Zachej, who taught from his own manuscript.[24] The manuscripts of these schoolbooks or student notes have not yet been neither found, nor identified.

The manuscripts

The hand-written notes based upon the teaching material provided by Škultéty and Ormis document the perception of the Egyptian and Nubian history by the Slovak *intelligentsia* of the second half of the 19th century. Both teachers compiled the material by themselves. The content of their lectures is similarly composed but not identical; the different accentuation of some historic events may reflect their personal background, as well as their attitude towards the past.

Both manuscripts are deposited in the Literary archive of Slovak National Library in Martin. The manuscript of Škultéty's lectures entitled *General History of Ancient Era* was written during the school year of 1864/1865 by his students, Ľudovít Vladimír Rizner[25] and Koloman Banšell[26] (fig. 5) (signature M 182).[27] The manuscript has 406 numbered pages, was later bound and became a part of Rizner's personal library. The manuscript of Ormis' lectures, entitled *General*

21 He taught other History classes since 1866 (Srogoň 1976, 58).
22 Mátej 1967, 78, 118–119; Čečetka 1939, 42–43, 71.
23 Štilla 1983, 112, 141–142.
24 Štilla 1969, 191, 227–228.
25 Ľudovít Vladimír Rizner (1849–1913) became a teacher and bibliographer (Maťovčík et al. 1992, 97–99).
26 Koloman Banšell (1850–1887) became a Protestant minister and one of the most important poets of the post-romanticist Slovak literature (Valentovič et al. 1986, 138).
27 Škultéty 1864–1865.

Fig. 5: Koloman Banšel, sitting first from left among the students of secondary grammar school in Revúca in 1866. Courtesy of Literary archive of Slovak National Library in Martin, signature PR 24/39.

History, is not dated and it was written by Július Botto[28] (signature 33 G 1).[29] It contains 105 pages.

Approach to the teaching of History

The different approach of both authors is already recognisable in their definition of the History provided at the beginning of the notes. Škultéty defines it as "*a reliable account of important and memorable events, which have influenced evolution and education of the mankind*", as well as the formation "*of its mental forces and ethical principles*".[30] On the other side, general history is in his eyes an "*educational and pleasant, but also a warning image of the God's upbringing of the humankind*".[31] Asia is presented as the cradle of the mankind and the first continent of human development. It was again in Asia where the first empire was created: the Persian Empire of Cyrus. The fundamental event is considered to be the epiphany of Christ,[32] since it was the turning point in history because of the previous moral decline of the mankind.

Ormis also understands History as an account of memorable events and deeds, but he does not emphasise the Christianity like Škultéty.[33] In contrast, he tries to be more objective by questioning the credibility of some sources.[34]

Škultéty had not written any text explaining his opinion on the teaching of History. His approach has to be inferred from the handwritten schoolbooks. Samuel Ormis, unlike Škultéty, explained his attitude towards the teaching of History in one of his works. The third volume of Pedagogy with the title *Teaching methods* (in Slovak *Spôsoboveda*)[35] deals with the methodology of teaching particular school subjects. Ormis discussed History in two parts. The first part is devoted to the instruction of subjects for very young children of about the age of six, emphasising the importance of fables, fairy-tales, folk-tales, and some historical events that are suitable for developing of aesthetic, imaginative, and moral feelings.[36] The

28 Július Botto (1848–1926), at that time was adjunct teacher at the secondary grammar school (Valentovič et al. 1986, 308) and later became first professional Slovak historian.

29 Ormis N. d. The manuscript is not numbered, hence for the purpose of this study and better orientation within the paragraphs, the authors numbered the pages in order of their appearance.

30 Škultéty 1864–1865, §1 [1–2].

31 Škultéty 1864–1865, §1 [2].

32 Škultéty 1864–1865, §2 [6].

33 Ormis N. d., §1 [1].

34 Ormis N. d., §2 [2].

35 The volume remained in manuscript and unfinished. However, it was recently edited and published by Michalička (Ormis 2011).

36 Ormis 2011, 16–17.

last preserved chapter of the manuscript describes the methodology of teaching History at secondary schools:

"*Besides Religious education, no other subject is taken so deeply into heart and plays on morals and heartstrings so intensely like History, and no other subject is usually so pleasant and easy like this. But it gives no practical education, and therefore, a person which has been willing to be wise merely by the knowledge of History, would have only gained meek insights. History is basis and light for other subjects and this is its importance; but its field is so vast that no one could examine everything and inspect every detail with the pupil, and it would be useless because the pupil would live completely in history and forget the present. The most important events are sufficient for teaching at the elementary schools, those events which had either an influence on the development of knowledge or create affection for beauty and generosity by their beauty.*"[37]

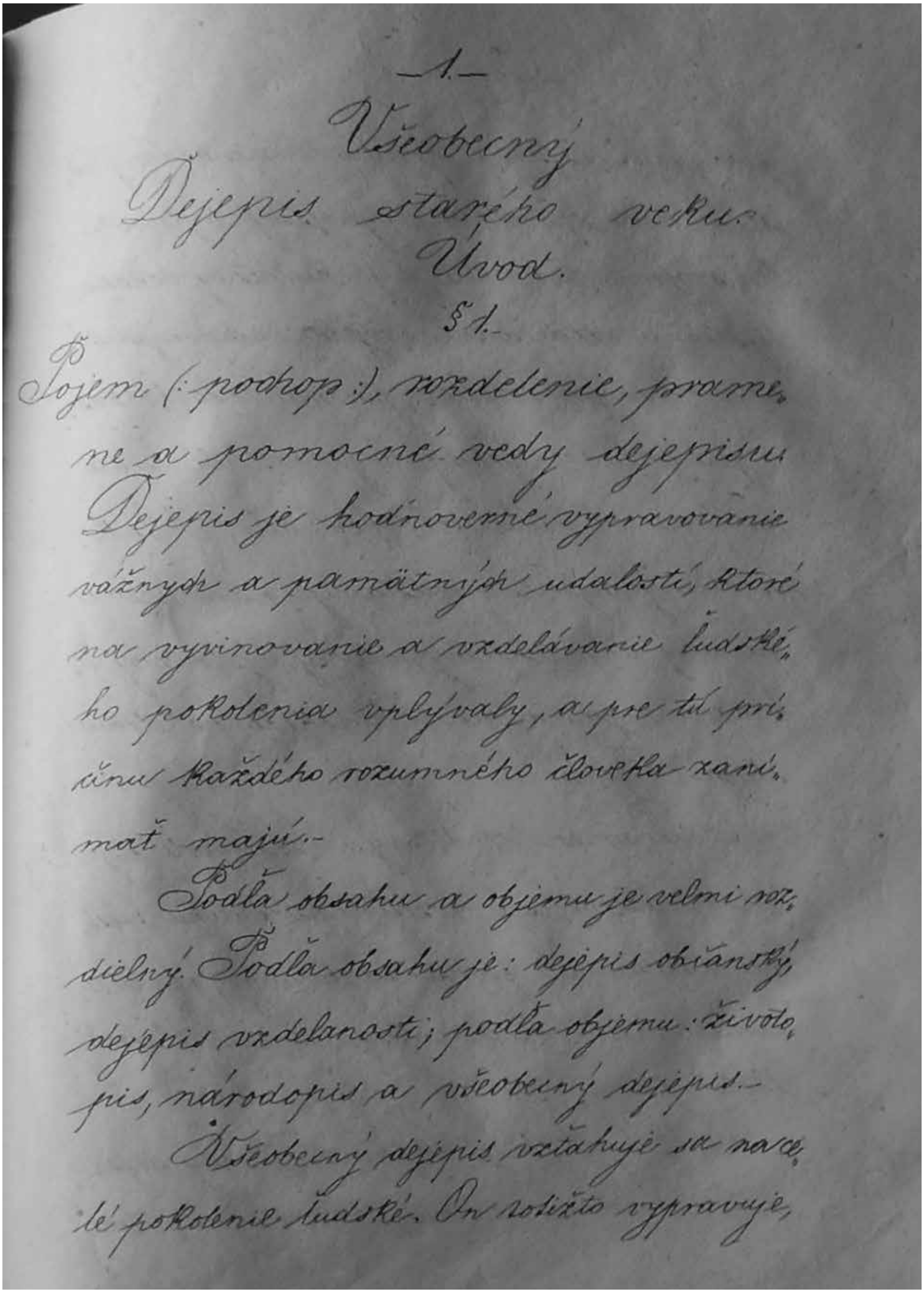
The methodology of the education had to be mainly narrative, focused on the story-telling and by this means introducing the knowledge about the past. Ormis divided the content of the History into biographical and ethnographical part. "*Biographical content tells stories about notable personalities, who* [made themselves famous] *by heroic acts, exemplary life …*" etc.[38] Biblical stories were suitable for children in the age of six to eight; older children were also told stories from the national history. "*Ethnographical content describes whole nations, their way of life and memorable deeds to portray the whole world as one discordant family…*"[39]

History of Ancient Egypt and related chapters

Ormis devoted one chapter of his *General History* to Ancient Egypt and a short separate chapter to the king Psammetichus I (fig. 6).[40] In Škultéty's *General History of Ancient Era*, the chapter on Egypt is more extensive and complemented by an introducing chapter on Africa and additional chapters on Hamonium (the Temple of Amun at Siwa) and Meroe (figs. 7–8).[41]

Concerning Egypt, both authors begin their narration with the description of the geography and climatic conditions.[42] Ormis only describes the boundaries,

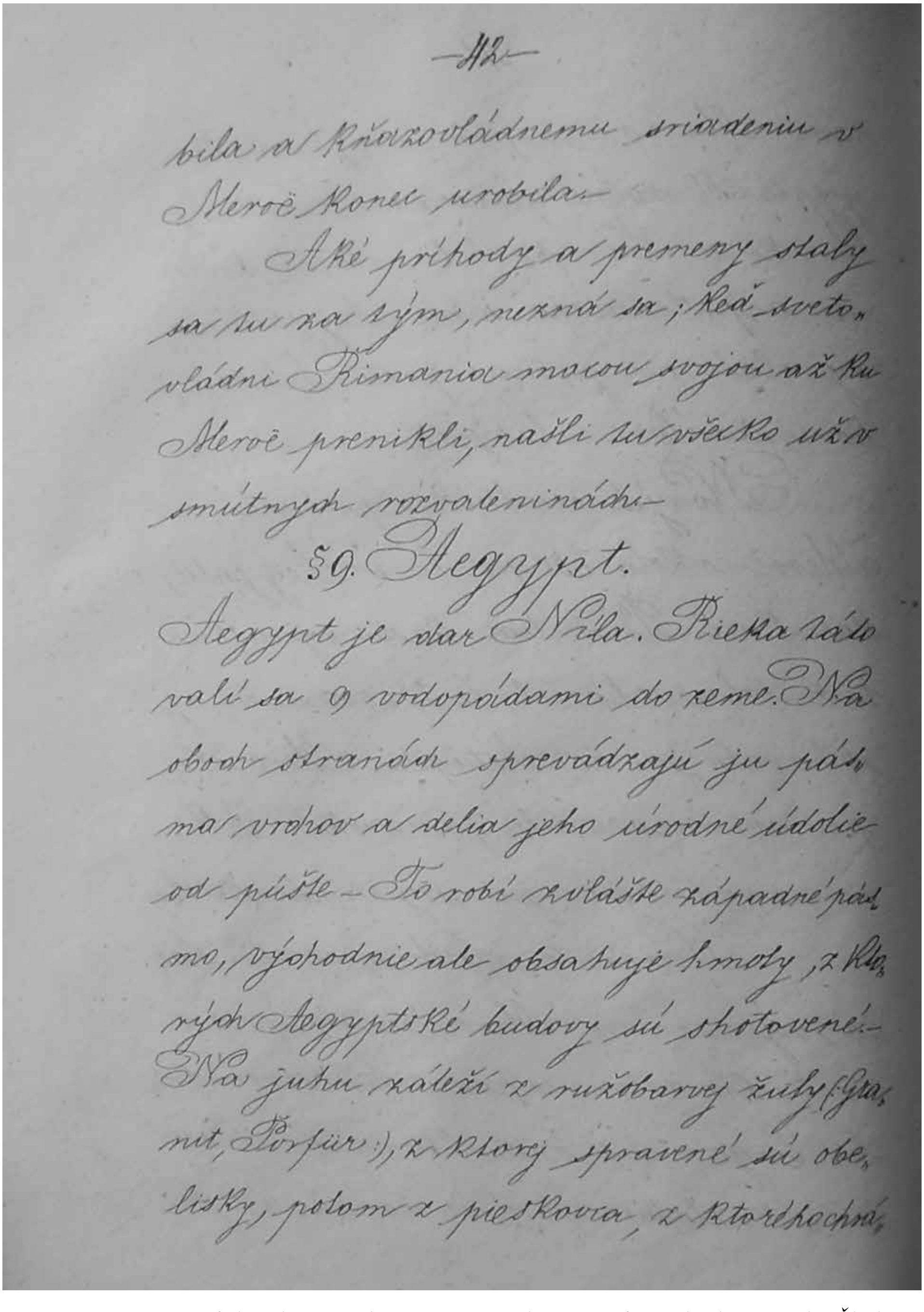
37 Ormis 2011, 46.
38 Ormis 2011, 47.
39 Ormis 2011, 47.
40 Ormis N. d., §8–§9.
41 Škultéty 1864–1865, §7–§10.
42 Škultéty 1864–1865, §9 [42–44]; Ormis N. d., §8 [8].


-1.-

Všeobecný
Dejepis starého veku.
Úvod.
§ 1.

Pojem (: pochop :), rozdelenie, prame-
ne a pomocné vedy dejepisu.
Dejepis je hodnoverné vypravovanie
vážnych a pamätných udalostí, ktoré
na vyvinovanie a vzdelávanie ľudské-
ho pokolenia vplývaly, a pre tú prí-
činu každého rozumného človeka zaují-
mať majú.-
Podľa obsahu a objemu je velmi roz-
dielný. Podľa obsahu je: dejepis občianský,
dejepis vzdelanosti; podľa objemu: životo-
pis, národopis a všeobecný dejepis.-
Všeobecný dejepis vzťahuje sa na ce-
lé pokolenie ľudské. On totižto vypravuje,

Fig. 6: Title page of the Ancient History, lectured by A. H. Škultéty. Courtesy of Literary archive of Slovak National Library in Martin, signature MJ 182.



-112-

bila a kňazovládnemu sriadeniu v
Meroë konec urobila.
Aké príhody a premeny staly
sa tu za tým, nezná sa; keď sveto-
vládni Rimania mocou svojou až ku
Meroë prenikli, našli tu všecko už v
smutných rozvaleninách.

§9. Aegypt.

Aegypt je dar Nila. Rieka táto
valí sa 9 vodopádami do zeme. Na
oboch stranách sprevádzajú ju pás-
ma vrchov a delia jeho úrodné údolie
od púšte. To robí zvlášte západné pás-
mo, východnie ale obsahuje hmoty, z kto-
rých Aegyptské budovy sú shotovené.
Na juhu záleží z ružobarvej žuly (Gra-
nit, Porfür), z ktorej spravené sú obe-
lisky, potom z pieskovca, z ktorého chrá-

Fig. 7: Beginning of the chapter about Egypt in the notes from the lectures by Škultéty. Courtesy of Literary archive of Slovak National Library in Martin, signature MJ 182.

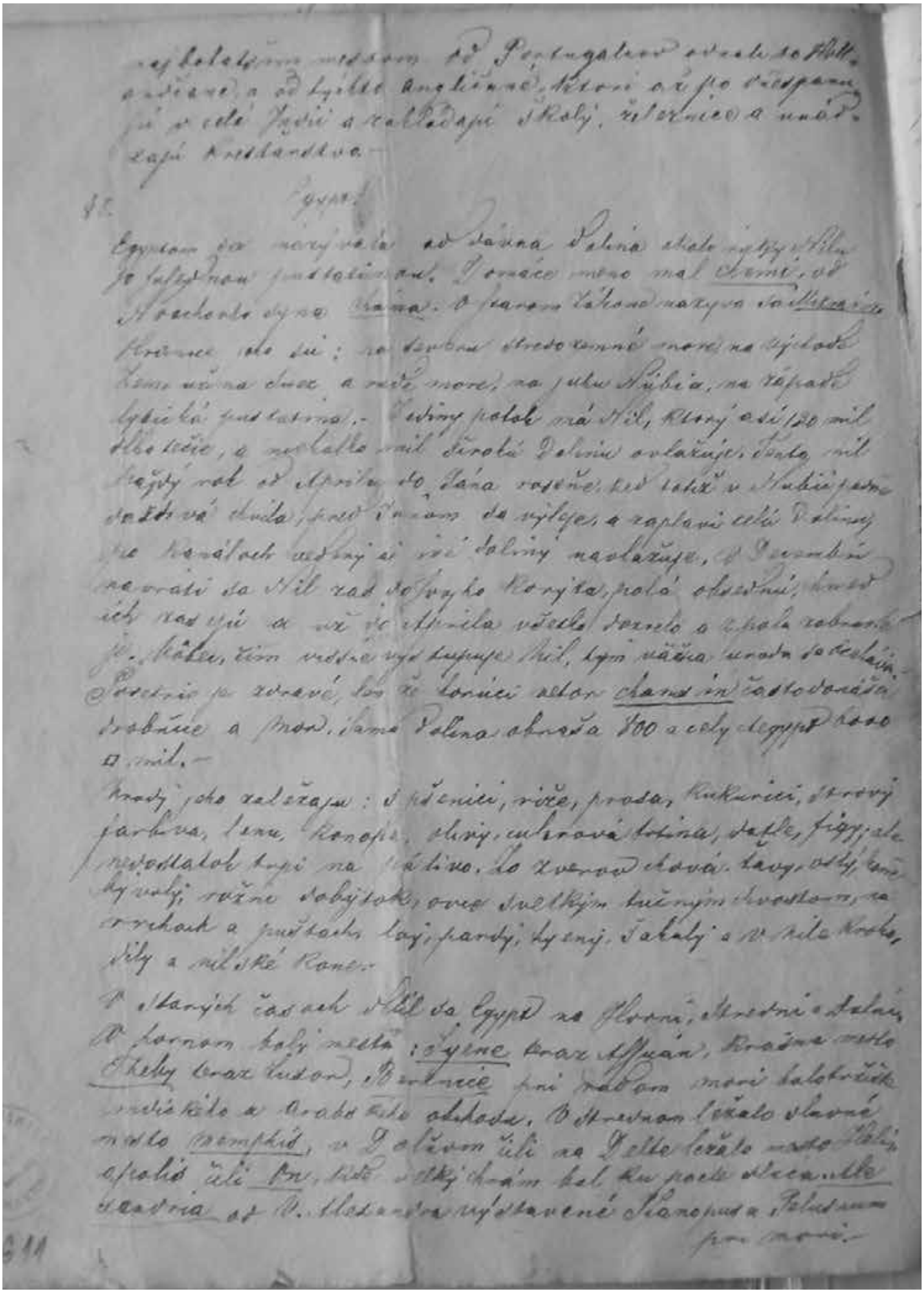


Fig. 8: Beginning of the chapter about Egypt in the notes from the lectures by Ormis. Courtesy of Literary archive of Slovak National Library in Martin, signature 33 G 11.

whereas Škultéty gives an account of the Nile valley with the Delta and its most important branches as well as of the various stones of the Eastern Desert used in the Egyptian architecture. Both authors record the most important cities of the Upper and Middle Egypt – Thebes and Memphis – but as for the Lower Egypt, Škultéty only names Sais in contrast to Ormis who lists Heliopolis (On) and its Sun temple, Alexandria, Canopus, and Pelusium. Both also describe the products of the country, mostly those not attested not until the Greco-Roman Period such as, e.g., wheat, rice, olives and sugar cane. In both documents, special attention is given to the explanation of the annual flood. The ancient designation of the country as *km.t* is only mentioned by Ormis in the form "*chémi*" and told to being derived from the name of Noah's son Ham.

The teaching material then continues with the actual history.[43] Thereby, one of the most important differences refers to the origin of Egyptians. Ormis speaks of an indigene "*educated nation*". In contrast, Škultéty explains that the first inhabitants came from the south, from the area of later Meroe, and that even the original knowledge has been brought to Egypt by priests from Meroe who used to built sanctuaries and cities as stations for caravans there. Such cities became parts of districts that have been united under the first Egyptian king Menes only later. Already in the introducing chapter, Škultéty explains that due to the extreme climatic conditions, the nations of Africa have only been able to develop thanks to the influences of other nations, such as Indians, Arabs, Phoenicians, and Hellenes.[44]

In both documents, the listing of historical events of Ancient Egypt is quite similar, but Škultéty's report is significantly more extensive. The authors begin with the reign of the Hyksos – the herdsmen who have conquered Egypt around 2100 BC. Their rule lasted until ca. 1800 BC when they have been expelled from the country by a governor from Thebes. Furthermore, Škultéty additionally mentions that many pyramids were built in this period.

Shortly thereafter, Egypt was united and Thebes – the hundred-gated city as described by Homer – became the capital. Ormis, as well as Škultéty, consider it to be the beginning of the most glorious era of Ancient Egypt that is marked by powerful kings who became famous even beyond the borders of their country, especially due to their military campaigns. The first king of this age reported by Škultéty is Moeris [Amenemhat III] who has constructed a lake of the same name in Fayum. His successor Sesostris [Senwosret III] or Ramesses II, respectively, is discussed in both teaching materials and he is said to have conquered Ethiopia and

43 Škultéty 1864–1865, §9 [44–55]; Ormis N. d., §8 [9].

44 *„Africa, considering the climate and the location, has the least of favours in nature. ... Namely Indians, Arabs, Phoenicians, and Hellenes are known as those who were able to bring the seeds of education to this supposedly burnt out stump of human nature"* (Škultéty 1864–1865, §7 [36]). This passage was directly translated from Lányi (1860, 69–70).

Asia up to the rivers of Ganges and Don, and to have reached as far as to Europe and defeated the Kingdom of Thrace.

These accounts are obviously based on information reported by *Diodorus Siculus* and *Herodotus*,[45] and Škultéty actually refers to the latter when setting the kings Kheops, Khafre and Mycerinus 200 years after Sesostris. These rulers should be the builders of the great pyramids – the first two of them oppressed the people and have been unpopular, whereas the third king is traditionally seen as rightful and gracious.[46] Ormis mentions Kheops only shortly as the builder of pyramids but does not give any further details.

Both authors continue their lecture with the fictitious king Rhampsinit, the predecessor of Kheops, known from Herodotus' *Historiae* as the central figure of two stories.[47] Škultéty just notices his name and his legendary treasure. In contrast, Ormis narrates the whole tale of '*Rhampsinit and the masterthief*' that deals with two brothers who had regularly robbed the king's treasury until one of them fell into a trap and died. The ingenuity of the brother who survived and stole the dishonoured body of his brother – the masterthief – is at the end rewarded by marrying him to the king's daughter.

A substantial part of the manuscripts is devoted to the reign of 25th and 26th dynasty – by Ormis discussed in a separate chapter, although Škultéty reviewed this period more extensively.[48] Here again, the accounts of both authors refer to Herodotus.[49] According to his narration, Egypt had been captured by the Kushite king Shabako and 50 years later expelled by the Memphite priest Sethon. Sethon, who did not support the army, was forced to fight with merchants and craftsmen against the Assyrian king Sanherib [Sennacherib]. After Sethon's death, the country was ruled by 12 governors who have built a great labyrinth at Memphis, its structure reflecting the administrative division of Egypt into 12 nomes. One of these rulers, namely Psametich [Psammetichus I] from Sais, came out on the top with the help of foreign soldiers and rewarded them with large estates. Škultéty describes how the domestic army protested and 240.000 families left Egypt and moved to Meroe.

Ormis ends his chapter with a short note about Necho [II], who reportedly tried to dig through the canal of Suez. However, Škultéty, continues and mentions that he also established a fleet, captured Jerusalem, and reached as

45 Herodotus II. 101–104; Lloyd 1988, 15–25; Diodorus Siculus, Bibliotheca Historica, I. 51–54.

46 Herodotus II. 124–134; Lloyd 1988, 60–86.

47 Herodotus II. 121–122; Lloyd 1988, 52–59.

48 Ormis N. d., §9 [11]; Škultéty 1864–1865, §9 [50–55].

49 Herodotus II. 137–141, Lloyd 1988, 91–105; Herodotus II. 147–154; Lloyd 1988, 114–139; Herodotus II. 158–182; Lloyd 1988, 149–241.

far as Euphrates, but has been stopped by the Babylonian king Nebuchadnezzar [II] in the battle of Carchemish in 605 BC [604 BC]. In addition, Škultéty also lists Psamis [Psammetichus II], Apries [Wahibre], and finally Amasis [II], whose reign has been characterised by peace and the expansion of trade with the Greeks. He concludes the chapter with the history of Ancient Egypt in the period of the Persian invasion.

In both documents, Egypt also plays a role in the chapter on Persians and the king Cambyses [II], the son of Cyrus the Great.[50] Ormis simply retells his story as presented by Herodotus – his despotic rule, his intent to conquer Ethiopia and to burn out the Temple of Amun at Siwa, his killing of the Apis bull, and in the end his failure and accidental death. Škultéty, in contrast, only gives a brief account of the story, but he additionally identifies Cambyses with the biblical Ahasuerus, who is mentioned in the Book of Esther[51] and in the Book of Ezra.[52]

Finally, both authors do not forget to mention Egypt regarding its role in the history of Israelites.[53] The documents contain the biblical story of Joseph, the son of Jacob, who became a high-ranking official at the court of an Egyptian king and who brought the Israelites to Egypt, to the Land of Goshen.[54] Later on, when their population rapidly increased, they became unpopular, enslaved and oppressed, that is why Moses was appointed by God to lead them out of Egypt (the story of Exodus).[55]

Besides the historical events, Ormis, as well as Škultéty, also characterises Ancient Egyptian religion, traditions, and level of knowledge, and mention some most important monuments.[56] The social classes are listed in accordance with Herodotus[57] – priests, soldiers, merchants (artists and artisans, respectively), pilots, cowherds and swineherds, and interpreters. Instead of differentiating cowherds and swineherds, both authors consider them to be one group and list farmers in addition. For some reason, Ormis ignores the class of merchants, but speaks of 7 million inhabitants in 18,000 villages, this information obviously being based on Diodorus Siculus' *Bibliotheca Historica*.[58] Škultéty additionally names the most crucial qualities of Ancient Egyptians – seriousness, gentleness, meditativeness, and meekness.

50 Ormis N. d., [27–28]; Škultéty 1864–1865, [219–220]. Cf. Herodotus II. 1, III. 1–64; Lloyd 1976, 1–300.

51 Esther 1:1.

52 Ezra 4:6.

53 Ormis N. d., [19–20]; Škultéty 1864–1865, 9§ff. [47, 48, 78–79].

54 Genesis 39–50.

55 Exodus.

56 Ormis N. d., §8 [10–11]; Škultéty 1864/1865, 9§ff. [47, 48, 78–79].

57 Herodotus II. 164; Lloyd 1988, 182–188.

58 Diodorus Siculus, Bibliotheca Historica, I. 31.

As for the religion, both authors list the most important deities, such as Osiris and Isis as well as some deified animals such as, e.g., the Apis bull, cat, ibis, or crocodile. Their characterisation of the religion, however, differs as Ormis describes it as being idolatrous, whereas Škultéty defines it as nature worshipping. On the other hand, their accounts on belief in afterlife, building of tombs, and mummification are very similar. According to them, Egyptians believed in the reincarnation of soul and thus mummified the dead to preserve their bodies.[59]

The teachers also praise the skills of the Ancient Egyptians related to writing system, architecture, craftsmanship, and astronomy; and Ormis makes the indirect allusion to the decipherment of hieroglyphs. In addition to general observations on monuments, such as pyramids, temples, obelisks etc., Ormis even mentions the great columned hall at Karnak with reliefs commemorating battles of the Egyptian pharaohs [Seti I and Ramesses II] and the alley of sphinxes between the temples of Karnak and Luxor. These are the concluding remarks referring to Ancient Egypt.

As noticed above, Škultéty generally portrays more details and there are even special chapters devoted to the temple of Amun at Siwa and its oraculum, as well as to the Kingdom of Kush described as the merchants' and priests' state of Meroe.[60] According to him, the foundation of the state has been set by Arabs and later by Indian merchants, priests, and warriors, and the actual name of Meroe derives from Meru – the sacred hill of India.[61] In antiquity, there was a popular oraculum of Jupiter Ammmonius that was even decisive in the matters of election of kings, and war declaration. The inhabitants are said to have invented astronomy which was later adopted by Egyptians. Meroe was important trade centre for merchants from Arabia, India, as well as central Africa. As for the Kushite history, Škultéty only refers to their rule over Egypt and mentions the Egyptian families that came to Meroe because of the politics of Psametich [Psammetichus I].

Sources

The most interesting question relating to the manuscripts concerns the sources used by Škultéty and Ormis for their lectures; they were unknown and not identified so far. Concerning Škultéty, J. Bolfík listed three schoolbooks as his original works (including *General History of Ancient Era*) and one schoolbook as a translation (*History for secunda*).[62] The overview of Karel Svoboda from 1957 listed his schoolbook *General History of Ancient Era* as a manuscript without

59 Passage in the lectures of Škultéty was again adopted from Lányi (1860, 92–93).
60 Škultéty 1864–1865, §8 and §10 [36–42, 60–62].
61 Lányi (1860, 73–74) lists more arguments for the Indian origin of the culture of Meroe.
62 Bolfík 1970, 60.

further information[63], and V. Michalička[64] assumed that the schoolbook about Ancient History was his original work.

Content of both teaching materials appears to be mostly based on ancient authors, such as Herodotus, Diodorus Siculus or Strabon, as well as on information provided by the Old Testament. Ormis and Škultéty were well acquainted with the Old Testament as they studied Theology; it can be, however, questioned whether they also read the ancient authors in original or rather used secondary sources.

The best accessible secondary sources would be the schoolbooks in Czech language which had been used in the education of Slovaks in the Austrian monarchy earlier. In the overview of Czech educational literature, Karel Svoboda lists three authors that compiled textbooks on Ancient history in the second half of the 19th century.[65] Karel Ninger's (1827–1913) *General History* I for the lower grades of the secondary schools was published in 1863 and similarly as Ormis he focused on retelling of the ancient legends. Textbooks for the higher classes were written by Jan Lepař (1827–1902) and Antonín Gindely (1829–1892), and both already worked with international up-to-date literature. The latter book was written in German (*Lehrbuch der allgemeinen Geschichte* I, 1860) and translated to Czech by M. Kovář and K. J. Mireček in 1877. Apart from these books, numerous others aimed to popularise the Ancient History and make it accessible to the general public in the 1870s and 1880s. The most important authors interested in Egypt were František Šembera and Justin V. Prášek, whose works were discussed by Navrátilová.[66] Both made use of a large amount of contemporary specialised literature.

There is one important schoolbook missing on the list of Svoboda published in 1957 and overlooked by Navrátilová,[67] called the *History of the Ancient Humankind* and written in Czech language by Karel/Karol Lányi which was first published in 1852 in Vienna. It is this book, that was obviously used by Škultéty since his notes on Egypt and Meroe are in fact its shortened copy.

Karol Lányi (1812–1856) studied philosophy at the university in Trnava and theology in Ostrihom (Esztergom today) and Pest. He taught at the secondary school in Trnava and was also a custodian of the Archbishop library in Ostrihom. He died on 23 May 1856.[68] His main scope of interest was Biblical and Ancient History and the History of Hungary. The book *History of the Ancient Humankind*

63 Svoboda 1957. Cited in: Navrátilová 2003, 106.

64 Michalička 2012, 61.

65 Svoboda 1957, 150–151.

66 Navrátilová 2003, 107–110.

67 Navrátilová 2003, 106–108.

68 Detailed information about his life and work in is available in the lexicon entry by Radváni (2000).

was used by Czech educational institutions and it was officially approved by the authorities of the monarchy and reprinted several times. In 1863 (one year before the notes of Škultéty had been written down by Rizner and Banšell), it was still listed in the official *Catalog des k.k. Schulbücher-Verlages in Wien*.[69]

The book of Lányi is mentioned by Svoboda in previous overview of the schoolbooks relating to the Antiquity, focused on schoolbooks and other books after 1848.[70] According to him, Lányi widely discusses the cultural and economic history what should be seen as the influence of *Ideen über die Politik, den Verkehr und den Handel der vornehmsten Völker der alten Welt* by Arnold Herrmann Ludwig Heeren (1760–1842).[71] At the end of paragraph, Svoboda however concludes that "*The History never became a school book, it was too extensive*".[72] This conclusion is contradicted by the official *Catalog*. Svoboda does not mention further editions of the text.

Regarding Škultéty's definition of history (see above), the influence of Lányi cannot be denied as he also characterises history as "*the science, which demonstrates the ways of the Divine Providence in a properly and truly narrated history of the humankind.*"[73] Lányi's Catholic approach towards history does not affect extensive use of other sources presented in the introduction.[74] Among them, one can even found Manetho or Eusebius and Flavius Josephus, respectively, Herodotus, Strabon, Diodorus Siculus, Claudius Ptolemaus, the books of Ezra and Esther, and others. Lányi also considers "*silent*" sources – the material culture with the monuments – and concerning Egypt he quotes publications of Denon,[75] Belzoni[76], and Rossellini.[77]

Škultéty adopted the entire structure of Lányi's schoolbook as he lists the chapters on Africa, Meroe, Egypt, and the Temple of Amun at Siwa in the same order. Furthermore, except for the chapter on Egypt, he took over the complete text and simply translated it into the Slovak language.[78] Because of the space restrictions, he occasionally changed some words and especially in the case of Meroe he often omitted particular paragraphs with additional information often, although its informative value remained unchanged.

69 Catalog 1863.

70 Svoboda 1957, 116.

71 Heeren was one of the first scholars who mentioned work of Champollion, in the *Handbuch der Geschichte der Staaten des Altertums* (Hartleben 1906, 131).

72 Svoboda 1957, 116.

73 Lányi 1860, VI.

74 Lányi 1860, VII–XIV.

75 Denon 1802.

76 Belzoni 1821.

77 Rossellini 1832–1844.

78 Cf.: Lányi 1860, 69–78, 96–97.

In contrast, the chapter on Egypt had been widely adapted. In comparison to Lányi, Škultéty only made use of approximately a half of his teaching material. Lányi devoted almost 17 pages to Ancient Egypt and divided them into four detailed chapters on geography, origin of the inhabitants and the earliest settlements and towns, actual historical events, and spectrum of knowledge.[79] His footnotes provide an overview of classical and contemporary sources, including Manetho and Eratosthenes, Flavius Josephus and Eusebius, respectively, Herodotus, Diodorus Siculus, Philostratus, Plinius, and modern author Heeren, as well as Görres' *Mythengeschichte*, Lepsius' notes in Humboldt's *Kosmos*,[80] and the "*writers of Egyptian monuments*"[81] (see above).

Škultéty followed composition of Lányi, but he primarily excerpted fundamental information and excluded detailed descriptions. In contrast to the chapters mentioned above, he had not taken over complete formulations and sentences, but rather composed an independent text based on them. Geography has been well reviewed but the chapter on the origin of inhabitants and on cities was generalised by Škultéty. In fact, Škultéty only mentions that the inhabitants came from the south and that knowledge was brought by priests from Meroe. Lányi, however, describes them as being the Misra, the sons of Ham, lead to Egypt by Menes.[82] These were most probably later joined by another group of immigrants lead by Osiris, who introduced Indian gods and knowledge. As to the settlements, Škultéty in fact entirely omitted Lányi's subchapters on the earliest cities of Upper Egypt, monuments of Thebes, cities of Lower and Middle Egypt, and of the Libyan nome.[83]

Regarding Lányi's chapter on history,[84] Škultéty considered all subchapters, even though to various extent. The section on earliest dynasties and nomes together with their gods remained widely unnoticed except for the account that the priests of Meroe founded sanctuaries and succeeded in settling down the nomads. The accounts on the earliest kings and the rule of the Hyksos were largely shortened and apparently changed slightly. Lányi mentions the king Menes, the residence at Memphis, builders of the great pyramids – Kheops, Khafre, and Mycerinus – and only later the Hyksos with their residence at Avaris. Škultéty, in contrast, quotes some segments, but lists the owners of the great pyramids chronologically 200 years after Sesostris referring to Herodotus. This proves that he consulted at least some of the original sources and did not simply copy all of Lányi's interpretations.

79 Lányi 1860, 79–96.
80 Humboldt 1849, 122–125.
81 Lányi 1860, 79, FN 1.
82 Lányi 1860, 80–81.
83 Lányi 1860, 81–86.
84 Lányi 1860, 86–91.

This is also apparent from the following subchapter dealing with the reunification and with the legendary figure of Sesostris and Ramesses, respectively. Škultéty again draws more information from Herodotus when he mentions the king Moeris as the founder of a great lake, the successful military campaigns of Sesostris and the great treasury of king Rhampsinit. The same, but in a lesser extent, can be observed in respect to the two last subchapters concerning the Kushite supremacy, the rise of the priest Sethon and the Saite dynasty with the king Psametich. Škultéty, e.g., names the king Amasis not mentioned by Lányi.

The account on Egypt ends in both teaching materials with the description of religion, level of knowledge and social hierarchy.[85] The texts provided by Lányi and Škultéty are roughly comparable, but Škultéty seems to be again using more information from Herodotus.

General concepts

The book of Lányi and the lectures of Škultéty and Ormis are interesting source of some general concepts in the interpretation of history, as taught in Revúca and at other schools (from the schoolbook of Lányi). Both Škultéty and Ormis had at least some marginal knowledge about prehistory. Ormis mentions and describes the Stone Age shortly, the Bronze, or Copper Age, and the Iron Age. However, he sets these ages chronologically after the so-called Confusion of languages.[86] Škultéty realises that the first inhabitants of the Nile valley were black Africans living in the reed huts, hunting and gathering in the nature only.[87] This passage is translated from Lányi.[88] Lányi and Škultéty used geographical determinism for explanation of the differences among human cultures. Geographic conditions were considered to be essential factors in shaping state forms and social order.

The hypothesis of the Meroitic origin of the Ancient Egyptian civilisation was based on the assumptions of e. g. *Diodorus Siculus*. First generation of Egyptologists, including Champollion, believed that Egyptians came from Meroe. Richard Lepsius has already dated the monuments of Meroe to the New Kingdom or even later periods, and Sudanese monuments have been then considered as a creation under Egyptian influence.[89] Students were thus told the older interpretation.

85 Lányi 1860, 91–96.
86 Ormis N. d., §5 [4–5].
87 Škultéty 1864–1865, §9 [44–45].
88 Lányi 1860, 81.
89 Trigger 1994, 325. However, Lányi (1860, 74–75) mentions „*traveller Lepsius*“ as the corroborator of the Indian origin of Meroe.

Lányi, being a Catholic scholar, argued against the hypothesis of Lepsius that Egyptian dynasties of Manetho ought to follow successively as this would ascribe too early origin to Ancient Egypt.[90] He thought that most of the Egyptian dynasties reigned as coeval in various parts of Egypt and dated the beginning of the city states in the Nile valley to the year ca. 2800 BC. Lányi also lists hieroglyphic, hieratic, and demotic script, mentioning shortly the logographic nature of the hieroglyphs.[91] Although he knew the works of Richard Lepsius, he did not mention the decipherment of the hieroglyphic script.

Comparison with official 'k.-k.' schoolbooks printed in Vienna

To offer even more complete picture of the secondary education in the monarchy at that time, the official Austrian 'k.-k.' schoolbooks on History printed in Vienna should be at least briefly mentioned and compared to those in Slovak language.[92] In the 1860s, history was apparently taught together with geography and there was no well-established schoolbook on Antiquity.

However, the situation obviously changed in the 1870s with the personality of Emanuel Hannak (1841–1899), born in Těšín (now Český Těšín).[93] He studied History and Ancient Languages at the University of Vienna and after finishing his studies in 1864 taught at the Akademisches Gymnasium and in Leopoldstadt. Later on, he was in charge of the teacher training in Wiener Neustadt and became a superintendent of schools. In 1881 he was appointed a director of the Pädagogium in Vienna that flourished under his directory and in 1892 he became the first director of the newly established First Viennese Secondary School for Girls. He died in Vienna in 1899.

Emanuel Hannak published several schoolbooks on History for the lower and upper classes of the secondary schools. Concerning the History of Antiquity, the first of them was titled *Lehrbuch der Geschichte des Altertums für die unteren Klassen der Mittelschulen*, being printed in 1870 by Alfred Hölder in Vienna[94]

90 Lányi 1860, 87.

91 Lányi 1860, 95–96.

92 Comparison with Hungarian sources and an overall evaluation of the secondary education on Egypt in the Central Europe are also more than necessary and provide areas for further research. Even the Slovak History schoolbooks of Austro-Hungarian period have not yet been studied in detail, better situation is in the research of Slovak History schoolbooks in the 20th century (Findor 2011 with further references).

93 ÖBL 1815–1950, Bd. 2 (Lfg. 7, 1958), 180.

94 Hannak 1870.

and reprinted eleven times until Hannak's death in 1899.[95] In 1877, Hannak also published *Lehrbuch der Geschichte des Altertums für Oberclassen der Mittelschulen*; its original version of was republished six times until 1902.[96]

Regarding the History of the Antiquity, Hannak also cooperated with Friedrich Umlauft. In 1886 they published *Historischer Schulatlas in dreissig Karten. Zur Geschichte des Alterthums, des Mittelalters und der Neuzeit für Gymnasien, Realschulen und diesen verwandte Anstalten. 1. Das Alterthum*.[97] In the foreword, the authors state that such publication was missing in the Monarchy so far and describe it as the first Atlas of the Antiquity published in Austria that should serve the purposes of the secondary education.[98]

The first edition of the *Lehrbuch der Geschichte des Altertums für die unteren Klassen der Mittelschulen* from 1870 coincides with the manuscripts of Škultéty and Ormis to most extent and can be thus used as a comparative material that represents the official version of the history of Ancient Egypt as taught in Vienna.

Already in the introduction, Hannak claims his intention to offer a new schoolbook since the old ones proved to be insufficient (Büß, Welter, Gindeln).[99] Concerning his methods, he points out the importance of presenting an overall picture of the History upon the biographies of historical figures, but complemented with legends and anecdotes. Those are, however, only supplementary and should be studied at home. Thus, his approach may be considered as a further development by combining the methods used by Lányi, Škultéty, and Ormis. In addition, he does not emphasize the Divine Providence anymore when defining the history. On the other hand, he does not list any sources or publications for further reading.

As for the Ancient Egypt, the chapter only comprises about eight pages, but its composition underwent a development in comparison to the older documents in Slovak and Czech.[100] Hannak begins with the geography of Africa and the Nile Valley and continues with the history. Hereby, there is still a lot of information based upon Herodotus, but he tries to present a clear chronology and for the first time he mentions the Old, Middle, and New Kingdom. He assigns e.g. the pyramids at Giza to the 4th dynasty but defines the Middle Kingdom as the time of the Hyksos reign. The chapter on the culture comprising the religion, social hierarchy, and arts and crafts is better researched; he notices e.g. that the writing

95 Hannak 1899 (the 11th edition). The text was later fully revised by Anton Rebhann and published as the 12th, 13th and 14th edition in 1903, 1905 and 1908; cf.: Rebhann 1903; Rebhann 1905; Rebhann 1908.

96 Hannak 1902. The revision of the text was later undertaken by Hermann Raschke and not printed until 1905; cf.: Raschke 1905.

97 Hannak – Umlauft 1886.

98 For other important works of Hannak compare: Hannak 1873; Hannak 1891.

99 Hannak 1870, III–X.

100 Hannak 1870, 5–13.

system is already well understood and devotes larger part to the description of monuments, some of which being even illustrated. There are three illustrations that were provided by his colleague Langl who reportedly prepared them on the basis of his paintings.[101]

Closing down the Slovak secondary grammar schools in 1874

Austro-Hungarian Compromise in 1867 changed the political situation of Austria-Hungary. The executive power in the Transleithenien was delegated to the Hungarian government and legislative power to the Hungarian parliament. National law (*Nationalgesetz*), regulating the national rights in Transleithenien, was adopted by the Hungarian parliament in 1868. The law unified Hungarian state and nation; Slovaks were considered, together with other non-Hungarian nations of Transleithanien, to be a mere 'nationality'. The law conceded language rights to the individuals, not to the nationalities.

In years 1874–1875, grammar schools in Revúca, Martin, and Kláštor pod Znievom were closed down due to the alleged Pan-Slavism and their property was confiscated. The secondary education in Slovak was not revived until 1918, after the creation of the Czechoslovak Republic.

The closing down of the secondary schools had some impact on the mobility of students. Hungarian historian A. Meszáros found out that an increased number of students from Hungary came to study at the Charles University in Prague in two periods: at the beginning of 1860s and after 1875.[102] Hungarian policy of magyarisation thus caused a closer contact of Czech and Slovak culture in the last decades of Austria-Hungary.

Conclusion

Regarding history of the Ancient Egypt, it can be observed that both Škultéty and Ormis mostly referred to the Herodotus' *Historiae* but their approach was not identical. Samuel Ormis concentrated on Herodotus and mostly omitted other sources. He obviously did not understand *History* as an account of facts and figures, but considered it to be an instrument of ethical education. He dedicated quite a lot of space to humorous and educative legends. It has been already mentioned that in his study on the *Teaching Methods*, Ormis pointed out the importance of telling stories, tales and myths which – in his words – do not have to be based on truth but should be probable at least. Their educative content should help children to understand the achievements and feelings of the

101 Hannak 1870, figs. 1–3.
102 Meszáros 2001.

mankind and shape their opinions on truth, proper manners, and goodness.[103] Concerning the methods related to the teaching of history, he recognised that the extensive amount of material cannot be studied in its entirety. Moreover, it is useful to choose the most decisive events, the presentation of which contributes to the evolvement of education and morality.[104]

Škultéty, in contrast, provided students with far more information on political and cultural history of Ancient Egypt without using the legends. Even though both authors were obviously Christians and their accounts on the history of Palestine and Israelites were based on the Old Testament, Ormis hardly referred to it in other chapters. Škultéty, on the other hand, apparently made use of information provided by the Bible more frequently.

Both manuscripts remained unprinted. The lectures of Škultéty were based on the text of Karol Lányi and it was perhaps unnecessary to print the Slovak translation of recently reprinted Czech book (written by Slovak Catholic clergyman). The lectures of Ormis were briefer in their form and content, and Ormis published his more important work about Pedagogy. His schoolbook of algebra also remained in manuscript.

And finally, the official 'k.k.' schoolbook published shortly thereafter by Hannak represents the effort to provide teachers and pupils with a more up-to-date state of knowledge.

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103 Ormis 2011, 16–17. The primary school, e.g., can make use of Aesop's fables or parables from the Bible.
104 Ormis 2011, 46.

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"TILL NOW I HAVE BEEN THINKING ONLY OF STUDY AND WORK" GENDER, ORIENT AND AUTHORIAL SELF-PRESENTATIONS IN THE TRAVEL MEMOIRS OF VLASTA KÁLALOVÁ DI LOTTI*

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On the following pages I will concentrate on an issue which is widely discussed in international research, but has remained a little marginal in the Central European one – on the author's self-fashioning and discourses of Othering in travelogues written under specific discursive frameworks and pressures (here in modern Czech women's travel literature). As a telling example I chose an unpublished voluminous travelogue by Vlasta Kálalová Di Lotti which is dealing with almost a decade this Czech woman doctor spent in Istanbul and Baghdad, where she was a head of a Czechoslovak clinic in 1925–31.[1] Given the unusualness of the conceptual framework in Czech historiography, the most urgent need is to define the research questions as clearly as possible.

1. The first of them is whether and how, in Vlasta Kálalová's travelogue *Přes Bospor k Tigridu* (Through the Bosphorus to the Tigris),[2] the author's self-presentation intersects with gender – understood in this case as a knowledge on perceived sexual difference broadly shared in Western upper midle class at the beginning of the twentieth century and exerting pressure both in the process of writing and on the form and content of the travel literature.

2. What further discourses of difference influenced the author's self-fashioning? With which of them did gender intermingled, and how? Is it possible to relate rhetorical strategies and the figurative speech used in the travelogue to them? How did Kálalová justify her own travelling and writing?

3. In the next step, I will focus on the question whether the articulation of the authorial "I" corresponded to ways in which the (Oriental) Other was represented

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1 Among recent publications concerning Kálalová and her journey to the Near East cf. Jůnová Macková 2009; Hana Havlůjová 2009; Jůnová Macková – Navrátilová – Přebinda – Havlůjová – Storchová 2011 (an unpublished volume).

2 Literární archiv Památníku národního písemnictví (Literary Archive of the Museum of Czech Literature), fond Vlasta Kálalová Di-Lotti, cat. no. 1, manuscript Přes Bospor k Tigridu, p. 8 (further cited as Přes Bospor with the page number).

in the travelogue. Do they refer to the same concepts and imagieries? Were similar narrative approaches, similar rhetorical figures, applied? If we compare these Kálalová's travel memoirs with production from other Western countries, do they differ from, for example, English or German travel literature of that time?

4. One of the main contributions of earlier European and American research is the topic of heterogeneity, polyphony and "fragmentation" of representations in this type of travel writing.[3] Can it be found here as well, and which use can we make of this topic analytically?

As follows from the first point, my analysis does not start from the premise that Vlasta Kálalová observed and described the Orient in such a way "because she was a woman". Nor do I assume that the author's personality is necessarily reflected in the travelogue. The text of the travelogue is considered to be an outcome of discursive intersections in which the images of Orient and the author's voice were "negotiated". The main aim of the study is to consider the question of how the gender imagination of a time – in this case the idea of "natural" women's qualities and norms of behaviour – could influence the style itself of the writing and its content, including the adoption of certain subject positions. In my approach, gender is considered one of period´s social and cultural constructions exerting pressure on writing, self-presentation and processes of meaning-making.

In other words, I am focusing on the discursive pressures, on how they influenced the form and content of the travelogue and how the author had to come to terms with them. For the most part, the authors themselves are not aware of these pressures and do not manipulate them intentionally; gender is inscribed into their bodies and minds, it is part of their self-conceptions and agency. It is not of course a once and for all "prison"; due to the writing itself it is also continually changing. In this respect, it is relatively important the travelogue concerned was written for the purpose of publication, thus for a space "exposed" to greater pressure and social expectations. To what extend did these discursive pressures required from Vlasta Kálalová Di Lotti – who did intend, by publishing the work, to step into the public sphere – to give preference in the text to a certain type of self-presentation and, in connection with this, to a certain type of description of "foreign" cultures? Did they "make" her legitimise her own travelling and writing, to create an image of herself corresponding to the period´s expectations based on ideas of female "nature" and "normality"?

The main asset of the concept of "gendered writing" is based on the fact that it makes possible to overcome the "phase of discoveries" which characterised international research to the late 1980s. Attention was focused on mapping the till then little known issue of women travelling, and not on its interpretation. It was only twenty years ago that, under the influence of linguistic turn, research

3 Mills 1991, 4.

shifted more towards the levels of representations, discourses and textuality. The first question was whether special forms of Othering and reflection upon colonial politics opened up in women's travel writing, what were the topics on which they focused, and so on. Another step led to a question about the strategies through which the authors justified their own travel and writing activity and how certain subject positions were assumed in the travel literature. The discursive frameworks and pressures which determined "women's writing" showed themselves as being fundamental.[4]

The concept of "gendered writing" assumes that an imagery of so-called divided spheres founded on the male/female dichotomy survived deep into the twentieth century; it was formed during the Enlightenment, expanded to its full extent in the bourgeois society of the nineteenth century, and was based on the "natural" and "scientifically verifiable" distinction between men and women (it produced images of a decisive man active in the public sphere versus a sensitive and self-sacrificial woman looking after the family, etc.).[5] In this context, the relationship between femininity, travelling and authorship began to presented a problem. The female travellers/authors entered a socially and geographically inappropriate and dangerous zone. They disrupted values and behaved against the generally accepted characteristics of womanhood such as emotionality, instability, indecision and weakness.

There was a pronounced change in travelling style from the last quarter of the nineteenth century, above all after the Great War.[6] Gabriele Habinger has nevertheless, in the particular example of Iraq, drawn attention to the fact that negative attitudes to women travelling were still typical at the beginning of the 1930s, and to the threatening rhetoric of the British authorities; the bourgeois model of femininity still prevailed.[7] To what degree did this also apply to voices coming from the fringes of the period field of power? Many scholars agree that it was always possible to write outside the dominant cultural codes. Nevertheless, for the most part texts exposed to intensified discursive pressures do not undermine them. They are characterized by quite a high degree of conformity – the dominant model could also become a source of power for otherwise marginalised groups. Women's travel literature, however, does not completely identify itself with hegemonic representations; it can become an alternative textual space which can give rise to all kinds of contradictions, hesitations and ambivalence.[8]

4 Mills 1991, 40. Travel writings of Central European provenance were excellently analysed by Habinger 2006a, 22 f.

5 Of classic monographs see e.g. Frevert 1998.

6 Krauze 2006, 14.

7 Habinger 2006a, 20 f; Habinger 2006b, 283–285; on the rhetoric of danger: Siegel 2004.

8 Mills 1991, 3 f; Mills 2005, 19.

From the beginning of the 1990s, when Sara Mills's ground-breaking monograph appeared, the question has not been so much whether and how women – innocent and passive, according to earlier research – participated in colonial projects, or how they behaved individually. Research focuses on how gender intermingled with the imagination of social hierarchies, ethnicity and race in travel writings and on how different, often competing, discourses "collided" with each other in the texts.[9] In the field of women's literature about the Orient, criticisms of Edward Said's concept pointed out the essential heterogeneity, instability, unsystematic approach and polyphonicity of travel writing and of Orientalism itself.[10] The ways in which women travellers described the Orient serve as a telling example of how various discourses can be activated in the text and so influence the articulation of the authorial "I" and other levels of representation.

The self-presentation of the author and the ideology of hyperfemininity

In the case of Vlasta Kálalová's travelogue, the level of gender ideology and authorial self-fashioning constitutes a supportive basis for the interpretation of her otherwise relatively fragmented and heterogeneous picture of the Orient. At the same time it allows one to pose questions as to the degree of consonance of a Czechoslovak woman doctor's mission with period's colonial politics.

In most travelogues by female authors, the paratexts like a preface or an introduction provide textual space for an "intensive" self-presentation and legitimisation of the authors' own travelling. It can explain comprehensively the writer's motives and very often apologises for the "dangerous undertaking", and for the very fact they have decided to publish their travel writing.[11] In Kálalová's travelogue this role is to some extent filled by her introductory chapter.

From the first pages of the manuscript her self-fashioning and description of her journey is linked primarily with the national discourse to which she is connected also professionally. Kálalová's life story is focused on a single aim – to maximize the usefulness of her own person to the advantage of Czech national community and Czechoslovak national state. Her choice of the medical profession enabled her to offer her professional and personal qualities fully to the good of the nation, specifically in the field of the hitherto overlooked studies of "exotic diseases". Quotations in the first chapter from diaries the author kept

9 Mills 1991, 9.

10 These are above all the following, widely discussed works: Mills 1991; Lowe 1991; Pratt 1992; Melman 1995; Lewis 1996; Yeğenoğlu 1998; Lewis 2004.

11 Habinger 2006, 142–144; Siegel 2004b, 2. At the time Kálalová wrote the chief part of her text, essentially less pressure was evidently generated on apologising for female writing than has been documented in the preceding 150 years (cf. Schleiter 1999, 28 f).

as a girl should bring an evidence of the continuity and intentionality of her plans.

Nationalism unfolds on a number of levels and, from the point of view of the subject-positioning, belongs to that very interesting composition of the "ideal" Czech genealogy into her own life story (Kálalová mentions "National Revivalists" in the family, a conscious rejection of the German cultural element as early as she attended a secondary school, the reading of the proper Czech authors, etc.). She returns later to codes and literary authorities shared by national society (Jan Neruda, Jaroslav Vrchlický). The "Czechness" symbolised by citizenship of the Czechoslovak state represents the only choice, mandatory even for her husband "Jiří" (Giorgio) Sylvio Di Lotti. Nationality not only shared in the formation of a positive self-identification but also of a "correctly" directed hatred and rhetorical aggression – as pro-German oriented Iraqi intellectuals whom Kálalová met on her travels experienced. It is national interest above all that legitimises the plan to establish a Czechoslovak sanatorium in Baghdad. It is "national effort" rather than girlish whims or a romantic desire to travel that push the author to undertake the dangerous expedition.

All she could do was to confront everyone who was not capable of understanding the importance of her plans. "*That which is to me the purest and dearest, the aim of my undertaking, is exposed to suspicion,*" we read in the introductory pages, in which Kálalová describes the situation when the university refuses to finance her project. "*Some professors apparently see hidden personal advantage (Aha, she wants to establish a sanatorium, if things go well for her, she will keep it, if she cannot, she will sell it to the Republic!), others a desire for a career (She wants to qualify, but if she were at least a man!), others a fantastic, impossible, romantic nonsense.*"[12] Definitive and incontestable approval is granted only with the blessing of the "*Father*" – that is, the President-Liberator, or "*inspired pupil of Havlíček*" as Kálalová describes him (thus affirming the historical narrative of Czech history shared by the national intellectual elite). Masaryk's unequivocal patriarchal agreement, bowing his head "*to my infinitesimal work and filling me with reassuring certainty*", is in her description of her visit to Masaryk in Topoľčany intertwined with the motif of maternal care ("*I can still feel on my hair the fleeting touch of a hand light as the hand of a mother giving a child her blessing for the coming journey…*").[13] Masaryk's "yes" was above all an argument against any further reproaches, an unconditional source of legitimacy for the whole expedition:

"*Could I ever have hoped that the Head of the Republic, burdened by so many great problems and cares, would ever have had understanding for my medical*

12 Přes Bospor, 8.

13 Přes Bospor, 13.

enterprise? What a relief! The reproaches of a Brno professor of medicine that what I am doing is throwing human resources overboard, and from the national point of view a thing worthy of condemnation, no longer hang over me like a shadow."[14]

The fact itself of a clear aim and calling in life for the good of the Czech nation likewise represents a fundamental axis of the author's self-fashioning. Such an aim is characterised above all by "usefulness"; being useful not only to the national cause, but also to "Arab women". The descriptions of her activities before setting out on the journey and during its first months, during her stay in Istanbul, are thus bound up with the fulfilment of the aim.[15] Much space is devoted to privations and economies, to the reduction of her own needs and her self-sacrifice in the name of the higher interest. In her enthusiasm for the national cause Kálalová scarcely notices the chill of the Istanbul evenings and refuses to spend money on heating, until the owner of the rented room Georgi Bey brings her a portable heater with glowing cinders. "*I was not a little grateful to him for the long hours spent at the writing desk. My head was always hot enough with much study, but without the heater my feet would have been frozen*."[16] In later chapters when it comes to the fulfilment of resolutions for the nation's welfare, financial issues are mentioned considerably less often; medical practice must appear as far as possible as a non-commercial activity.

What are the other levels of Kálalová's self-fashioning? Can one read some concept of femininity from them? Despite the emancipatory rhetoric, her imagination of gender roles is founded on values and norms deeply rooted in the bourgeois imagery of the nineteenth century. They are, however, enriched by some new elements. Kálalová moves in a more or less binary model. She reasons it scientifically and does not admit any evidence which could assault its "naturalness". Femininity is defined by marriage, motherhood and the universally binding norms of women's work. Kálalová supplements the bourgeois idea of divided spheres with female involvement in the public sphere and work for a higher aim, which does not carry the same general sense of being obligatory as the first point, but is more of an elite issue. I will, for our purposes, call this ideology "hyperfemininity"; that is, the femininity of absolute performance, productivity and universal sacrifice. Phrases such as "industriousness and tireless diligence", "the security of home", "the happiness of the family hearth", etc., are frequently repeated in this context.

We come across stereotyped approaches in passages describing women. A woman is presented on the basis of her appearance, her (married or unmarried)

14 Přes Bospor, 9.

15 On strategies of writing about financial matters and special competences see Fell 1998, 75.

16 Přes Bospor, 95.

status, and whether she is a mother. Only subsequently do we learn her social position (defined predominantly by that of her husband's position) and in some cases her main character features. This approach is applied to Europeans and Orientals, mainly during a first meeting, for example with the patient or wife of one of author's medical colleagues. The following description will serve as an example:

"*Mrs. Dunlop has no children. She is very attractive, with pretty dimples in her cheeks. She came to Iraq as a nurse with Queen Alexandra's Imperial Military Nursing Service. She met Dr. Dunlop in the British-Indian Hospital in Baqubah. They got married at the end of the war in St. George's Garrison Church in the East Gate, the remains of the Baghdad surrounding walls built up by Abbasids.*"[17]

Considerable space is devoted to oriental femininity, not only in the cases of patients but also in the context of descriptions of wedding rituals, Islamic marriage law and the bringing up of children. These passages at the same time strengthen the professional self-presentation of the author, which I will return to below. They are evidence that, as the first European woman doctor with knowledge of the local language and culture, Kálalová had an opportunity to reveal the "true nature" of the world of oriental women and present it faithfully to Czech readers. In her descriptions of oriental women, she applies relatively transparent dichotomous patterns – the model "decent" woman versus the "bad" Oriental woman – depending on how far they are able to achieve the hyper-feminine norms.

The "bad" Oriental woman is characterised primarily by her laziness.[18] She is not able to manage the housework and to look after her children in a "civilised" manner. She spends more time on fashion and make-up than on keeping the home clean. She smokes. She frequently delegates her own feminine "duties" (understood in a purely Eurocentric way) to other members of the family or to the servants, which for Kálalová is the more problematic variant, for besides the ideology of hyperfemininity it upsets also the idea of civic equality. Fragments of life stories are packed with oriental "comfortable dolls", with women who "do not spend much time on the housework" and "bored beauties" who "lack work". Membership of the upper class evokes an even stronger criticism. Kálalová describes meeting a Turkish woman in a train to Aleppo, who had

"*two children and a thirteen-year-old maid. ... The children romping around, wanting this and that. The mother herself however gives them nothing. She only gives curt orders to the unkempt girl – who, constantly waiting on others, has no time to look after herself.*"[19]

17 Přes Bospor, 202.

18 For criticism of laziness, see Siebert 1993, 204; Habinger 2006a, 252.

19 Přes Bospor, 132.

According to Kálalová, the female inhabitants of the Orient often define themselves in contrast to "decent" women and follow their activities with contempt.

"*Across the walls of the courtyard they* [i.e. the Arabian next-door female neighbours] *eye up their neighbours from the next- door terraces. They are curious as to what the Syrian is doing. Just imagine, she scrubs, launders and cooks herself. She does not have a single servant, she does not smoke…*"[20]

Almost the same extensive space is devoted to the "energetic beings" Kálalová meets during her doctor's visits. In passages describing the period before her departure to Iraq she discovers the motif of the "cultivated Turk", close to the European ideal. Such a woman is

"*a wage earner and at the same time looks after the household. She has no servants and follows her husband's work with lively interest. She teaches Turkish history at two girls' schools. At the same time she translates from English. However, her life path is determined mainly by a compassionate heart.*"[21]

Apart from this, two other forms of femininity are acceptable – women oriented purely towards household or, on the other hand, the considerably more exceptional position of publicly engaged *précieuses* without family ties.

In the case of the Turkish Orient, which is represented in connection with the idea of modernisation and progress (including the transition from monarchism to republicanism and the victory of the national idea), Kálalová reflects on the ideal of marriage in which the wife, as well as fulfilling all other duties, shares in the "intellectual interests of her husband" just as in public involvements for the "national good". Unsurprisingly, such a marriage is always monogamous; as a theme in the travelogue, polygamy is almost exclusively anecdotal. The monogamous model applies as an ideal for Iraqi society too, and is read purely through the European lens. The God-fearing old man thus refuses love to the "young bride", brought to him by his first wife herself, with the words: "*Thou art the mother of my sons, my first. Thou art better than she.*"[22]

In the case of Iraqi women, activity is not expected outside the household. The only things valued are the "unending care" of children, "untiring" solicitousness for the wellbeing of guests, and absolute comfort provided for other members of the family. "Decent" oriental femininity is defined by devotion and "obvious respect" to the husband.

How is the author's "I" related to this ideology of femininity? There are more voices echoing in her self-fashioning. In describing her own experience Kálalová says she left the "*security of traditional rails*", which does not in any

20 Přes Bospor, 218.

21 Přes Bospor, 99.

22 Přes Bospor, 246.

sense mean that the gender stereotypes are not valid for her. Quite the opposite. In her case too, hyperfemininity represents the norm. On its margins, ideas about acceptable femininity are developed on one hand, on the other testimonies about her own strength, courage, decisiveness, overcoming of pain and professionalism paradoxically disrupt them.

Insofar as expected feminine virtues are concerned,[23] the emphasis in the introductory chapters is placed on her own insecurity, on seeking support for example from Masaryk or another patriarchal authority – "*I am full of uncertainty whether my journey is really a necessary service for the people to whom I am going.*"[24] An appropriate degree of restraint and modesty is required from the author; a woman should not voluntarily seek her own "spotlight":

"*My dissertation was accepted. To deliver it – a very unwelcome task. It was only to bring pleasure to my parents that I asked for a graduation ceremony. The dissertation itself was something different; I enjoyed doing it and learnt many new things. However, I am frightened of speaking in public.*"[25]

This stylisation does not however correspond with the nature of the whole undertaking – to be honest, even at the beginning of the twenty-first century (when many people consider tolerance towards a woman's professional activity as self-evident) the plan of a young (!) European woman (!!) to set up her own medical clinic (!!!) in Baghdad (!!!!) would probably not meet with the understanding of her wider family or small town society. Nevertheless, Kálalová repeatedly emphasizes that she is not dynamic, that she has problems asserting herself and is not an adventurous type. "*I felt like an intruder, not having an adventurous nature, not being accustomed to falsity, I held against myself the situation into which I had led myself.*"[26]

A crucial role is played here by her declared lack of interest in her own appearance and above all, her negative attitude towards fashion, as though it could not be combined with full professional and personal commitment to the higher interest. Kálalová outright admits that she deliberately denied fashionable trends as a strategy to establish herself in the professional world, to look more serious and give an impression of being older. She was offended when Prof. Bedřich Hrozný discouraged her from planning to leave for the Near East, pointing out her youth. "*I had deliberately worn a longer skirt than was fashionable so I would look mature!*" she remembered.[27] Insofar as she speaks

23 On reproductions of the norms of femininity: Mills 1991, 72 f; Habinger 2006a, 57 f., 130, 149 f; Jenkins 2004, 17; Siegel 2004b, 2.

24 Přes Bospor, 2.

25 Přes Bospor, 6.

26 Přes Bospor, 21.

27 Přes Bospor, 97.

of clothes she connects them to their practical use in carrying out her medical calling in an oriental environment.

There is strikingly little information in the text about Kálalová's private life, above all in the period before she got married. Even these rare mentions are, however, related to a national and professional issues. Instead of describing the farewell to her parents she writes about her farewell to President Masaryk in role of the Father; the brief fragments from her own father's biography are woven into the story of her own Czechness. During her stay in Baghdad, the place of family is taken by some of the privileged patients of the clinic who confirm the legitimacy of her calling far from home and from her own family

"*Nuhman Azami gave me his eternal friendship. He wrote to my father. He described the usefulness of my work in Iraq. His letters gave my father much pleasure. He had not lost his daughter in recent years completely for nothing. Nuhman addressed me as 'binti', my daughter. I treated the pupils of his college, and his family*."[28]

Kálalová only gives a suggestion her romantic life before her marriage, and her sexual life is completely taboo, however much she deals witht sexuality from a medical point of view with other people.[29]

The request for her hand is confined to the margins of her text and Di Lotti's name hardly appears in this context. Only the attentive reader will spot at the given moment the connection between him and the friendly Mrs. Cleofe Di Lotti, who earlier herself (!) offered Kálalová her son's help. However much of a significant landmark it is (since passages devoted to family life accrue in the closing part of the travelogue), deliberate efforts to get married are not part of the self-presentation of the young female doctor. Information about the wedding is also directly connected to the professional context and the performance of medical duties: "*I was married on 19 June 1927. It was a Sunday. Just an ordinary day for our patients. ... Oh, oh, instead of similar cares to do with the ceremony, during the hours which still remained I had to make sure the needs of my patients were satisfied.*"[30] Kálalová's own motherhood is also characterised by the use of medical terminology; we chiefly come across statements about "*the reactions of the facial muscles*", about suckling infants "*thriving*" or "*putting on weight*", about "*their first incisors cutting through*" and so on.

Descriptions of her own professional qualities, courage and the overcoming of pain and travel obstacles contrast with the representation of her hesitation, restraint and fear I mentioned above. She thus creates a typical "confusion", in the sense of simultaneously confirming and overturning the norms. There is a high degree of

28 Přes Bospor, 211.

29 On the absence of descriptions of sexuality see Habinger 2006a, 205.

30 Přes Bospor, 304.

self-confidence linked with her profession; the travelogue further contains direct self-definitions ("*we doctors*"), reflections about the ethics of the profession, about the degree of professionalism of oriental doctors, the quality of local hospitals, and so on. Descriptions of diagnoses and terminology in general as well references to specialist authorities form part of her professional identity; a parallel specialist level occurs in passages about entomology, and above all in letters she sent to the renowned Czech specialist in this field, Jan Obenberger. Kálalová does not hesitate to incorporate expressions of professional recognition from her colleagues into her travel writing, bordering sometimes on amazement. Unsurprisingly, she emphasises that she does not present competition for the only local female doctor, Mme Pin, who, on the contrary, gives her blessing to the work.

Kálalová mentions several times her remarkable linguistic skills, mostly in the form of praise from the local inhabitants or from foreigners enthusing over her mastery of languages.

"*Only at university? Classical Arabic… Is it possible, that your teacher was never in Arabia? Well, he must be very pleased with you. Of all the foreigners I have known only one Frenchman spoke it as well as you. He spoke it maybe even better. But he had spent years and years in Syria and you are from a country where there are not any Arabs.*"[31]

A knowledge of Arabic also determines professional success, like the claim to authenticity of the travelogue itself, because as the first European woman doctor she has the possibility to give "guaranteed" informations about the oriental woman's space, the local conception of love, sexuality and motherhood, and marriage rituals.

The ways in which Kálalová fashioned herself are finally linked with the overcoming of pain, danger and the hardships of travel. They are again connected with the medical profession in the description about overcoming health problems. The above-mentioned motif of service in the national interest is also partially projected into these passages, since the fight against illness or lack of free time is *de facto* part of self-sacrifice for a higher aim and also a manifestation of hyperfemininity, which does not allow weakness, idleness or failure ("*I am very dissatisfied with myself. Just when I need to be fresh, my health gives out. … One thought was uppermost: keep going.*").[32] A crucial scene of the whole travelogue is the description of the birth of her first child. It unfolds on the basis of a comparison of the course of particular birth times with specialist knowledge ("*A primagravida has on average 21 hours until the child is born…*") and continues with an unplanned visit to a patient, during which the doctor has to control her own pain so she can carry out her professional duties even under extreme exertion.

31 Přes Bospor, 213.

32 Přes Bospor, 202–203.

"*We have a mere twenty kilometres ahead of us. But the journey to Rustemyah does seem longer than usual. I am grateful for the smooth asphalt from the poplars of Aliyah to Hineyde. If only I did not have to talk to my neighbour about the patient. It is increasingly difficult not to falter. Give the impression of calm. But we are already driving down the alleys of the military camp, through the remains of the fortification rampart – and there is the cottage where the patient is waiting. Everything is all right. And I manage to keep my face steady while I look after her, to answer her questions without seeming to hurry. There were moments when it was not easy. If only I were safely back in the car. If that nice driver had any idea of the pain I am in. But it is better that he does not know. Just get going, so we are back home again.*"[33]

We can compare the conclusions of the preceding paragraphs with the recent analysis made by Christine Etherington-Wright about different types of female autobiographies of the first half of the twentieth century. Kálalová's self-presentation concurs with texts by other women doctors in the motif of overcoming obstacles and the heroic model in general in which the profession is understood as a "higher calling", and qualification and reliability are emphasised above all. It corresponds with them, too, in that relatively little attention is paid to her own personal life, and in the attempt to achieve a measured and professional style.[34]

The travelogue is characterized by a mix of narrative and figurative tools which could seem a little confusing to the modern reader, but the preceding paragraphs may shed some light on it. Kálalová combines a romantic and emotionally coloured description of the Orient with specialist medical jargon. So we find in the travelogue strikingly emotional "feminine" statements of the type: "*It seems cruel to me to subject fragile little cups the colour of ivory to the boiling infusion from the teapot."*[35] These alternate with elements in a professional style: *"We removed the Muslim patient's inflamed appendix. The entire abdominal cavity was filled with a serous secretion. As a histological examination showed, it was a tubercular inflammation of the excised vermiform appendix.*"[36]

The Orient as an effect of discursive intersections

The representation of the Orient in the travelogue can appear relatively fragmented. Readers of the short narrative sections come across seemingly incompatible styles (expert commentary, romantic reflection) and arguments.

33 Přes Bospor, 312–313.

34 Etherington-Wright 2009, 38 f., 51, 137 f., 199.

35 Přes Bospor, 59.

36 Přes Bospor, 258.

When we take into consideration the imagination of gender sketched above, that is, its complexity and intersections with national or professional discourse, this series of reflexive fragments becomes more comprehensible for us. The very fact that individual perceptions often contradict or, minimally, do not awaken an impression of a homogeneous image of the Orient "in the background" of the narrative, can be related to the fact that in every representation different discursive frameworks are activated, which "collide" with each other or overlap. The Orient is not evaluated unequivocally in the travelogue (positively or negatively), as would be assumed by, for example, scholars uncritically following up Edward Said's concept of Orientalism in its (mostly androcentric) form the end of the 1970s. The crucial point is, what discourses overlap in particular representations, how they influence each other, which predominate and so on. To show this intersection I have chosen just a few examples of Othering which are in apparent conflict.

For example, the authenticity and depth of oriental feeling to which Kálalová returns several times can be linked with the idea of building a new Turkish state, which functions as a parallel to Czechoslovak republicanism in the text. That is shown, for instance, in a passage in which she describes the moral predominance of Istanbul doctors who did not study abroad: "*They have a more ardent relationship to their own art, to philosophy, humanity and idiosyncrasy and to the new efforts of their state.*"[37] The unwillingness of Iraqi women to subordinate themselves to the formal demands introduced by the British is again seen as a proof of authentic Oriental manners.

Traditional customs can however be judged in the same breath to be "superstitions". Professional discourse is connected with their description in the travelogue; a number of pages are devoted to local medical procedures, the rituals connected with birth, djinns, fear of evil spells and so on, from which, in the better case, the author keeps an ironical distance: "*Admittedly I don't know what it actually means, but we certainly cannot have any objections against any kind of prevention.*"[38] For a European doctor, the local tradition of medicine is ridiculous, and she has the same judgmental words for Shia "fanaticism" and ritual self-inflicted injury.

Absolutely fundamental is Kálalová's criticism of oriental dirt. Not even in this could she tolerate traditional customs. She returns in different contexts to the category of cleanliness. We find in the travelogue phrases of the type: "scrupulously clean carpet", "exemplary cleanliness", "light and airy bedroom" and so on. Cleanliness is a synonym for health and medical professionalism ("*They*

37 Přes Bospor, 76.

38 Přes Bospor, 263.

were amazed by my scrubbing my hands. Far too thorough, far too long.”).[39] Maintaining cleanliness is the chief task of a woman, cleanliness characterised hyperfemininity and proper “civilised” motherhood (mothers are divided into “clean” and “bad”) and civilisation itself. According to Kálalová, the very long lactation usual in Iraqi families is also uncivilised in this sense; fortunately it could be limited by a “medical order”.[40]

The “natural progress” from absolute monarchy to republicanism does not have to be linked only with the traditional values of Arabian society and a critique of Western imperial policy, as I have outlined above. It can on the contrary become a space for the celebration of Western social imports, above all the first-wave feminism and women’s education. Gender is thus connected with a critique of monarchism and a celebration of the republican regime – gone are the times when in the Turkish harem “*women, condemned to an inactive life, enjoyed themselves with malicious tricks*”.[41] Implementing the European ideal of femininity is closely connected with the establishment of a “new civil life” and the end of “sultanic luxury” and “cold aristocratism”.

Fragments of imperial ideas?

I would like to end my paper by reflecting on a topic which has occupied international research for fifty years already; it is the relationship to colonialism, which “women’s travel writing” paradoxically co-created and undermined at the same time. Women travellers only rarely identified with colonial politics. For the most part they did not write about foreign ethnicities as a whole, rather about individuals; in everyday dealings with the Other, however, elements of hegemonic dominant models gleam through in her travelogues.[42] In the case of the Czechoslovak woman doctor, the question of colonialism must not have appeared so essential at first sight; nevertheless, the due to the representations of Oriental Other it fits exactly this heterogeneous model. Kálalová criticises the imperial policy of the great powers several times in her travelogue. In other passages she links a critique of colonialism with her own national self-identification (in her conception, the Czech Lands were also the “captive” of great power politics before World War I). On the other hand, part of her

39 Přes Bospor, 216.

40 In recent years philanthropic efforts oriented for example to the professionalisation of care for children have also become the subject of research into the mechanisms of colonial politics. In the case of Iraq they are connected for example with Gertrude Bell. See Emberley 2007, 121.

41 Přes Bospor, 65.

42 Lewis 1996, 26; Mills 1991, 103.

professional self-fashioning is adoration of contemporary Western "progress" which brought with it colonial administration, including medical care, women's education and cleanliness. The very ideology of hyperfemininity is an important element of imperialism.

It was imperial interests that placed Iraq on the map of civilised states, introduced Western standards and helped local people on the road to national self-determination.

"*Iraq would not be an independent state in today's territorial extent,"* writes Kálalová, *"were it not for Great Britain. Britain helped the Iraqis to create a political administration, to reorganise its judiciary and to introduce an educational structure. Roads, bridges and railways were built on the instigation of its advisers. The 'Arabian River' was made navigable for ocean-going ships and a port built at Basra. Agriculture profits from improved irrigation. Oil is beginning to be extracted. It is Britain's work that made Baghdad an important hub for air travel. At the same time the British air force has established peace in the outskirts, which were formerly epicentres of unrest. In addition, personal security in the big Iraqi cities arrived only with the British occupation.*"[43]

Despite every sympathy for the Orient and its inhabitants, the Czechoslovak doctor's activity in Baghdad was part of the wider Western "mission of civilisation". It enabled Kálalová to obtain a position in the social hierarchy of colonial outside European gender dichotomy, so-called genderless white power.[44] It gave her the power to define the Other.[45] It is a different form of imperial practice from that represented for example by the economic exploitation of the colonies; nevertheless, it also creates a hierarchy and puts the Oriental Other in a marginal position. On a discursive level, the representation of the Orient is not as unambiguous and complete as classical Orientalism; it is falling into a number of contradictory fragments. It distinguishes itself – like the self-presentation of the author and the gendered writing itself – by a number of silences and paradoxes which, still, are worth examining. Whoever has read thus far will certainly be glad of one voice from the margins resounding a little more loudly…

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43 Přes Bospor, 285–286.

44 Habinger – Zuckerhut 2005, 75.

45 Habinger 2006a, 87, 100 f.

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