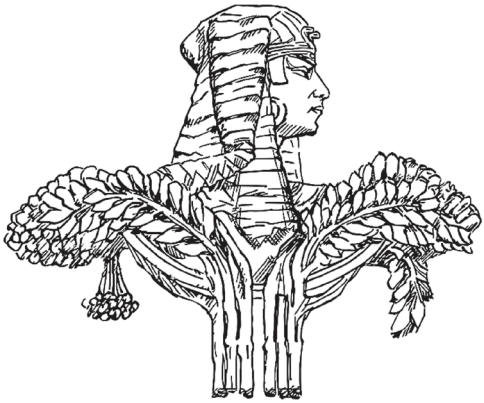
Egypt and Austria XII



Egypt and the Orient: The Current Research

Proceedings of the Conference held at
the Faculty of Croatian Studies, University of Zagreb
(September 17th-22nd, 2018)

Edited by Mladen Tomorad

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Egypt and Austria XII

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EGYPT AND AUSTRIA – EGYPT AND THE ORIENT: CURRENT RESEARCH

The 12th *Egypt and Austria* conference (Zagreb, 17–22 September 2018) was organised by the Egypt and Austria Society and the Faculty of the Croatian Studies of the University of Zagreb. The event took place in the Croatian Institute of History (Opatička 10, Zagreb). The main theme of the conference was current research related to the interactions between Egypt and the states of the former Habsburg Monarchy and the Ottoman Empire up to the middle of the 20th century. During the conference more than 39 papers were presented. This book covers a selection of these papers and we all hope that our readers will enjoy them.

According to the well-established standards of *Egypt and Austria* conferences, a wide range of topics was covered in papers from authors from Croatia, Austria, the Czech Republic, Hungary, Italy, Slovakia, Slovenia, Serbia, Poland, and beyond. The multidisciplinarity and international character of the conferences have always been the greatest strengths of *Egypt and Austria* meetings. Various aspects of cultural, historic and economic relationships, which might possibly have been overlooked from one point of view, have been highlighted from another. Ever since the first volume (published 2005), *Egypt and Austria* conference papers have contributed to a multifaceted and rich picture of a wide range of encounters between West and East, i.e. Central Europe, with a focus on the Habsburg states on the 'Western' side, and the Ottoman Empire, with a focus on Egypt, from the 'Eastern' side.

The first section of the volume addresses early travellers to Egypt and the Middle East. The reader is set *en route* by Rachel Finnegan's paper describing a stop-over in Vienna by the 18th-century traveller the Reverend Richard Pococke on his way to the East.

The Czech journalist and writer Václav Kramerius had never travelled to the Orient at all, but he published in the early 19th century a series of fictional dialogues between a farmer and a messenger to do with foreign countries, strange civilisations, and religions. These fictive travelogues in dialogue are full of negative stereotypes on Islam and Muslims. As Lucie Storchova explained in her paper, theses writings, somewhat shocking to the modern reader, reflected the emerging Czech nation and demonstrated proper attitudes.

In previous conferences Carlo Rindi and Irene Guidotti reported on the results of their research project on Giuseppe Nizzoli, Chancellor of the Austrian Consulate in Egypt. In this present volume, they treat a particular topic – Nizzoli's concern with cholera. This dangerous disease reached epidemic levels in Europe and the Near East in the early 1830s. Nizzoli communicated his observations of the disease

in Egypt and suggested preventive measures to the Austrian government. To this end, he published a short book, seemingly lost but rediscovered by the authors.

Udo Staf is a descendant of a family of captains and seamen from Kotor/Cattaro, named Lukovich, who had family branches in many countries, including Egypt. In Egyptian circles, the best known is Anton von Lukovich, an engineer based in Alexandria, who, when working on Alexandria's defensive works, discovered the antique Egyptian columns that later became an integral part of the Kunsthistorisches Museum building in Vienna. Udo Staf gives a short overview of the rich history of the Lukovich family and their relations with the Near East.

The second section deals with later travellers, such as the Carinthian-born gunsmith Jakov Šašel (Jakob Schaschel), who joined the Austrian Catholic mission to the Sudan in 1853/4 and later published a lavishly illustrated account of his travels, basing most of this work on letters and published accounts from other missionaries who shared his own experiences (paper by Sanda Kočevar). Later in the 19th century, the Triestine botanist Carlo de Marchesetti travelled three times to Egypt. Although for some reason unimpressed by the pharaonic monuments, Marchesetti had a strong interest in Egyptian prehistory, a topic widely neglected by many Egyptologists of his time. He was on friendly terms with Georg Schweinfurth, who donated a collection of Egyptian *silex* artefacts to the Natural History Museum of Trieste that augmented the collection donated by Marchesetti himself, acquired in the Luxor area.

Growing tourism to Egypt created an obvious market for guidebooks. Following earlier examples from England and France, the first German guidebook to Egypt was published by the Austrian Lloyd steamship company, authored by Moritz Busch. However, the first really popular modern guidebook in German was compiled by Anton von Prokesch-Osten Jr, the son of the famous Austrian diplomat and writer of the same name. Angela Blaschek explores this travel guide from 1874, which, just three years later, faced a competitor in the form of Baedecker's first guide to the Egyptian Delta.

Milan Jovanović Morski, a medical doctor and writer, described in several of his novels the upheaval and terrible destruction that occurred in Alexandria during the 'Orabi Revolt' in 1882. The European quarter was razed to the ground and the former 'masters' of the country had to flee or defend themselves; they were bravely helped by people from Boka Kotorska, whose role was highlighted by the author (contribution by Vera Vasiljevic).

Mária Fáy was the first Hungarian woman traveller to Egypt. She planned and organised her journey on her own, and published her travelogue under her own name. Eszter Feró in her paper investigates how the popular publications of this remarkable woman boosted interest in Egypt throughout Hungary, although in the 1890s academic Egyptology did not yet exist there.

The next section, headed 'Formation of Egyptian collections' opens with Eva Liptay's research on the very scarce Egyptian collection of Stephan Delhaes, an Hungarian artist and collector who spent many years in Vienna as a conservator at the famous Liechtenstein Gallery. Several coffins from Akhmim can be traced in various Hungarian collections and there was also one such a coffin in the Delhaes collection – still containing its mummy. In a research project, the Budapest Museum of Fine Arts, where several objects from the Delhaes collection could be identified, was able to demonstrate that the coffin and the mummy originally belonged together – part of the burial of a certain Hortesnakht from the 3rd century BC.

Marta Herucová in her paper presents six Orientalist paintings from the Chateau Topoľčianky, near Nitra in Slovakia. One of them is by Gyula Tornai; another one was signed 'E. v. Ransonnet', i.e. Elisa von Ransonnet, sister of the more prominent Eugen von Ransonnet, as the present study demonstrates.

It was a particularly pleasant surprise that, after the lecture by Marta Herucová, Jozef Hudec announced that the next *Egypt and Austria* conference would take place at Topoľčianky in October 2020. Jozef Hudec also gave the next paper, in which he described an exhibition of more than 60 Egyptian items in 1865 in Bratislava at a meeting of Hungarian physicians and naturalists.

The City museum of Varaždin holds a small collection of Egyptian artefacts, assembled in the 19th century by members of the Paszthory-Varady family. Correspondingly, the Bombelle family, also resident in the Varaždin area, seems to have been more interested in exotic trees and plants from Egypt.

The Museum of Slavonia in Osijek also curated a collection of 16 Egyptian items which, in 2017, were transferred to Osijek's newly founded archaeological museum. All of these objects were donations by citizens, mostly in the 1890s. Interestingly, two objects, a shabti and a votive stela, were found in Osijek. The hieroglyphic text of the stela was first translated by Leo Reinisch, the first Professor of Egyptology at Vienna University. Marina Kovač in her paper discusses these Egyptian objects and their respective donors.

The subsequent 'Art section' consists of two papers. Ernst Czerny traces the career of Carl Rudolph Huber as an Orientalist painter. Huber, renowned for his animal and hunting pictures, also had a second interest as an Orientalist, and this aspect of his art remained almost unnoticed in Vienna. Huber's known Orientalist pictures are discussed in this paper.

In 1914, the famous Austrian architect Adolph Loos acquired a gypsum model of a statue by Ivan Napotnik called 'Egyptian Woman'. Vesna Kamin Kajfež in her study discusses this statue (now in the Slovene National Gallery) in the context of turn-of-the-century Vienna and Adolph Loos' support for Napotnik's further career.

The next section, 'Travellers from the first half of the 20th century', opens with three papers devoted to Fran Srećko Gundrum Oriovčanin by Ivana Funda,

Mladen Tomorad, and Margareta Filipović-Srhoj. Gundrum attended a medical congress in Cairo in 1902. In an extended and unpublished diary, he describes his journey, impressions, and observations; these have proved an excellent source of information on life and travel in Egypt at the beginning of the last century. Gundrum provided detailed descriptions of many archaeological sites he saw in Upper Egypt, as well as the opening ceremony of the Old High Dam in Asuan.

Grzegorz First presents an account by the Catholic priest Stanisław Trzeciak of his journey from Krakow to Egypt in 1903, written in Polish and hardly known of today. Jaro Lajovic presents on Karel Pečnik, a Slovenian physician and specialist in tuberculosis, who lived in Alexandria from 1895 until 1911.

When the famous Croatian sculptor Ivan Meštrović travelled to Egypt in 1927, he regularly wrote picture postcards to his wife Ruža, who at the time was in Buenos Aires. In this way, a sort of 'picture-postcard' materialises, attesting to Meštrović's fascination with Egypt. These postcards, presented in the contribution by Sabina Kaštelančić, are still in the possession of the family and remain unpublished.

The following section on 'Egyptian Revival and Egyptomania' starts with the rather strange story of a modern-day burial in ancient Egyptian sarcophagi by Tomislav Kajfež. In 1845, the Austrian consul-general in Egypt, Anton von Laurin, sent two magnificent, granite, Old Kingdom sarcophagi, found near the Chephren pyramid in Giza, to his home in Vipava, Slovenia. There, his parents, who had previously been interred in the local cemetery, were reburied in one of the Egyptian sarcophagi. The second was used to rebury the remains of Laurin's own short-lived son, Albert, brought back from Alexandria. The two sarcophagi are still in the family's possession in the Vipava cemetery, and have been declared cultural monuments.

In Budapest, wealthy Jewish families erected large and magnificent mausolea, some of them in the Egyptian style. This Egyptianising funerary architecture of the late 19th century, which can be seen in two Jewish cemeteries in Budapest, was presented and discussed in the paper by Andrea Fullér. Many of these mausolea are presently in a ruinous state and badly neglected, nevertheless they testify to the splendour and prosperity of the Jewish *bourgeoisie* in Hungary, who often favoured the Egyptianising style for their resting places, seeing in them allusions to the Temple of Solomon or masonic connections.

As in most European capitals, Egyptianising monuments and buildings can also be found in Zagreb. Marina Bagarić in her paper describes these, starting with the first obelisk erected in 1835, the monuments in the Mirogoj Cemetery and Maksimir Park, and also the many architectural elements that resulted from the wave of Egyptomania after the discovery of Tutankhamun's tomb in 1922.

Zorana Jurić Šabić in her paper focuses once more on Ivan Meštrović. One year after his above-mentioned trip to Egypt, Palestine and Greece in 1927, Meštrović

designed the family mausoleum in Otavice, which turns out to have been heavily influenced by the artist's involvement with Ancient Egyptian and Oriental architecture, art and philosophy. The interior decoration of the monumental mausoleum remained unfinished, but Meštrović's drawings for the ceiling fresco, with its 'extremely complex iconographic programme' are known to us.

The final paper is devoted to Clemens Gütl's reconsiderations of a collection of sound recordings from Morocco (1928), held in Vienna's Phonogrammarchiv. However, the recordings were not produced in Africa, but in Vienna, where a Moroccan-born refugee named Omar Mohámmed běn Saïd was invited to record his renditions of native conversations and songs in his own Berber language. Gütl has collected much information on běn Saïd's life, putting the historic recordings into a new and much more vibrant context.

The current *Egypt and Austria* editors are delighted to present this diverse volume, covering so much interesting new research, to a wider audience and hope that many readers will enjoy and be inspired by it.

Ernst Czerny, *Egypt and Austria*
Mladen Tomorad, Faculty of Croatian Studies

LETTERS FROM VIENNA: RICHARD POCOCKE EN ROUTE TO EGYPT

RACHEL FINNEGAN

Ireland

Abstract: This paper considers a small collection of correspondence (three letters) sent by Revd Richard Pococke to his mother during his nine-week sojourn in Vienna, with his cousin Revd Jeremiah Milles, in the spring of 1737. The letters describe how the cousins spent their time visiting libraries, churches and the Imperial court of the Holy Roman Empire, as well as making a week's excursion into Hungary, to see the Roman antiquities. Pococke's intricate accounts of the appearance, dress and dining habits of the Habsburg family were designed to deflect his mother from the real intention of their trip – an intrepid voyage that took him alone (Milles dropped out in Trento) to Egypt, the Holy, Land, Lebanon, Syria, Turkey and Greece. Volume 1 (Egypt) of Pococke's resulting book *A Description of the East and Some Other Countries* (1743) catapulted him into fame on his return to England; and while volume 2 (1745) includes a section on his travels on the Continent, both before and after his eastern voyage, it contains only a passing reference to the time spent in Austria, with no mention of the Imperial family. The flamboyant style and fascinating content of Pococke's correspondence is in direct contrast with the stolid nature of his subsequent book, and his first-hand accounts of the people and events of the Imperial court constitute a significant and little-known contribution to the historical record.

Keywords: Pococke, Milles, Grand Tour, Eastern travels, Holy Roman Empire, Imperial Court, Vienna.

Background to Pococke's travels

This paper considers a small collection of manuscripts relating to the nine weeks in which Revd Richard Pococke and his younger cousin Revd Jeremiah Milles stayed in Vienna, en route to Egypt, in the spring of 1737, and the fascinating accounts of the people and events of the Imperial court of the Holy Roman Empire. Both Pococke and Milles were educated at Corpus Christi College, Oxford, and completed their education in 1733 by undertaking a traditional Grand Tour of France and Italy. Though Pococke was aged 30 when embarking on this voyage, and already well established in his clerical career in Ireland, Milles was only 19

and had not yet decided on a church life. It was while they were in Italy that the latter's mind was finally made up, when he received an invitation from their mutual uncle and patron, Thomas Milles, Bishop of Waterford and Lismore, to take up the senior position of Treasurer of Lismore Cathedral. This required the cousins to hasten back to Ireland in 1734 and thus their first Grand Tour came to an untimely end. Their travels during this trip are documented in several manuscript accounts, the most interesting of which is the almost complete run of letters from Pococke to his widowed mother, Mrs Elizabeth Pococke, who lived in Hampshire, England. This correspondence takes the form of a continuous journal recording the main events of each day. The original letters for this tour are extant, but Mrs Pococke transcribed them into a neat quarto volume and both versions are in the Manuscripts and Archives Department of the British Library.[1] The collection was recently published as Volume 1 of his foreign correspondence (his travels in the British Isles were all published in the late 19th century).[2]

Two years later, in 1736, the cousins embarked on a second Grand Tour, significantly different from the first, when they visited the Low Countries, Germany, Austria, Poland, Hungary, and the Balkans. Pococke continued to send regular letters to his mother and these (again the originals and Mrs Pococke's copies), together with letters from Milles to his uncle, the bishop, are also in the British Library,[3] and are the subject of Volume 2 of *Letters from Abroad*.[4]

When Milles was recalled to Ireland in in the autumn of 1737, on account of their uncle's failing health (Bishop Milles had no children and Milles was his heir), Pococke continued his travels alone, voyaging from Leghorn (or Livorno) to Alexandria, from which he undertook a lengthy voyage of Egypt, the Holy Land, Syria, Lebanon, Asia Minor, Turkey, the Greek islands, and mainland Greece. This, of course, was the most famous part of his travels, since it was the subject of his celebrated book in two volumes (*A Description of the East and Other Countries*, 1743 and 1745). The complete run of correspondence from this voyage also exists, although only as his mother's transcriptions,[5] and this is reproduced in Volume 3, of *Letters from Abroad*.[6]

On his return from the East, and after the publication of his Eastern travels (see the next section), Pococke worked his way up the ecclesiastical ladder in Ireland, first as Archdeacon of Dublin, then as Bishop of Ossory, and finally, just before his death, as Bishop of Meath. Milles, who did not make it to the East, but whose life

[1] Original letters, BL: Add MS 19939; copy letters, BL: Add MS 22978.
[2] Finnegan 2011.
[3] Originals letters (Pococke), BLL Add MS; copy letters, BL: Add MS 22978, 22997; original letters (Milles), BL: Add MS 22977; copy letters, BL: Add MS 15773-15775, 15779, 22977.
[4] Finnegan 2012.
[5] Copy letters, BL: Add MS 22997, 22998.
[6] Finnegan 2013.

was undoubtedly influenced by his foreign travels, became a notable antiquarian and spent many years as Dean of Exeter Cathedral, in England.

Pococke's contribution to Egyptology

Before we consider his travels in Austria, it is worth reminding the reader of Pococke's contribution to the emerging field of Egyptology. After parting ways with his cousin in Trento, he secured a *firman* (Ottoman passport) from Venice (though this is likely to have been arranged up to a year beforehand) and boarded a ship at Leghorn (Livorno) for Alexandria. During his three-year exploration of the Eastern Mediterranean, he made two six-month tours of Egypt. The first was from September 1737 to March 1738 and the second from January to July 1739, each involving a prolonged sojourn in Cairo. From this city, he made several excursions to important sites and monuments, including the pyramids, as well as visiting natural curiosities, such as the Cataracts, and studying the flooding of the Nile. We know from Pococke's letters that he investigated the latter phenomenon with a companion he had adopted during his travels – Dr Charles Perry (physician).

On his return to England, Pococke immediately threw himself into forming the Egyptian Society, a London dining club whose members met every two weeks to discuss matters relating to Egyptology, and whose co-founders were John Montagu, 4th Earl of Sandwich, Charles Perry (his travel companion and author of *A View of the Levant*, 1743), and the Danish explorer Captain Frederick Lewis Norden. Details of the activities undertaken by its members over a 16-month period (December 1741 to April 1743) are given in the society's 'Minute Book', the manuscript for which is in the British Library.[7] At the same time, Pococke wrote up the first volume of his famous book, *A Description of the East and some Other Countries*. This large folio tome, which was printed in London in 1743, is a description of Egypt that secured the author's immediate and lasting fame. Although the original purpose of the volume was for the author to present a series of drawings of Egyptian monuments and architectural styles, it turned out to provide much more; and one of its distinguishing features is its interest in contemporary Egypt. This is reflected not only in the text, but in some of the more 'curious' illustrations, such as those depicting aspects of ordinary life – Egyptian dress, modes of transport, domestic objects, etc. It also contains several drawings of small ancient Egyptian artefacts from Pococke's own collection, some of which are now in the British Museum, together with larger items, such as mummies and block statues.[8]

Nine months after the demise of the Egyptian Society, in January 1744, Pococke became one of the ten co-founders of the more obscure Divan Club, which lasted

[7] BL: Add MS 52362.
[8] Finnegan 2015: 33-48.

for 28 months. Its laws and dates (but not its activities) are recorded in its only surviving record, 'Al-Koran', a copy of which is in the National Maritime Museum, London.[9] While immersed in this and other London intellectual societies, such as the Royal Society and the Society of Antiquaries, Pococke wrote up the second volume of his book, which was an account of all the other Eastern countries he visited during his voyage (apart from Egypt), together with observations on some of the lesser-known centres of Europe, in terms of contemporary Grand Tour literature. However, it contains very little on Austria and nothing on Vienna. The intriguing story of the three main Eastern travel books published during this period (namely, the works of Revd Thomas Shaw,[10] Perry, and Pococke) is examined in a recent monograph.[11]

The journey to Austria

After crossing from Dover to Calais, in the first week of June 1736, Pococke and Milles embarked on a circuitous route to Austria that took almost two years. Having journeyed through French Flanders to Gravelines and Dunkirk, and from there to Ostend, Bruges, Ghent, Brussels and Leuven, they travelled to Mechelen, Antwerp, Breda, Dordrecht and Rotterdam. From there they visited Delft, The Hague, Leiden, and Haarlem, reaching Amsterdam on 10th July. From there they travelled, over the course of a month, to Utrecht, Kleve, Zutphen, Loo, and Hanover, next journeying to Brunswick, Celle, Bremen, Lüneburg and Hamburg. Over the course of the next two months, they visited Kiel, Mecklenburg, Rostock, Stralsund, Szczecin, Frankfurt, Berlin, Brandenburg Wittenburg, Magdeburg, Mansfeld, Halle (Saale), Merseburg, and Leipzig. From here, they continued to Meissen and Dresden, where they spent Christmas, and in the new year (1737) travelled through Bohemia, where they visited Prague, Karlovy Vary, Egra, Regensburg, Straubing, Passau, and Linz. Finally, after a lengthy journey down the Danube, they arrived in Vienna at 3.00 pm on 24th February/7th March 1737.

Pococke's three letters from Vienna

The cousins stayed in Vienna for about nine weeks, until Thursday, 2nd May 1737, which incorporated the Easter period. During this time, they took several daytrips outside the city and a week's excursion to Hungary. Milles wrote copious letters to his uncle, Bishop Milles, giving full descriptions of the city's buildings, antiquities

[9] NMM, SAN/V/113. The original is among the private papers of John Montagu, 11th Earl of Sandwich. For an examination of the two London clubs, see Finnegan 2006: 1-86.
[10] Shaw 1738.
[11] Finnegan 2019.

and other curiosities, as well as those of the surrounding areas. While these are of interest, and are referred to occasionally for comparison, it is not within the scope of this article to consider them fully here. Pococke wrote three lengthy letters from Vienna, all addressed to 'Honoured Madam' (his mother). The first is dated 12th/23rd March 1737 and gives a daily account of his activities from 15th/26th February until the date mark – that is, approximately a month. The second is dated 29th March/9th April 1737 and covers the period 12th/23rd March until the date mark – that is, approximately two weeks. The third is dated 20th April/1st May 1737, and details events from 30th March/10th April to the date mark – that is, approximately three weeks. In addition to regaling his mother with details of what they had done and seen each day, Pococke frequently gave her instructions on how she was to deal with his private affairs in his absence and tried to reassure her of his safety while abroad. The personal references in the letters tell us much about the personality of this interesting and entertaining man, who has traditionally suffered from being described (by a contemporary, Mrs Delany), as 'the dullest man that ever travelled'.[12] While it is true that parts of his printed works are quite serious (and could therefore be regarded as 'dull'), Mrs Delany had other reasons for referring to him in this way.[13]

Letter 1, 12th/23rd Mach, 1737

As described in Pococke's first letter from Vienna,[14] the cousins arrived in the city the day after Ash Wednesday, which they had spent in a suitably devotional manner, visiting a Benedictine abbey at Melk. There they were also shown a great collection of curiosities by the abbot, which would have been of great interest to them, since they had both become enthusiastic collectors during their travels. Pococke's first impressions of Vienna were not exactly positive (though he was complimentary about the Emperor's palace): he found the streets to be mere lanes, very narrow and dirty, and most inconvenient for walking, particularly with the great number of coaches. It took a couple of days for the cousins to settle in, as there was the usual business to conduct with their banker and they had to be introduced to members of the expatriate English community, especially the consular officials charged with looking after their interests during their stay. As was the case in many of the centres they visited on their travels, they were very well received by the British and other foreign dignitaries in Vienna, some of whom became immediate friends.

[12] Hall 1861/2003: 167, n. 3.
[13] See Finnegan, 2015: 12-13.
[14] Vienna, 12th to 23rd March 1737, BL: Add MS 19939, Letter 31.

Pococke records with great regularity their visits to churches, important buildings and parks by day, and dining out with friends or relaxing in coffee houses by night. However, the most interesting passages in the correspondence are those describing members of the Habsburg family whom they saw in the city – the Holy Roman Emperor, Charles VI, the Empress, Elisabeth Christine, and the various archdukes and archduchesses. They first saw the family at the Emperor's Chapel, on 3rd/14th March, and both described the Emperor in detail. Pococke noted that he was: '... a very devout Prince, goes plain & generally in black, with a cloak down to the ground; looks older than he is, wears a full bottom'd dark wig: is always cover'd [wears a wig] in his palace except when in the Empresses apartments.'[15]

Milles, in a letter to his uncle, further described him as: '... of a middling bulk and stature; his visage is long and somewhat tanned, his eyes full and bloodshot, and his under lip large, as are those of all the rest of his family. His look is generally grave, and sedate, especially when he appears in publick ... [He] dresses after the Spanish manner, his common habit is a black jacket with ribbons at the sleeves a short furbelowed cloak ... But when he is in deep mourning ... he then wears a long cloak; and a black sort of a Petticoat [which] buttons about his hips, and reaches almost down to his shoes. On the days of Gala... he is dressed in gold or silver Brocade laced with broad open gold or silver lace, and 'has a large plume of red feathers in his hat but the form of his dress is the same as what he ordinarily wears'.[16]

Three days later, on 6th/17th March, Pococke wrote to his mother about their return to the Imperial court, where they watched the Habsburg family at their private supper, having applied for admission in the morning. His detailed description of the elaborate proceedings, which illustrates his attention to detail, as well as his narrative style, is as follows (square brackets are my insertions): '... some persons kiss'd their hands as they came in on their knees. The Dutchess of Lorrain [Maria Theresa] gave the napkin to the Emperor to wipe after water was pour'd on them by another, & I think the 2d Archdutchess [did] the same to the Empress. The Emperors sister went next to the 2d Archdutchess, sat at an oblong square table, the Emperor & Empress at the upper Long side, Prince Charles of Lorrain opposite to the Emperor, the two young Archdutchesses at the End on the right & the Emperors sister & Duke of Lorrain [Francis Stephen] at the End on the left. The Emperor has a good Fatherlike look, the Empress a fine majestick countenance, but fat. The two sisters are alike, the taller & most beautifull [Maria Theresa]... does not look as if she had had a child, but 20 years old. The Duke of Lorrain has a fine good look [&] is mighty easy in his behaviour. Prince Charles is so likewise, & has a very sensible countenance. The glass & cruits of wine & water

[15] Finnegan 2012: 158.

[16] Vienna, 13th/24th April 1737, BL: Add. 15774. See Finnegan 2012: 158, n. 267.

are not held on a salver but taken from the salver & put into their hands, & they kiss the salver after they have given it, being the Empresses table, Ladies waited; a Baron that's a dwarf & sort of buffoon stood by, & the Emperor & Emperess talk'd to him, the Emperor talk'd also to the Dutchess of Lorrain, & to the nobility behind him. Soon after the desert came on, Prince Charles who is 25 rise [rose] up & stood behind the Emperor, & a napkin being given to each of them, they by a throw spread them before the Emperor & Empress to wipe after washing, & retir'd. Grace being said by the chaplain all went off, the Empress & Archdutchesses going round to the Ladies hear [here] & give them their hands to kiss. The Duke is 30... When the Emperor dines in publick only the Empress & Dutchess of Lorrain dine with him. When the Emperor dines in private as before mention'd the nobility wait & carry in the dishes, dress'd in Jackets short cloaks & full bottom'd wigs & without that dress none can Enter into the privy council nor wait on the Emperor.'[17]

Milles described the Empress to his uncle as: '... one of the most majestick persons I ever beheld; she is tall, and plump, has an equal measure of majesty, and sweetness in her look. Her Graciousness and Affability gain the hearts of everybody: as well those of strangers as of her own subjects. She is magnificently Generous, and charitable; and seems to have the utmost regard and tenderness for the Emperour.'[18]

Also, according to Milles' account: 'The Duchess of Lorrain, and her sister the second Archduchess might pass for beautys even if they had not been Princesses. The Duchess is exceedingly fair and rather resembles the Empress. The Archduchess is brown, and has something of the features of the Emperour: the former is twenty, and the latter nineteen years old.'[19]

Pococke and Milles were equally interested in the royal residences and on 7th/18th March visited the Emperor's menagerie, where they saw all sorts of curious beasts, including uri (a type of wild ox), Egyptian cows, wild cats, and rams with central horns. They also went to Kaiserebersdorf, where they saw the imperial hunting palace (Schloss Neugebäude), with which they were very impressed.

One of the more intellectual highlights of their stay in Vienna was their meeting and subsequent friendship with Dr Carelli, physician and librarian to the Emperor, to whom they had been given a letter of recommendation by Professor Clodius of Leipzig.[20] On the first day they met, Carelli showed them some medals and antiquities (it is not clear whether these were his own or the Emperor's) and on the third day he gave them a guided tour of the Emperor's library. This had been newly built and included the recent acquisition of Prince Eugene's library.

[17] Finnegan 2012: 159-160.

[18] Vienna, 13th/24th April 1737, BL: Add MS 15774. See Finnegan 2012: 159, n. 275.

[19] Vienna, 13th/24th April 1737, BLL: Add MS 15774. See Finnegan 2012: 159-160, n. 276.

[20] Johann Christian Clodius was the first Professor of Arabic Language at Leipzig University and the cousins had met him during their stay in that city.

Among other items, they were shown a Septuagint that was 1300 years old and the original subscription of the bishops at the third Council of Constantinople, written on the bark of a tree.

Ecclesiastical highlights of their first month in Vienna included a funeral ceremony (the vigil of the *exequies*) held for the late Bishop of Augsberg,[21] for whom the whole court was in mourning (he was a brother of the Emperor's mother) and a high mass the next day for the same bishop, which the cousins attended to hear the music.

Letter 2, 29th March/9th April, 1737

In this letter,[22] Pococke picked up where he had left off, and gave a more detailed description of the funeral ceremony, with the *castrum doloris* in the church, consisting of eight composite pillars supported by a canopy and eight statues, in honour of the Emperor's aunt. Such an edifice would have been unfamiliar to his mother, who had come from a very low Protestant church tradition (her father was a rector, as were her husband and three brothers, including Bishop Milles). He also described the social circle in which he and his cousin mixed in Vienna and noted that the typical cuisine was based largely on bacon, vegetables and stewed fruit, with large quantities of wine. In contrast with this city, with which he was not very impressed, the suburbs, in his view, were more pleasant, with wide streets and noble buildings.

On 13th/24th March, the cousins returned to the court at 8.00 pm, to watch the Imperial family dine at a public event. Pococke's description of their clothes is typical of his manner of writing – partly to amuse his mother and partly reflecting his obvious interest in fashion: '... the Emperor very chearfull, his dress is a close button'd garment which buttons close round & down to the bottom of the venter [stomach], then a sort of full gather'd skirt like a petticoat to a waste band all which appears & hangs down to the heels which is a very odd dress; over all a long Cloak to the ground; this is the mourning dress, at other times he wears a short cloak. On rejoycing daies he's dress'd very fine in Gold & silver & ribbands which is very rare with a cloak too; on other less solemn occasions he has appear'd in a brown suit without a cloak, but this black short habit is his common dress at all times ... All the Ladies dress after the Spanish manner, Empress & Archdutchcesses not excepted; all the servants are in Cloaks, the pages in short wais coats, & a bundle of ribands round their tails, & a bunch of ribbands on the outside of their knees; & on some occasions some of em wear cloaks, the livery being a black brown lac'd with yellow & brown woven lace.'[23]

[21] Alexander Sigmund am Rhein zu Neuburg, the maternal uncle of the Emperor (the Emperor's mother was the late bishop's sister).
[22] Vienna, 29th March/9th April 1737, BLL: Add MS 19939, Letter 32.
[23] Finnegan 2012: 165-166.

The next day, they watched the Emperor and his family go to the Jesuits' church and Pococke gave a fascinating account of the procession: 'The Emperors & Archdutchesses Coaches red leather, Glass all round even behind, plain otherwise, narrow – but long in a particular shape, being all in right lines like a dye in shape [diagram], no coach box, the coachman riding on the left wheel horse, red harness laded [decorated] with brass buckles, the Emperors Coachman & postilian [postilion] only had feathers in their Caps, yellow white & black; five black Coaches follow'd, six horses only in any, with the Ladies; the Emperor & Empress in one coach the latter riding backward, 2 Archdutchesses in another; the yeomen of the Gaurds preceded two & two then the Great officers 2 & 2 before em on foot, & when they go to the Cathedral they ride, that is the great officers. The Emperor wears the above dress only ... on state daies in Gala as they call it, tis black velvet cover'd with Gold & silver lace & colour'd ribband. The younger Archdutchess has black eyes, the Dutchess of Lorrain Grey, but neither so handsom as I thought thovery well, & [the] Dutchess is indeed a fine woman, all sharp eyes in observing strangers.'[24]

It appears that the cousins spent much of their time viewing the Habsburg family, although they did visit the Emperor's library most days, where books of their choice were left out for them to read (which shows the great esteem and trust in which they were held), as well as the bookshops and the coffee house. On 15th/26th March, they returned to the court, where the birthday of the Emperor's sister, Maria Magdalena, was being celebrated, and from which we learn more from Pococke about the sartorial taste and etiquette of the ruling family: 'The Ladies all in Jewels but in mourning, the Emperor dress'd a la Francois with a tye wig, black velvet I think it was & Diamond buttons, very chearfull, at coming in went & talk'd to some of the nobility, & after supper before rising talk'd much to the Duke of Lorrain as he stood behind his chair. The Emperors sister gave the napkin to the Empress. All Ladies must dress in the Spanish mode. The Princess Lebowitz & her daughter there. The sister whose day it was quite plain as usual.'[25]

The next day, they went to the court again, to the Dowager Empress's Chapel, where they saw the Empress, whom Pococke described as: 'a very fine Lady of 63 [with a double chin],[26] has something of the face of K. George 1st being his

[24] Finnegan 2012: 166-167.

[25] Finnegan 2012: 167.

[26] Square brackets here indicate passages scored out of the copy but included in the original manuscript. It is not clear whether such edits were done by Milles, who inherited (otherwise appropriated the manuscripts on his cousin's death) or by Pococke himself. At any rate, they are quite common in the sources and occur wherever the author has made an indiscreet remark about a member of his family, a colleague, or his own financial and church business affairs. It also applies, as here, to his unflattering comments about the Imperial family.

father's brothers daughter'.[27] He also gave a description of the Hungarian horse and foot soldiers (Hussars and Heydukes) who attended the Emperor in his role as King of Hungary, and commented on their tight-fitting suits. The following day, the cousins witnessed an elaborate ceremony in the court, at which the two ambassadors of the Elector of Trèves (Kurfürstentum Trier, in German) received the investiture of the Bishopric of Worms, and the Provostship of Elwangen, on behalf of their master. The Emperor officiated at the ceremony, while the Empress observed from behind a screen, and the event was followed by a banquet of ten 'dishes' (courses), around half of which were 'fowls', with its own particular style of etiquette regarding ablutions.

The cousins made excursions to Laxenburg – the palace at which the Emperor stayed for a month each year, during the hawking season – the islands of the Danube, and Prince Eugene's Palace. The latter was described by Pococke as: '... a hall with his battles, rooms hung with scarlet velvet, carv'd gilt cornishes [cornices], bed chamber with pilasters chairs & one side of the bed green velvet embroider'd with gold, & history peices in silk. A fine Library of three rooms, all the books gilt most of em red leather, the famous M.S.S. of Peutengers Geographical tables[28] here made in the Emperor Theodosius's time.'[29]

On a more personal level, Pococke joked that although he was healthy, he had grown rather fat, and admitted that they had been forced to change (or dismiss) their valet, who was a drunkard and disobedient! As with the first month of their stay in Vienna, they spent a lot of time in the library and in coffee houses, occasionally going to musical recitals, such as an oratorio performed at the Emperor's Chapel, by Apostolo Zeno (1669-1750), a Venetian of Cretan descent, who was a librettist as well as a literary journalist. He had been Poet Laureate to the Imperial Court of Vienna in 1718, where he remained until 1729. Likewise, they attended a concert at the Jesuits, also by the Empress.

On 28th March/8th April, the cousins went to see a military dressage show (or carousel) at the 'Academy for the young Gentlemen of Lower Austria', which was a splendid affair. The performance was described thus by Pococke: '... twas in their riding house, about 14 Gentlemen on horses finely accoutred; 1st parraded [sic] round & made their salutes to the Ladies, then the Exercise began; they ride in a Gallop round the house in their turns, the first time they with a spear take off a head in full career, put up about 8 feet high made of thick paper, then riding on, fire a pistol charg'd with pellets at another head, the next time going round they throw a dart at another head, & going on draw their sword, & take up a head

[27] Finnegan 2012: 167.
[28] A copy of a late 4th- or early 5th-century map of the roads in the Roman Empire named after the German humanist Conrad Peutinger (1465-1547) and published in 1591.
[29] Finnegan 2012: 169-170.

on the point of it which is but a foot from the ground all in full Gallop. It lasted about two hours & was perform'd by the nobility, the director of the Academy 80 years old perform'd better than any of them, & it was a very fine sight.'[30]

Pococke and Milles saw a number of interesting and grizzly objects at the arsenal, such as the head of a pasha, the skull of Merzifonlu Kara Mustafa Pasha, and the cord with which he had been strangled, together with several other artefacts from the siege. Finally, on the last day recorded in this letter, they visited the Emperor's large galleries of fine paintings. The fortnight recorded was, therefore, very full and eventful, and though some day trips were made, and some studying and reading done, their observations on the rituals of Imperial family were uppermost in their thoughts.

Letter 3, 20th April/1st May 1737

The three weeks documented in this last letter from Austria[31] began on a negative note, when the 'shrew of a Landlady' turned Pococke and Milles out of their lodgings, having found more convenient tenants. They therefore had to pack up and find new accommodation. The next day (31st March/11th April), they set out on a week's excursion in which they travelled around Austria and into parts of Hungary. They visited several ancient Roman sites, including Scarbantia[32] and Carnuntum,[33] and occupied themselves by copying out Roman inscriptions, sketching the ruins, and looking for ancient coins and medals. In a letter to the bishop, Milles included a very respectable drawing of the Arch of Petronel,[34] which Pococke mentioned to his mother, as follows: '... went to see the Arch of Petronel thought by some to have been erected by Tiberius; tis much ruin'd but was a very grand thing; your nephew [desires me not to fail to tell you that he very ingeniously][35] took a draught of it'.[36] An improved version of this sketch then appeared in Pococke's book as an engraved plate (see Figure 1);[37] and when later editing his own manuscript letters,

[30] Finnegan 2012: 172.
[31] Vienna, 20th April/1st May 1737, BLL: Add MS 19939, Letter 33.
[32] Modern Sopron, a Hungarian city on the Austrian border.
[33] Modern Petronell-Carnuntum, in Bezirk Bruck an der Leitha, Lower Austria.
[34] Raab [Győr], 26th April/7th May, 1737, BLL: Add MS 15744. This sketch is reproduced in Finnegan 2012, as Plate 1: 178.
[35] The square brackets here suggest a sarcastic comment about Milles, possibly indicating a deterioration in the relations between the cousins.
[36] Finnegan 2012: 177.
[37] Pococke 1745, Part II, Plate 100.

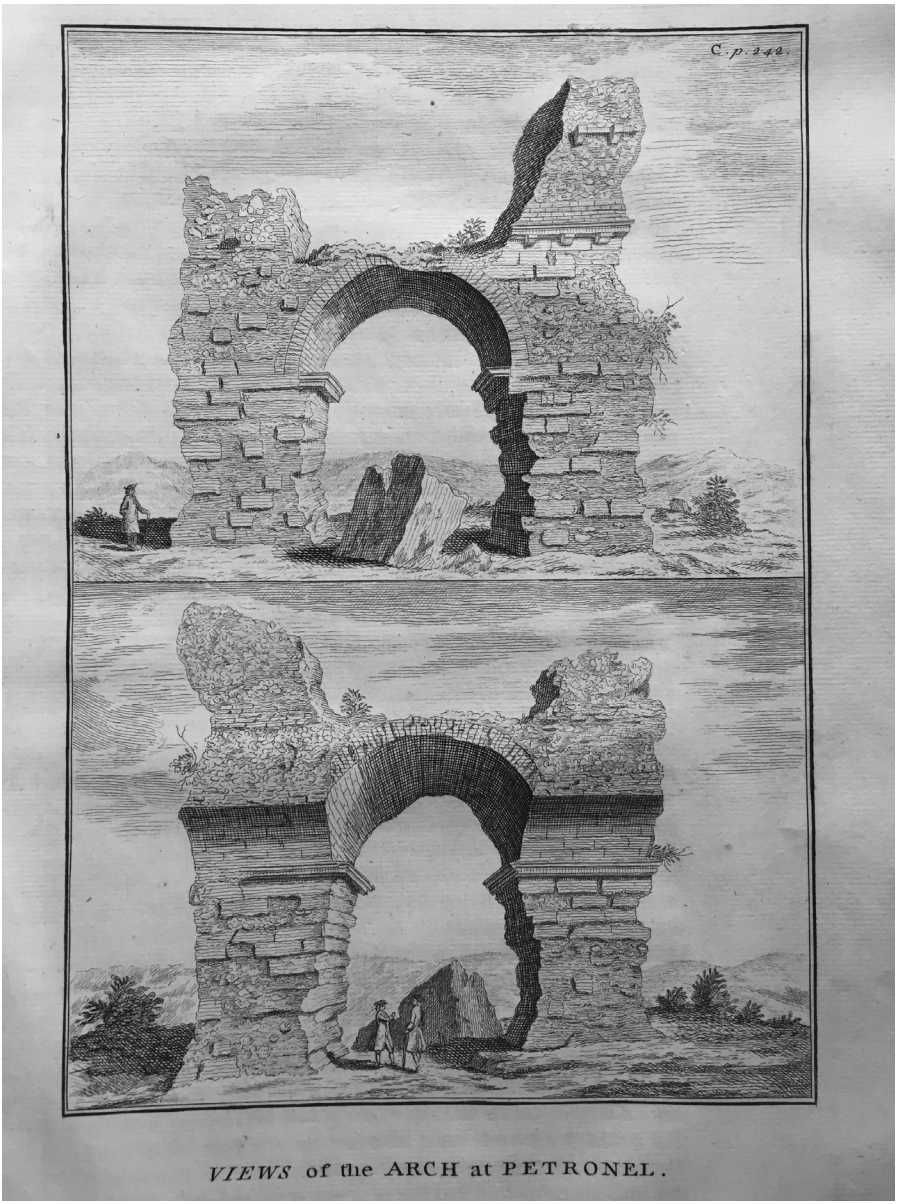


Figure 1. Engraving of 'Views of the Arch at Petronel', from R. Pococke, *A Description of the East and Some Other Countries* (London, 1745), Volume II, Part II, Plate 100, appearing opposite a brief description of the antiquity.

Milles inserted a copy of the engraving next to his own sketch, adding: 'This Print was taken from my original Drawing made upon the spot'.[38]

The cousins also viewed and experienced the natural curiosities of the region, such as the hot springs and baths at Mannersdorf; visited Debrecen, famous for its manufacture of tobacco and snuff; and admired the wonderful costumes of the Hungarian folk. On their return to Vienna, 16th/29th April – despite all the interesting things they had done on their week's trip – Pococke confessed to his mother that he was sorry to have: '... miss'd two sights when we were out of town, one, to see the Emperor walk above an English mile to Hernols where there is a mount Calvary, & back again, boards are laid all the way; the other was yesterday when the Emperor wash'd the feet of twelve poor men & the Empress of same [12] poor women all cloth'd by em & then the Emperor waited on them at table & the Empress on the women, they were serv'd with great variety, a plate to each person & what they did not care to eat they put into a vessel behind 'em which was carried to their house with the plates & everything but the linnen; the great waiters stand at one end of the table behind one of the poor & every dish being put into their hands that is serv'd to that person they put it on the table; they were all cloth'd of new & their feet visited & wash'd very clean. The nobility were about the Emperor at the same time & the same ceremony was perform'd by the Dowager Empress in her apartment to 12 women.'[39]

For the next few days, they witnessed the Easter festivities, which Pococke assiduously described to his mother. He noted, for example, the altars 'dressed up scene wise to represent our Saviours sufferings'; the practice on Good Friday of groups of people doing penance and visiting all the churches 'with bare leggs & heavy chains on em carrying a heavy Cross with their faces cover'd so as not to be known'; the nobility going around on foot; and the Emperor washing the feet of the poor, when serving them.[40] Again, such proceedings would have been totally unfamiliar to his mother, who would have been fascinated with her son's elaborate account.

On Easter Day, they watched the Imperial family go to the cathedral from the window of their lodgings and later went to the court, where the assembly had temporarily come out of mourning for the Dowager Empress's birthday. This spectacle presented Pococke with an opportunity to describe the apparel of the Emperor and Empress – by now a favourite subject of his. This is worth reproducing in full, as it illustrates the richness of their appearance and the author's great attention to detail: 'The Emperor was dress'd in cherry colour & silver brocade, lac'd with thin silver lace; the dress is a short Jacket a cloak over with a lace round

[38] See Finnegan 2012: 177-179, where both the sketch and the engraving are reproduced as Plates 1-2.
[39] Finnegan 2012: 180.
[40] Finnegan 2012: 180.

the shoulders about 8 inches deep & two more towards the bottom of the same depth, the Jacket has sleeves like a coat & on each sleeve is a long knot of brocaded ribbands & so likewise on the shoes which have red heels & ribbands I beleive round the waste [waist]; under the Jacket, a great red feather all round the hat, hanging over it except before [at the front]; the Chamberlains dress'd in same manner only theirs black damask & black lace, but brocaded ribbands on the sleeves, & under the Jacket. The Empress dress'd in a gold brocade many diamonds in her head about her neck, stomacher & bracelets towards the shoulders, the Ladies of honour in brocades. The Emperors Cloak turn'd a litle back which part also was lac'd, & fine diamonds above the Golden fleece.'[41]

Pococke also described the ritual of the Emperor and Empress dining in public (in the middle of the day), followed by a similar event in the evening, when the Imperial family had supper. However, as usual, his description of their clothing was more vivid than that of the occasion itself. Of the evening meal, he observed: '... not many at Court but very finely dress'd all embroidery almost. Prince Charles of Lorrain had on a peach colour'd or very pale purple silk or velvet [very thickly][42] flower'd with Gold, & embroider'd too almost all over with Gold, turn'd up with brocade embroider'd half down the sleeve, & a brocade wais coat; the Dutchess of Lorrain & her sister were not there.'[43]

Two days later, they visited the Prince of Leichtenstein's palace (no description given) and the next day walked to the Carthusian monastery at Mauerbach, whose members all had trades, including bookbinding and clockmaking. Pococke gave a brief description of their idyllic life, stating: '... it seems to be a most heavenly life if they are contented & [love one another]'.[44] Over the course of the next week, they did a variety of things, apart from their daily trips to the library and the coffee house. For example, they went to see the mathematical curiosities at the Jesuits College; paid a visit to Baron Fisher the Emperor's architect; went to see 'Mr Maittim a very ingenious worthy man, a Swede, & painter to the Emperor' (probably Martin van Meytens); went to see some flat-bottomed ships being built, to go on the Danube; visited court for a final time; and three times visited Der Prater – 'the Isle where the company go in their coaches, a most pleasant place being an avenue wood meadows on the river &c which is most agreeable'.[45] On their penultimate day in Vienna, they visited the banker, presumably to finalise their affairs before moving and continuing their journey to Hungary, and on their last, they 'Staid within to write all day'.[46] The pair departed from Vienna on 21st April/2nd May 1737, and journeyed to Pressburg/Bratislava, the capital of Hungary, visiting, en route,

[41] Finnegan 2012: 181.
[42] Deleted from Mrs Pococke's copy.
[43] See Finnegan 2012: 182.
[44] Finnegan 2012: 183. Here, the words in brackets are insertions made by Mrs Pococke in her copy.
[45] See Finnegan 2012: 183-184.
[46] Finnegan 2012: 184.

Prince Eugene's Hunting house (Schloss Hof), which Pococke described to his mother in great detail in a letter from Buda.[47]

Conclusion

Thus, ended the cousins' nine-week sojourn in Austria, accounts of which were dominated more by the appearance, clothing, hairstyles and manners of the Imperial family than by the local people or sites. Sartorial taste was a matter of great personal interest to Pococke, particularly while he was abroad: not only do his letters provide a running commentary on his changing costumes, and the course of his beard,[48] but a famous product of his eastern voyage is his wonderful Liotard portrait in exotic Eastern dress.[49]

Curiously, while Pococke's later book contains brief descriptions of places outside the normal circuit of the Grand Tour, and Austria is mentioned in the printed Itinerary, it makes only a passing reference to Vienna ('I shall not attempt a description of Vienna').[50] However, it does give brief accounts of excursions made from this city, including the Roman sites at Petronell-Carnuntum. The correspondence, therefore, provides an essential and fascinating backdrop to Pococke's travels and should be read in conjunction with his book – not just in relation to the Continent, but also his eastern voyage.

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[47] Buda, 7th/18th May, 1737, BLL: Add MS 19939, Letter 34.

[48] See McCarthy 1996: 25-29.

[49] Jean-Etiènne Liotard, Le Musée d'Art et d'Histoire – Ville De Genève, Portrait de Richard Pococke, no inv. 1948-0022.

[50] Pococke 1745, Part II: 241.

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TERRYFYING UNREASON OR A MODEL OF TOLERATION? IMAGINING ISLAM IN FICTIONAL TRAVELOGUES OF VÁCLAV MATĚJ KRAMERIUS[1]

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Abstract: The study deals with Matěj Václav Kramerius (1753-1808), one of the first authors writing in modern Czech, and his reflections on Islam, both as a religion and civilisation. As will be explained, these were strongly based on negative stereotypes and defamatory rhetoric – Kramerius used them to persuade his readers which social practices to imitate and which ones to avoid. Kramerius occupied a central position in a network of intellectuals who tried to produce and spread literature and journalism, in Czech, in small towns of Bohemia and Moravia and in the countryside. Given the popularity of Kramerius's fictive travelogues, it seems obvious that they influenced ways in which members of an emerging Czech national movement related themselves to the 'Non-European Other', and created, by so doing, new cultural identities. The study analyses Kramerius's knowledge of the Qur'an, the life and normative teachings of Muhammad, as well as his stereotypical attitude to themes such as religious violence, a purported lack of rationality, superstition, and religious zealotry. We shall also focus on certain anti-Muslim rhetorical strategies that Kramerius used to appeal to the feelings of his readers.

Keywords: Islam, stereotype, hate speech, religious practice, Czech language, fictionality, Near East, Egypt, Holy Land, Muhgal Empire.

Matěj Václav Kramerius (1753-1808), known also as the 'first Czech journalist', played a crucial role in the literary life of the early Czech national movement, which started to establish itself as a mass social phenomenon after 1800. Despite the many researches done on Czech nationalism at that time (or its 'phase B', if we use Miroslav Hroch's terminology), it still seems valid to focus on literary representations and their power to produce discourses on 'us' and 'them'. Kramerius's portrayal of the 'Non-European Other' strongly influenced his idea of an emerging Czech national

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community, which he shared with his readers. As explained elsewhere, this idea was partly a biopolitical one;[2] Kramerius was drawn to issues like the health of the population and hygiene standards, which he compared to – rather stereotypical – knowledge of how non-European countries lived. Travel literature, especially, was a 'screen' for him, onto which he could project his notions of manners, values and political institutions, and circulate ideas about what it meant to be a good citizen; it influenced the ways in which readers related themselves to the 'Non-European Other' and created, by so doing, new cultural identities, including a national one. The main goal of this present study is to show that Kramerius's imagery of religion, and especially that of Islam, was a part of this story.

The 'first Czech journalist'

Earlier generations of Czech historians considered V.M. Kramerius to be one of the most important members of the founding 'revivalist' generation and an author who educated 'simple' people living in the countryside.[3] More recent research emphasised the fact that Kramerius became a crucial figure in a slowly expanding network of authors writing in Czech, that he organised a great amount of literary activity around 1800, and helped to establish a standardised form of the modern Czech language. Having finished his studies of philosophy at the University of Prague, he started publishing newspapers in Czech from 1789 onwards. He founded 'Czech Expedition' a year later, a publishing house and booksellers, in Prague's Old Town. This distributed his newspaper, translations, as well as original books by Czech authors from all over Bohemia and parts of Moravia. Kramerius undertook all the editorial activities intellectual for 'Czech Expedition' himself: he selected the texts to be translated from foreign languages into Czech, wrote forewords, undertook the typesetting and proof-reading, and saw to the delivery of books to readers all over Bohemia and parts of Moravia. Thus Kramerius converted the cultural investment of reading 'Czech books' into genuine commercial profit: the production and dissemination of Czech literature was primarily a matter of business for him.

[2] Storchová 2014; 2015.

[3] For an overview of previous research and Kramerius' detailed biography, see Storchova 2014: 158-161, as well as the entry for *Christian-Muslim Relations: A Bibliographical History 1500-1900*, mentioned in the previous footnote.

Kramerius's fictive travelogues

In addition to short moralising stories, 'Czech Expedition' published about 20 volumes of children's, travel and instructional literature, mostly dealing with household economy and agriculture.[4] Kramerius's fictive travelogues were bestsellers compared to his other books;[5] his goal was most likely to bring to his readers knowledge about as many continents as he could.[6] Several volumes appeared between 1802-4 describing regions in India and Africa (Egypt, the Holy Land and the Near East) and how the New World was discovered by Christopher Columbus.[7] Kramerius compiled them from German templates, i.e. the celebrated *Bibliothek der neuesten Reisebeschreibungen*, published in Weimar and Nuremberg.[8] Only three of his travelogues dealt in a more or less extensive way with Islam: *Auplné Wypsánj Egypta, genž ležj w třetím djlu swěta, Afryce; w němž se wypisuge wsse co gest pamětihodného a podiwného w té weliké zemi* (*A comprehensive description of Egypt on the Third Continent; in which everything is described that is memorable and remarkable in this large country*) of 1802; *Hystorycké Wypsánj welikého Mogolského cýsařstwj w druhém djlu swěta Azyi. Při čemž se mnozí rozličnj národowé, mrawowé, obyčegowé, zwyklosti, práwa a náboženstwj gegich, gakož i giné mnohé paměti hodné wěcy připomjnagj* (*A history of the large Mughal Empire in Asia, the Second Continent; In which many various nations, manners, customs, traditions, laws, their religion, as well as many other memorable things are mentioned*) of 1803, and *Cesta do Arabie, a do země swaté, ginak Palestyny; w kteréž se wssecka mjsta swatá, obywatelé, gegich powahy, mrawowé, občegowé, řádowé a náboženstwj gakož y giné mnohé paměti hodné wěcy wedlé uloženého pořádku wypisugj* (*A journey to Arabia and The Holy Land and Palestine; In which all holy sites, inhabitants, character, manners, customs, institutions and religions, as well as other memorable things are described*) of 1804.

They are all – as with the other late books by Kramerius – presented as fictive dialogues between a 'real Czech peasant', called Lipan, and a 'Messenger' (Posel), who comes every week from Prague and delivers the most recent issue of a newspaper.[9] This form enabled Kramerius to be flexible in style and include as many explanatory and moralising comments as possible.[10] After introductory small-talk, Posel describes particular regions and appeals to Czech readers in terms of which 'Non-European' practices to imitate and which to avoid. He tries to

[4] For a list of Kramerius' translations and own works, cf. Osvald 1943, 19-28; Novotný 1973: 190-219.
[5] Novotný 1973: 200.
[6] Novotný 1973: 199.
[7] For a list, see Storchová 2014: 153.
[8] Novotný 1973: 198.
[9] *Auplné Wypsánj Egypta* (1802): 52; Navrátilová 2005: 97.
[10] Storchová 2014: 152-158.

'cultivate' the 'common reader' by explaining the ideas of the 'most educated men in Prague'.[11] This approach can be illustrated in Kramerius' reflections on ancient and contemporary Egypt.[12] He considers ancient Egypt civilisation a model for modern European societies in almost every respect: ancient Egypt is said to be the place of technical innovation, rationality, social harmony, and an exemplary work ethic. In contrast, the present-day 'Land of the Nile' is in clear decline. The whole region is devasted, the local agriculture is in ruins, Arabs, the lazy and the enslaved, live in unbelievably poor conditions, and public administration is collapsing; this all gives the worst possible example to Czech readers. One can find similar interpretative patterns also in fictive travelogues describing other regions. In this context, the present paper seeks to address the following questions: How were Kramerius' reflections on the 'Non-Europen Other' related to discourses of religion and religious life? How did Kramerius reflect on Islam, both in terms of religion and civilisation? Did he develop any stereotypes about Islam, and which intellectual and ideological backgrounds did they refer to? What did Kramerius know about the Qur'an and the normative teachings of Muhammad? Was he interested in theological questions at all? What rhetorical strategies and vocabulary did he adopt to circulate his stereotypes on Islam? Finally, what role did Kramerius' portrayal of Islam have on his ideas about what it meant to be a good citizen and a proper member of the Czech national community?

Negative stereotypes on Islam

Already in his first travelogue, *A comprehensive description of Egypt* (1802), Kramerius offered his Czech readers a basic set of information on Islam, its history and teaching. The portrayal develops from the very beginning negative stereotypes and uses defamatory vocabulary. According to Kramerius, people living in the Near East had always been superstitious; this also explains why they mixed together – and by so doing also confused – various religions, as well as why the 'Mohammedan poison' spread from here to other parts of the world.[13] Kramerius paid (un) suprisingly little attention to the theological background of Islam, he related its teaching and religious practices rather to the negative personal character of individuals. Instead of going into further theological details, Kramerius made a rhetorical side-step – typical even in today's forms of hate speech – writing that he is not seeking to hurt religious feelings and the reverence of his readers by writing more about 'Muhammad's lies'.[14]

[11] *Hystorycké Wypsánj, kterak čtwrtý djl swěta, Ameryka od Kolumbusa wynalezena byla* (1803b): 5.
[12] Storchová 2014: 163-167; Navrátilová 2005.
[13] *Auplné Wypsánj Egypta* (1802): 62.
[14] *Cesta do Arabie, a do země swaté, ginak Palestyny* (1804): 104.

Muhammad allegedly travelled much as a canny merchant, choosing to found his own religion because he did not like the available alternatives.[15] Following his early modern literary models, Kramerius described Islam as a random and simplified mixture of several religions, above all Christianity and Judaism.[16] He even explained what parts of the new teaching – circumcision, belief in angels, resurrection, life after death, etc. – were adapted from where.[17] Kramerius developed an idea that can be found already in Late Medieval travel literature, that the new teaching was strongly influenced by the immoral character of Muhammad himself: above all his alleged mendacity and hunger for power. On the one hand he wanted to eradicate paganism and proclaim the existence of only one God, which was itself the right idea in the opinion of Kramerius, on the other, Muhammad 'seduced the simple and trustful people' of Arabia by dishonesty and making false miracles.[18] He declared himself a prophet in pursuit of his own personal advantage; this was also why he was able to persuade 'simple' Arabian people that he had met the Archangel Gabriel in person and had received message from him.[19] Muhammad's supporters believed his lies, but there were also many 'wise' people who rejected them from the very beginning, realising that Muhammad must be a 'madman'.[20] As explained elsewhere, the themes of *zdrawý Rozum* (= 'healthy reasoning' in Czech), 'unreason', and mental disorder, are all of paramount importance in the Kramerius' work.[21] Because of his alleged mental disorder, as Kramerius put it, Muhammad was obliged to flee and declare war on his own countrymen. Islam is said again to have split early into two branches, mainly because of the personal traits of Ali ibn Abi Talib, especially his pride and envy.[22]

As explained above, Kramerius himself used rhetoric as a strategy to set aside theological arguments. The lack of argument-based discussion, however, was one of his critical points against Islam in its first decades. Both Muhammad and the early caliphs persuaded people to become Muslims not by using arguments, but by violence: as Kramerius puts it, 'Everybody who wished to save his own life must confess that there was only one God, and Muhammad was his Prophet' ('a kdož před geho ukrutnostj swého žiwota zachrániti chtěl, musyl řjci, že gediný Bůh gest, a Mahomet geho prorok').[23]

[15] *Cesta do Arabie, a do země swaté, ginak Palestyny* (1804): 86.
[16] *Cesta do Arabie, a do země swaté, ginak Palestyny* (1804): 103.
[17] *Cesta do Arabie, a do země swaté, ginak Palestyny* (1804): 103.
[18] *Cesta do Arabie, a do země swaté, ginak Palestyny* (1804): 86-7.
[19] *Auplné Wypsánj Egypta* (1802): 171-2.
[20] *Auplné Wypsánj Egypta* (1802): 172-4.
[21] Storchová 2014; Storchová 2015.
[22] *Cesta do Arabie, a do země swaté, ginak Palestyny* (1804): 99-100.
[23] *Auplné Wypsánj Egypta* (1802): 174; *Cesta do Arabie, a do země swaté, ginak Palestyny* (1804): 88.

Muhammad appeared unexpectedly and turned everything upside down: he destroyed the existing social order without being able to create a new, well-functioning state. The new empire was based on violence and not on the art of government – 'Muslims destroyed the country and murdered its people, as long as there was nobody who would dare tell to Muhammad's face that he was a disgraceful and shameless liar, and that his new religion was nothing more than a mixture of paganism and the Jewish and Christian faiths' ('nepřestali od mordowánj a dáwenj lidu y ginak hubenj země tak dlauho, až newiděli člověka, kterýž by se byl opowážil Mahometowi do očj řjcy, že hanebný a nestydatý lhář gest, a že geho nowé náboženstwj nic giného nenj nežli směsyce z náboženstwj židowského, křesťanského a pohanského').[24] The early caliphs are described as tyrants, ruling by 'sword and fire', and unable to ensure social order and safety for the countries they conquered and thus soon lost the loyalty of their new subjects.[25] This also explains why the Muslim empire lasted only for a short time and why it collapsed so easily.[26] Rule based on violence is topical, as Kramerius puts it, right up to the present day.[27] The Ottoman and Mamluk rulers of Egypt continued the traits of the early caliphs, exploiting local Arabs, enslaving them, and devastating land and agriculture.

Kramerius does not see, however, religious violence as such as always something negative. As he explains in his *History of the large Mughal Empire* (1803), Islam is the only monotheistic religion in India. Since all forms of 'paganism' and 'polytheism' deserve to be eradicated, one has to appreciate the fight of Muslim Mughal emperors against all forms of local religious superstition. Mughal emperors commanded that all religious texts in Sanskrit should be destroyed,[28] together with 'disgusting' pagan temples and 'naked idols', which would, in Kramerius' opinion, be the best possible thing.

As far as religious practice of Islam is concerned, many Muslim rules and customs – i.e. regular prayers, devoutness, modesty, charity, etc.[29] – may appear good in Christian eyes, but Czech readers should not let themselves be deceived according to Kramerius. Muslims are said to be superficial, interested in 'external ceremonies', and do not strive for true virtue.[30] An even more important issue for Kramerius is what he sees as a lack of rationality and critical thinking in Islam, which has something to do with the low level of education among common believers. In general, Kramerius criticised all possible forms of religious zeal and

[24] *Cesta do Arabie, a do země swaté, ginak Palestyny* (1804): 98.
[25] *Auplné Wypsánj Egypta* (1802): 175; *Cesta do Arabie, a do země swaté, ginak Palestyny* (1804): 102.
[26] *Auplné Wypsánj Egypta* (1802): 176; *Cesta do Arabie, a do země swaté, ginak Palestyny* (1804): 101.
[27] *Auplné Wypsánj Egypta* (1802): 178-81.
[28] *Hystorycké Wypsánj welikého Mogolského cýsařstwj* (1803a): 107.
[29] *Cesta do Arabie, a do země swaté, ginak Palestyny* (1804): 103, 112.
[30] *Cesta do Arabie, a do země swaté, ginak Palestyny* (1804): 55.

superstition in his works.[31] His image of Islam is part of a more general idea that a true religion, including Christianity, must always be based on rationality. Kramerius criticised religious zeal, especially when it resulted in the poorer health of its believers. Some pilgrims to Mecca, for instance, are said to 'sing' verses from the Qur'an 'so ardently that they lose their strength and fall down and die' ('a mnozý s tak welikau horliwostj, až sýly pozbudau a padnauc při zpjwání dussi wypustj')[32]. Shiites harm themselves during their festivities of martyrs; they allegedly 'jump as if insane, wield sharp swords and cut their faces and arms so much that blood spurts' (skáčj gako ssjlenj, gjnj ssermugj s obnaženými kordy, a gesstě ginj twář a ruce sobě řežj, až krew z nich chlipj).[33] Kramerius also reflects on a telling example of zealotry and the abandonment of all reason, when Caliph Umar allowed the library of Alexandria, that source of light for the whole known world, to be razed to the ground.[34]

Muslims allegedly believe everything their leaders tell them, without using their own reason or questioning.[35] In the concluding part of *A comprehensive description of Egypt*, Kramerius describes the sacred place in Mecca, with its black Kaaba stone being brought there by the Archangel Gabriel, who is also believed to have mediated the Qur'an to Muhammad. Kramerius finds all these beliefs contradictory to reason and unscientific in terms of modern European science. As he puts it, 'stupid Mahometans do not ask, they just believe that the stone was brought from heaven, and other wise people, who could easily recognise and examine the stone, are not allowed to approach the building.' ('Hlaupj Mahometáni nic se na to neptagj, a gen zprosta wěřj, že gest z nebe přinessený; ginj ale maudřj lidé, kteří by geg snadně poznali, a zegména jmenowati mohli, ti se k tomu stawenj ani přibljžiti nesměgj.)[36] Furthermore, Muslims worship places that are related to the Prophet's life and family without having proof. They believe to know the exact location of the 'Garden of Eden',[37] or where important figures in both the Islamic and Biblical traditions – i.e. the prophets Zachariach and Job – are buried.[38] By criticising all forms of 'Muslim superstitions', Kramerius also described and rejected various beliefs of common Czech people (witchcraft for example).

[31] Storchová 2014: 167-174.
[32] *Cesta do Arabie, a do země swaté, ginak Palestyny* (1804): 141.
[33] *Hystorycké Wypsánj welikého Mogolského cýsařstwj* (1803a): 146.
[34] *Auplné Wypsánj Egypta* (1802): 201.
[35] Kramerius explains this, for instance, in the case of Arabian nomads living in the deserts, see *Cesta do Arabie, a do země swaté, ginak Palestyny* (1804): 159-160.
[36] *Auplné Wypsánj Egypta* (1802): 207.
[37] *Cesta do Arabie, a do země swaté, ginak Palestyny* (1804): 63.
[38] *Cesta do Arabie, a do země swaté, ginak Palestyny* (1804): 40.

Religious doctrines and practice present one of the main arenas in which both non-Europeans and uneducated Europeans should be 'brought to reason'.[39]

Finally, Kramerius considered all possible forms of monastic life irrational. He criticised monks, who, instead of 'working honestly', live off common people. Monastic communities – be they Brahmins, 'Dervishes', or catholic monks – should be persecuted, in a similar way to European tramps and beggars. Good rulers should give to their subjects a chance to work 'properly', in other words to do more 'useful' tasks than just praying and fasting. Kramerius is following here the arguments he summarised already at the beginning of his career – in a Czech version of *Das Buch Joseph* of 1784, which defended the administrative, social and religious reforms of the Emperor Joseph II.

Conclusion

As mentioned above, Kramerius' fictive travelogues reached most of the Czech reading public around 1800. His portrayal of Islam, which was strongly based on negative and defamatory rhetoric, influenced conceptual frameworks that were being shared among emerging Czech national movements. It became part of the period's social and political struggles and illustrates how long and complicated (and still under explored) the history of anti-Muslim hate speech is in central Europe. As the *History of the large Mughal empire* shows, Islam sometimes even acted as a primary interpretative pattern that helped Kramerius express what is 'different' in foreign cultures.[40] In his *Journey to Arabia*, Kramerius made the exposition of Islam a part of his story of how the Holy Land had been destroyed under Muslim rule. His view implied that Islam itself was a source of this cultural decline.[41] Even here this exposition had an auxiliary function. Kramerius referred in general to Islam in order to appeal to the patriotic feelings of his readers and to inculcate in their minds particular ideologies and universal social norms – he promoted, by doing so, a religious life based on rationality, work ethic, correct forms of public administration, care for the public health, and many other topics. By this approach, Islam does not have to be represented necessarily in negative terms. In the context of the Mughal empire, Kramerius appreciated how Muslims helped to eradicate what he refers to as local 'disgusting superstitions'. Violence

[39] *Hystorycké Wypsánj welikého Mogolského cýsařstwj* (1803a): 79.

[40] Kramerius often represented the everyday and religious life of Indian people by referring to that of Muslims. He compared, for instance, the clothes of Indian men and the veils of Indian women to those of Muslims, and the nomadic way of life of Indian people to that of Arabian nomads living in the Sinai desert, etc. See *Hystorycké Wypsánj welikého Mogolského cýsařstwj* (1803a): 44, 53, 56.

[41] *Cesta do Arabie, a do země swaté, ginak Palestyny* (1804): 198.

as such was not always seen as something negative, as Kramerius used to do in the context of Islamic expansion in the Near East. Kramerius also appreciated forms of meritocracy and the 'religious tolerance' of the Turks, which he explained as situations where rulers do not oppress religious groups, but care more about 'whether you behave properly and pay your taxes' ('Mahometáni gsau wůbec snássenliwj, a nemagj naprosto žádného ohledu, k gakému se kdo náboženstwj hlásj, gestli gen ginak řádně se chowá a swé daně wybýwá').[42] According to Kramerius, obedience to societal and economic norms is more important for the common wealth than religious homogeneity.

It seems clear that Kramerius used various rhetorical strategies to describe Islam in a way that suited his goals. We can end by looking at one of the more implicit of these, and which helped him transmit negative cultural stereotypes (which do not seem – from a modern perspective – to be directly linked to religious life) regarding Islam as a religion, and Muslims as its followers. Kramerius labelled different cultures as 'Islamic', and used this label in a nuanced way. By doing so he could criticise forms of behaviour as if they were common to all Muslims. Kramerius adopted a critical attitude to the lifestyle and cultural practices of Muslim communities (food, ceremonies, marital life, sexuality, etc.). He considered members of Muslim sects as indecent beggars, Arab nomads as dangerous robbers, and Mamluk and Ottoman rulers as tyrants; furthermore, he generalised 'Turkish' and 'Ottoman' traits – guile, greed, barbarity, treachery, and above all cruelty.[43] These stereotypes were attributed not to ethnic or social groups but to 'Muslims' in general, and they made it possible for him to present Islam as a universal 'screen', onto which he could project his views and help readers reflect upon 'European' manners, values, and political institutions.

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[42] *Cesta do Arabie, a do země swaté, ginak Palestyny* (1804): 19; *Hystorycké Wypsánj welikého Mogolského cýsařstwj* (1803a): 125. Some social infrastructures of the Ottoman empire, for instance hospitals, are open to all people regardless of their religion, too (*Cesta do Arabie, a do země swaté, ginak Palestyny* (1804): 62).

[43] *Cesta do Arabie, a do země swaté, ginak Palestyny* (1804): 13-18.

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EPIDEMICS BETWEEN EUROPE AND EGYPT IN A REDISCOVERED WORK OF GIUSEPPE NIZZOLI

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Abstract: During the first half of the 19th century, pandemics struck Europe and Africa. In this climate of uncertainty, European powers and Kingdoms, including the Austrian Empire, endeavoured to look for prevention and health advice to contain the disease. This paper presents how Giuseppe Nizzoli, Chancellor of the Austrian Consulate in Egypt, contributed to spread awareness on such an important topic by recalling his own experiences in Cairo and Alexandria. The discussion includes some extracts from a hitherto unknown work of the Chancellor, rediscovered by the authors during investigations for the Nizzoli Project.

Keywords: Giuseppe Nizzoli, European modern History, epidemics, *cholera morbus*, Egypt, Nizzoli Project.

At the beginning of the 19th century, *cholera morbus* epidemics, which heretofore were usually confined to East Asia, left an imprint on the European continent, which was experiencing a rapid process of urbanisation, with an increase of commercial relationships across different continents.

Such development and connections contributed to the transmission of the contamination, and especially to the escalation of ferment and fear. With this brief note, the authors would like to retrace the spread of the *cholera morbus* epidemic which advanced over Europe from 1829, and present the retrieval of a publication with which Nizzoli contributed to discussions on the spreading of that disease, then still unknown.

This infection, caused by bacteria and transmitted mainly by contaminated water, was well established in Asia, and particularly in areas characterised by poor

sanitation and meagre water supplies. The plague that affected Europe in the first half of the 19th century began in 1817 in India, where it existed for centuries.

The first case recorded in the European continent was in Russia, as early as 1829. In less than two years, it progressed rapidly across the Baltic and struck mainland Europe: starting from November 1830 in Poland, then into Prussia at the beginning of May 1831, and immediately after in Austria, Britain[1] and France during the next twelve months. The Italian cities and the rest of the Mediterranean were infected through commercial exchanges with southern France shortly after in 1832. In less than three years, cholera had conquered Europe and beyond, reaching northern Africa.

Such rapidity of spread at the beginning of the 1830s caused great distress among continental kingdoms and empires; consequently, this period witnessed the dissemination of tentative theories, studies, therapies, and dedicated pamphlets on the topic. However, only 20 years later would the origin of the illness be clarified, along with methods to prevent it.

The first to describe its manifestation was Pierre Sonnerat,[2] who encountered people affected by the illness during his travels across India, and published his observations in 1782.[3] It is interesting to highlight that the cholera bacillus was discovered for the first time almost a century after, in 1854,[4] during the pandemic's third strike (1841-1856), by the Italian anatomist Filippo Pacini, born in Pistoia in 1812. At that time the *morbus* had reached Tuscany, and Pacini performed autopsies on some victims. Examining their intestines, he was able to isolate the bacterium and name it 'Asian', distinguishing it from the *cholera nostras* mentioned for the first time by Hippocrates, and with similar symptoms. Despite his outcomes and publications, Pacini's studies went unnoticed and the community had to wait 25 years to receive clarifications about the disease.

However, previously, in the first half of the century, a climate of panic and concern arose among the population and initially it was unclear how effectively to combat the epidemic. Several governments did indeed act promptly with prevention strategies, and suggesting behavioural guidelines, with varying degrees of success. In Egypt, where cholera appeared in August 1831, the Khedive Muhammad Ali worked to adopt preventative measures, implementing the quarantine system that was in use in the rest of the Mediterranean, but with limited results: it is estimated

[1] 'In the course of the summer and autumn, the minds of all ranks and all men throughout Britain... turned with intense anxiety to the progress of cholera along the Baltic shores [...]' (*Edinburgh Medical and Surgical Journal* 1832: 214).

[2] Pierre Sonnerat (18 August 1748 - 31 March 1814), was a French explorer and naturalist.

[3] Sonnerat 1782: 114-116.

[4] Pacini 1854.

that thousands perished in just a few months.[5] The disease racked the country five times more in the next 70 years.[6]

Dissertations on the topic flourished in that period, and no remedy available at the time was discounted, with patients being prescribed laudanum, vinegar, alkaline mixture,[7] opium with calomel,[8] and wine.[9]

There were various recommendations for prevention advice: 'A writer in the National Gazette, who has thoroughly investigated the subject of Cholera, both of this country and India, says: 'To prevent the accession of Cholera, care must be taken to avoid every article of diet that may tend to create acidity in the stomach or bowels, such as unripe and acid fruits of all descriptions, turnips, radishes, etc. [...] All persons should live sparingly. And avoid any food in great quantity.'[10] The Board of Montreal went further: 'Cucumbers, Melons, and Radishes, and all green fruits, are decidedly injurious. [...] Bad cookery [...] is of evil tendency.'[11]

Among the various attempts to curb the spread of cholera, the action taken in Vienna was prompt and resolute. In Austria, cholera was immediately considered a contagious disease and the Empire resorted to practical methods, tested in the past during great epidemics. These were aimed at fighting the contagion, circulating official regulations across the Empire,[12] encouraging the adoption of 'precautions on account of the strong evidence of the contagious character of the disease',[13] quarantine lines, and other measures to restrain and check 'the propagation of the disease, in case it should manifest itself on the Austrian confines',[14] and the upgrading of health facilities.[15]

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[5] Echenberg 2011: 73-74.

[6] Egypt played an important role in the study of the bacterium, as the German Robert Koch (11 December 1843 - 27 May 1910), Nobel Prize winner in Physiology/Medicine in 1905 for discoveries in relation to tuberculosis, examined cholera victims, observing an extraordinary number of microorganisms; he then decided to travel to Calcutta where an epidemic was raging, and there he could combine his results collected in Egypt and confirm that the bacterium responsible for cholera was finally found. Koch's studies also showed the connection between cholera and contaminated drinking water, which made possible to avoid further infection and thus control the disease. See Koch 1884, 1887.

[7] [By a physician] 1832: 36.

[8] Jannelli 1838: 28.

[9] Jannelli 1838: 23. 'When we are apprehensive that the patient will become too much debilitated, we must have recourse to wine'. Boisseau 1832: 105.

[10] [By a physician] 1832: 21.

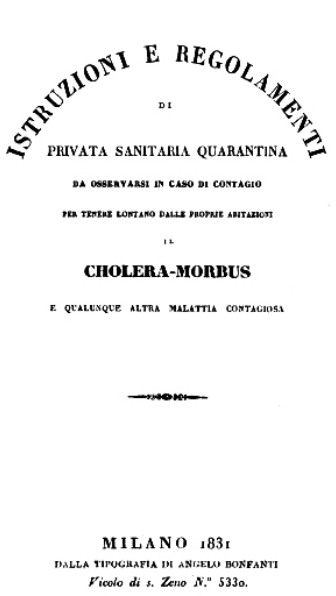
[11] [By a physician] 1832: 26.

[12] See, e.g., the case of Ceneda and Serravalle in Della Giustina, and Spada 2012.

[13] Hawkins 1831: 13.

[14] Hawkins 1831: 14.

[15] Visser 2011: 2.



ISTRUZIONI E REGOLAMENTI

DI

PRIVATA SANITARIA QUARANTINA

DA OSSERVARSI IN CASO DI CONTAGIO

PER TENERE LONTANO DALLE PROPRIE ABITAZIONI

IL

CHOLERA-MORBUS

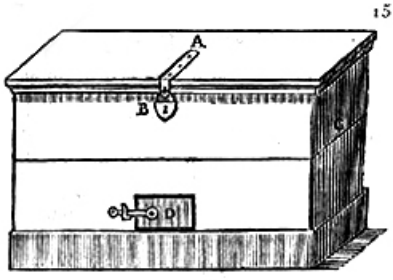
E QUALUNQUE ALTRA MALATTIA CONTAGIOSA

MILANO 1831

DALLA TIPOGRAFIA DI ANGELO BONFANTI

Vicolo di s. Zeno N.° 533o.

Figure 1. Frontispiece of Giuseppe Nizzoli's pamphlet on Cholera (courtesy of Biblioteca Civica di Monza).



A. Coperchio che si alza e si chiude mediante un piccolo cattenaccio se si vuole, onde non siano involate le carte, quando il Direttore non si trovasse presente al cancello, avanti che fossero profumate.

B. Luogo dove stanno le carte che vi si pongono per di sopra alzando il coperchio.

C. Gratella di ferro che divide il posto delle carte da quello del fuoco. Egli è per mezzo di questa gratella che le carte ricevono il fumo e si spurgano.

D. Finestrino o sportello entro cui si pone il vaso del fuoco con sopra le materie atte alla fumigazione, che si deve effettuare tenendo chiuso il coperchio, onde il fumo, salendo in alto e passando per la gratella che divide il posto delle carte da quello del fuoco, possa agire.

Figure 2. Giuseppe Nizzoli's drawing of a 'profumatoio' (courtesy of Biblioteca Civica di Monza).

In those years, Giuseppe Nizzoli,[16] who was previously Chancellor of the Austrian Empire in Cairo and Alexandria from 1818 to 1828,[17] was awaiting an official assignment in Milan after his time in Egypt; considering the fear of a possible epidemic, and after the health instructions published by the government in Vienna,[18] he decided to share his thoughts on the prevention of the disease.

While researching on the Nizzoli family,[19] the present authors found a letter in which the Chancellor mentions the publishing of a pamphlet 'about methods on how to keep cholera away from the home'. This was the only comment about the book itself, no title or details were provided. After research among numerous

[16] Giuseppe Nizzoli (1792-1858) also contributed, as a collector and dealer, several fine artefacts to the collections of Vienna, Florence, Bologna, and Pavia. See on this topic, e.g., Bresciani 1975; Mora 1980; Del Francia 1991; Satzinger 1991; Pernigotti 1994; Satzinger 1994; Pernigotti 2000; Picchi 2009; 2011; Rindi Nuzzolo 2014.

[17] On Giuseppe Nizzoli, see Daris 2005; 2009; Rindi Nuzzolo and Guidotti 2014; 2015.

[18] The program for epidemic control was published before the spread of the epidemic in 1830 and became exemplary for many of the German states.

[19] T Rindi Nuzzolo and Guidotti 2017; the Nizzoli Project started in 2008 and it is still ongoing.

publications on the epidemic of the 1830s, the authors were able to find a copy of the booklet in the Historical Collections of the Public Library in Monza, one of the few remaining copies today, and previously considered as anonymous.[20]

The pamphlet is not signed, but at the end there are the initials of the author (G.N.), and the text contains unequivocal clues to the life of Giuseppe Nizzoli and his family and personal history, which can only confirm that the text was written by the former Chancellor. In particular, the pamphlet contains information and events that match his wife's (Amalia Nizzoli) *Memorie sull'Egitto*.[21] Despite his own, as Nizzoli admits, 'very weak medical ideas', he decided to write about precautions against cholera based on his previous experience in Egypt, where he faced the plague twice: 'The long experience gained after a ten-year stay in the Levant, and particularly in Egypt, where more than once I saw the infectious plague rage, and primarily in Alexandria and Cairo, I found myself having the necessity to escape every kind of contact without affecting my numerous obligations as Consular Officer of His Majesty of this government... I found myself in the position of knowing the best ways to preserve myself and my family from the fatal effects of such a malignant disease. All of this gave me the idea of sharing this knowledge, persuading me that in a situation like the present one, in which the Cholera-morbus brutally rages in Europe, the public might find helpful that indicates the safest and most effective ways to avoid any sort of contact. This could be useful in helping to keep the spread of such a terrible disease away from private homes.'[22]

Most of Nizzoli's recommendations are aligned with the Austrian Government's provisions and instructions, with the cornerstone of avoiding contact:[23] 'Many wise measures and enlightened decisions have been taken by the excellent Prince, in the name of our most Illustrious Monarch the Emperor and King, of these States, as well as by the Imperial and Royal Government of Lombard... Every contagious disease spreads, as is well known, and is transmitted through contact... In Egypt, Europeans lock themselves inside their homes, cutting off every contact with the outside, to protect the household from the disease until the plague has ceased its killing. There is therefore no reason to believe that such methods would not be effective for us also.'[24]

Further, Nizzoli recommends the use of a cane or stick to avoid being touched by the clothes of those who might pass by when walking on the streets; and to keep in the pocket a tin box to receive items and letters without touching the object. This level of caution was widely adopted, with, e.g., agricultural products in Europe

[20] A forthcoming publication will include the pamphlet's full text and the related letters.
[21] Nizzoli 1841.
[22] Translation from Italian is here provided. Nizzoli 1831: 3-4.
[23] Including the isolation of the sick with the construction of quarantine centres ('lazarets') and other prevention measures.
[24] Nizzoli 1831: 3-4.4-5.

strictly controlled by municipal officials and '*Directors of Quarantine',* whose job it was to check for freshness and that the procedures had been observed. Likewise, each householder became, so to speak, a 'director' of family quarantine, and those under his or her charge had to follow their instructions diligently: 'The director of private quarantine must always keep... the key or keys to the gates, and he only can go when called to see to his business or interests. At the gate, the Director, sitting or standing, can speak, negotiate, and hand over provisions... without no one else involved. He must be the heart and soul of everything. For any items coming into the house... it will be necessary to examine these for quality and decide what is allowed to enter, what can be touched safely, and what must be submerged in water, exposed to the air, or fumigated before being touched.'[25]

It was a common belief that the healing power of purification and 'fumigations' of burning sulfur and other substances could prevent contagion, and, as already experimented with in Egypt during the plague, Nizzoli recommends the use of chlorine gas on clothing, objects, and even incoming letters. With his typical precision, the former Chancellor describes all the mandatory steps and precautions, and provides a sketch of a 'profumatoio', a wooden container that 'perfumes' the objects within: 'The director [...] will take the document from the person who signed it, and will put it in a so-called wood scent, that must also be found from the beginning of the forty steadily ready outside the gate. He will not remove it from the 'profumatoio', nor will the director touch it until after it has been perfumed with sulfur or other similar agents generally known to be effective for destroying the infectious miasm by fumigation: these materials must be thrown over the fire, which by hand in the hand that the need will require it, a pot of earth will be placed underneath the 'profumatoio'.[26]

However, despite all precautions, Vienna recorded around 2,200 cholera deaths from among its 330,000 inhabitants,[27] but, contextualising these figures, it is clear that cholera did not cause more deaths or discomfort than the other epidemics that had struck Europe in previous centuries (Figure 3). The real difference was in the social and psychological impact on the population who feared the epidemic or had to deal with the contagion. Certainly, the preventive measures taken by the governments, the doctor's experience and his ability of observation, and adherence to the extraordinary laws issued by the States in the face of the spread of the epidemic, were all able to contain the disease. It is understandable, of course, that this event deeply affected the population during this period.

[25] Nizzoli 1831: 3-4.7-8.
[26] Nizzoli 1831: 12-13.
[27] Dorsch 2011.

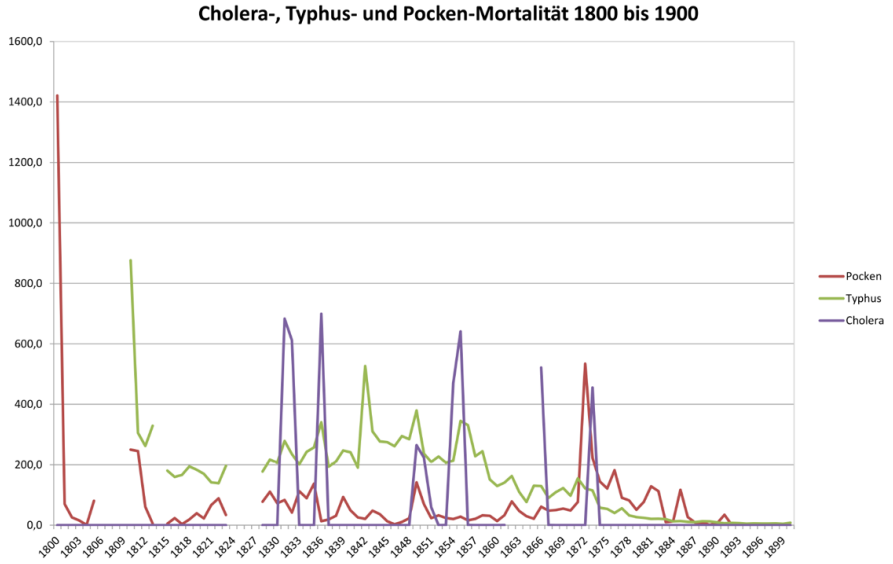


Figure 3. Impact of epidemics between 1800 and 1900 (courtesy of Municipal and Provincial Archives of Vienna).

Conclusions

Giuseppe Nizzoli was a merchant, collector, Chancellor, and then Consul of the Austrian Empire. In 1845, he published a book on Egypt,[28] putting his direct field-experience to work to debunk a theory on the function of the pyramids, which were believed to have been constructed to prevent the Nile from silting up.[29] A second edition was printed in Paris in 1858, just before his death in November, in Thessaloniki.[30]

Thanks to the rediscovery of this booklet about the cholera morbus, another aspect of this multifaceted personality is rediscovered: Nizzoli had no training in medicine, but his concern and attempts to prevent and control contagion are expressions of the period. He was a man of many interests, who, mindful of his experience in Egypt with plague epidemics, and inspired by those measures adopted directly by Vienna a few months before, felt a duty to act as a 'director of quarantine' in Milan and to share some means of behaviour and domestic

[28] Nizzoli 1845.
[29] On this, see Daris 2005: 12, 120, 142-143.
[30] Daris 2009: 355.

organisation to help survive the disease. *Istruzioni e Regolamenti di privata sanitaria quarantina* is his first publication, which remained unknown until today, on a theme closely related to him, and to protect a city, Milan, in which he had spent many years during his youth and with his family.[31]

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[31] Daris 2005: 16; Rindi Nuzzolo 2014; Rindi Nuzzolo and Guidotti 2014.

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JAKOV ŠAŠEL: THE ORIGINS OF HIS TRAVELOGUE

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Abstract: In this paper the author will present the context of the origins of the manuscript travelogue written in German in 1863 by the Carinthian-born gunsmith Jakov Šašel (German: Jakob Schaschel) under the title *Bilder aus dem Oriente aufgenommen während einer Reise nach Aegypten, Nubien, Sudan in Jahren 1853 und 1854* (Pictures from the Orient taken during a journey to Egypt, Nubia and Sudan in 1853 and 1854). In the summer of 1853, at the age of 21, Šašel joined the Catholic mission of Ignatio Knoblecher in Sudan. Apart from his family members, he wrote letters, accompanied with his drawings, in the name of his companions. His short stay in Africa made such a great impact on the young Šašel that he felt drawn to write this travelogue a decade later.

Keywords: Jakov Šašel, travelogue, Catholic mission, Egypt, Nubia, Sudan, letters.

Introduction: Who was Jakov Šašel (1832-1903)?

Jakov Šašel (German: Jakob Schaschel) was born on 25th July 1832 near Ferlach/Borovlje in Carinthia, the southern region of Austria and the centre of 19th-century gunsmith craftsmanship. He was born into a family of gunsmiths, as the eldest of the six sons. In his childhood the Šašels moved twice: first to Kranj in Slovenia, where Jakov completed four years of primary school between 1838 and 1842, then to Ljubljana.

Jakov learned his trade in his father's gunsmith workshop and after that undertook the compulsory journeymanship all over Austria to learn his trade and gain experience. Every apprentice in the Monarchy had to learn their trade for three or four years with different craftsmen, a year at each, to gain the skills and knowledge necessary to compete for the positions of master handicraftsmen.

In the summer of 1853 Šašel joined the Catholic mission of Ignatius Knoblecher (1819-1858) heading for Khartoum, Sudan. The group consisted of five priests:

Luka Jeran,[1] Jožef Lap,[2] Joseph Gostner,[3] Alois Haller[4] and Ignatz Kohl[5]. In addition there were the Viennese teacher Martin Ludvik Hansal[6] and seven Slovene craftsmen: gunsmith Jakov Šašel, the carpenters Franc Bališ and Lovrenc Pavlin, cooper Janez Klančnik,[7] shoemaker Jožef Kramar, wheelwright Martin Mikuž and farmer Jakob Kobilica, who was skilled in various crafts. The journey lasted four months and they crossed more than 4000 km. Poor travelling and living conditions in Africa led to severe physical weakness, indeed several became ill and even died. Šašel himself fell ill. As he wrote in his letter from Cairo on 27th September 1853, all developed scabies.[8] While in Khartoum the German doctor treated him unsuccessfully by phlebotomy and suggested he return to Europe.[9] His condition deteriorated further and he had to resort to crutches to embark;[10] he reached Europe in the first half of 1854. Jožef Lap, in the last sentence of his letter, written on 8th May 1854, said that Hruška and Šašel had already returned to Europe.[11]

After returning from Sudan, Šašel moved to Novo Mesto, Slovenia, where he opened a gunsmith workshop and became a drawing teacher at the Franciscan Gymnasium there. In the beginning of 1856 he married Ana, the sister of the local merchant, and amateur actor, Anton Kalčič. The next year they moved to Karlovac, Croatia, where he opened a gunsmith workshop and became a prominent citizen

[1] Luka Jeran (Javorje, 1818 - Ljubljana, 1896), a Slovene Roman Catholic missionary priest, poet, writer and editor. *Slovenska biografija* s.v. Jeran, Luka, papežev komornik (1818-1896) (https://www.slovenska-biografija.si/oseba/sbi255872/; accessed 20 Nov. 2018).

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[8] Šašelj 1927a: 3.

[9] Šašel 2003: 108.

[10] Šašel 2003: 112.

[11] Lap 1854d: 127.

– gunsmith, engraver, painter, illustrator, and designer of church furnishings. For his achievements in craftsmanship he was awarded several medals at different exhibitions throughout the Monarchy. He had six children – 2 sons (both priests) and 4 daughters. He died on 28th March 1903 and is buried in the Karlovac cemetery.[12]

Šašel's travelogue

In 1863, ten years after his journey, Šašel completed his manuscript in German *Bilder aus dem Oriente aufgenommen während einer Reise nach Aegypten, Nubien, Sudan in den Jahren 1853 und 1854.* (Pictures from the Orient Taken during a Journey to Egypt, Nubia and Sudan in 1853 and 1854). The book, bound in leather and with the title in gold letters, consists of a foreword and 143 paginated pages of text divided into four chapters. The book is illustrated with 34 of Šašel's drawings in gouache technique with captions underneath, including his self-portrait on the first page. A few chapters of the manuscript were serialised by local newspapers in 1884.

After Šašel's death the book was inherited by his elder son Jakov, a priest in the nearby village of Mahično. After his death in 1911, the book went to his other son, also a priest – Janko, who served in Maruševac, near Varaždin, Croatia. Just before his death in August 1926, he gave the book to his only niece and the granddaughter of Jakov Šašel Mariji Merle in Karlovac. It stayed in the family until the 1960s, when, with other possessions of Šašel, it was sold to the Karlovac City Museum, where the book is held today.[13] In 2003 it was published as a bilingual German and Croatian edition to mark the centenary of Šašel's death and the 150th anniversary of his journey to Africa.

The work is a valuable source for multi-disciplinary research, providing abundant historical, ethnological and anthropological material, as well as geographical data relating to the route of his journey. Moreover, it provides a different view of the nature of the Catholic missions under Ignatius Knoblecher, contrasting to accounts in the media at the time. For example, Šašel wrote letters in the names of his Carniolan companions showing the situation in brighter terms; these letters were published, while those to his parents, describing the real situation, were not.[14]

[12] Kočevar 2003: 163.
[13] Inventory number GMK-KP-460.
[14] Šašel 2003: 109-110.

Šašel's stories about his travel most likely influenced other future travellers from Karlovac to Africa, i.e. Napoelon Lukšić, Dragutin Lerman, Janko Mikić, and the brothers Mirko and Stevo Seljan.[15]

The travelogue and its contents

Šašel's book provides a detailed description of their journey starting in Ljubljana on 22nd August 1853, where a group of missionaries gathered to join the Catholic mission of Ignatius Knoblecher in Sudan. The group of missionaries consisted of five priests – Luka Jeran and Jožef Lap, Joseph Gostner, Alois Haller, and Ignatz Kohl. In addition, there were the Viennese teacher Martin Ludvik Hansal and six Slovene craftsmen besides Šašel (the carpenters Franc Bališ and Lovrenc Pavlin, cooper Janez Klančnik, shoemaker Jožef Kramar, wheelwright Martin Mikuž, and farmer Jakob Kobilica), who were all skilled in various crafts. On their way to Trieste they were divided into two groups, with four of the men, including Šašel, making a detour pilgrimage to Sveta Gora: on 25th August they reunited in Trieste.

Two days later they set off aboard the steamship *Calcutta*. After the voyage along the Adriatic, the Ionian and the Mediterranean Sea, chronicling short descriptions along the way of the cities and islands they passed by, they arrived in Alexandria on the morning of 1st September, where they were greeted by Knoblecher himself, introducing them to the chief of the Bari tribe, Moga, whose bright costume thrilled Šašel.

In his travel journal Šašel recorded sights and details of the areas they moved through. For example, in Alexandria, which to him had 'started to lose its Oriental look',[16] he describes the Church of St Catherine, the costumes of the locals, and the abundance of donkeys and their use.

They stayed in Alexandria for 17 days before moving up the Nile, after eight days reaching Cairo on the evening of 25th September, surviving a storm as well as the stranding of their ship.

On the journey to Cairo, Šašel describes the landscape and the poor villages. He was also fascinated by the reforms of Muhammad Ali, as seen in the new public buildings (schools, manufactures, stables, granaries). In Cairo they settled in the Franciscan monastery there for eight days. Šašel was delighted with this 'Paris of the Orient',[17] and described everything he saw in detail, from the nature and wildlife, houses, streets, crowds, harems, eunuchs, and the slave trade. Of course the great Biblical sights and monuments are recorded, included the famous pyramids at Giza.

[15] Further details about their lives can be found in Kočevar 2013: Afrika – Karlovčani u Africi u drugoj polovini 19. i početkom 20. stoljeća.
[16] Šašel 2003: 35.
[17] Šašel 2003: 42.

On 3rd October they set off by boat for Thebes, the voyage depending on favourable winds. Šašel was fascinated by the Nile, watching the Egyptian farmers growing their millet, beans, and watermelons. On their voyage they were, alarmingly, threatened by pirates. On the ninth day, around midnight, they reached the small village of Girga, staying there for three days and waiting for a large quantity of flatbread to be baked. While waiting they witnessed two boats full of Egyptian soldiers and chained pirates sailing by.

Their next stop was Thebes, staying among its ruins for several days and visiting the Ramesseum, the Colossi of Memnon, the Theban necropolis, the Temple of Medinet Habu, the tombs in the Valley of the Kings, and the temples at Karnak and Luxor. They left Thebes at the end of October for Aswan, arriving there two days later. The Philae temple was visited at the same time. At Aswan their luggage was loaded onto camels, while they took to donkeys. At Shellal they hired five smaller boats to continue their journey, reaching Kuruskū after five more days.

For the journey through the desert, their luggage was loaded onto a caravan of 500 camels, which moved slowly southwards, through the Nubian Desert, to Abū Hamad. Šašel describes the magnificence of the wild desert – waves of sand covering animal carcasses, mirages and resilient camel drivers, as well as the thrill of arriving on the banks of the Nile and joining in a crocodile hunt.

They continued with their camels along the Nile to Barbar, a large Sudanese town of some 8000 inhabitants (1853). Their luggage was here transferred to a comfortable and fast mission boat, the *Stella Matutina* (Morning Star) and they entertained themselves by shooting at hippopotami and celebrating Christmas with religious services and fireworks. They arrived at Khartoum on 28th December.

Khartoum was then the main city, with a population of 25,000. Šašel noted that the region was surrounded by fertile land, although the people to him seemed lazy, and they had to farm it manually. During his stay, Šašel described warfare ceremonies and local customs, the occupations of the locals, religions, marital customs, slave trade, prostitution, etc.

After several months of living very simply in mud-brick houses, and trying to cope with the tropical climate and temperatures that rose to 60° C, Šašel had to face the deaths of some of his companions as well as his own illness; Andrej Hruška, the gardener, decided to return and left with a group of French merchants from Alexandria, his return being surprisingly briefly described by Šašel.

The next leg of their journey took them again along the Nile, back to Barbar, then through the desert on camels to Abū Hamad and Kuruskū, where they hired a boat to Shelal; from there they took camels and donkeys to Aswan, before the boat to Cairo. They reached Cairo exhausted, sick, and hungry. Šašel recovered a little in the Franciscan monastery before making for Alexandria and his ship to Trieste.

His evocative descriptions – the journey, landscapes, people, customs – reveal Šašel as a well-read man with a good general knowledge of ancient history and its sources. These descriptions are illustrated with colourful and well-worked drawings of everything that fascinated and moved him: Moga, the chief of the Bari tribe, costumes and dress, towns and villages, monuments and pyramids, caravans through the desert, the Nile, animals, landscapes, the slave trade, etc.

Šašel's education and sensibilities

Although Šašel was a man of modest education, his work is full of historical detail, folk song, the verse of German speaking poets such as Ferdinand Freiligrath, Leopold Schefer, Nikolaus Lenau, and Anastasius Grün. He also includes the 'oriental' poetry of Victor Hugo, references to the philosopher Friedrich Schlegel and the painter Horace Vernet, and an awareness of the works of the pioneer Egyptologists Giovanni Battista Belzoni and John Gardner Wilkinson. He also demonstrates his knowledge of classical authors, such as Strabo and Herodotus.

The obvious question at this point is whether the 'Bilder' was indeed written by Šašel himself, and why did he wait a decade to write it?

We must take a deeper look at some of the periodicals of that time, especially *Zgodnja Danica*. This was a Slovene Roman Catholic weekly newspaper, published in Ljubljana between 1848/1849 and 1902. It supported Knoblecher's mission in Africa by writing positively about it, collecting money and gifts from its readers for the mission, as well as publishing the letters of the missionaries to its editor or to family members or friends who then passed them on for publishing. At the time of Šašel's journey – the second half of 1853 and 1854 – the editor of *Zgodnja Danica* was Andrej Zamejc, who remained the sole editor after the departure of Luka Jeran to Africa. In 1855 Zamjec and Jeran were co-editors again and from 1856 until his death in 1896 Jeran was sole editor.

During the period of Šašel's journey there were eleven letters by his companions published in *Zgodnja Danica*. Among them there were three letters by Luka Jeran, five by Jožef Lap, two by Joseph Gostner, and one by of Janez Klančnik. In terms of Šašel's several of these letters are important – the first two by Luka Jeran, the first four by Jožef Lap, and the letter by Janez Klančnik.

Author		**Place of writing**	**Date of writing**	**Date of receiving**	**Date of publishing**
Luka Jeran	1.	Alexandria	4 Sept. 1853	16 Sept. 1853	22 Sept. 1853
	2.	Cairo	30 Sept. 1853	12 Oct. 1853	20 Oct. 1853
	3.	Trieste	15 Dec. 1853	n/a	22 Dec. 1853
Jožef Lap	4.	Khartoum	30 Dec. 1853	n/a	2 Mar. 1854
	5.	Khartoum	15 Jan. 1854	n/a	23 Mar. 1854
	6.	Khartoum	10 Feb. 1854	n/a	18 May 1854
	7.	Khartoum	8 May 1854	n/a	27 July 1854
	8.	Khartoum	3 July 1854	n/a	21 Sept. 1854[18]
Joseph Gostner	9.	Khartoum	23 Feb. 1854	n/a	18 May 1854
	10.	Khartoum	1 May 1854	n/a	20 July 1854
Janez Klančnik	11.	Khartoum	n/a (but probably December 1853 or January 1854)	n/a	6 Apr. 1854

Table 1. The letters of Šašel's companions covering their travel and published in *Zgodnja Danica*.

As already mentioned, Šašel states in his book that the true picture of his experiences was given in his letters to his parents. The number of these letters is unknown, but two of them are in the holdings of the Karlovac City Museum.[19] Both were written in the 19th-century Slovenian language. The first is four pages long and was written in Cairo on 27th September 1853 and describes their stay in Alexandria, the voyage to Cairo and the city itself. The second is nine pages long, written in Khartoum on 10th January 1854, describing the journey from Cairo to Khartoum; two pages are missing – the journey from Cairo to Aswan. The letters were transliterated into modern Slovenian and published by Šašel's nephew,

[18] It does not coincide with Šašel's stay in Africa or his travelogue.
[19] Inventory numbers GMK-11988 and GMK-11989.

Ivan Šašelj,[20] in three issues of the Slovenian newspaper *Slovenec: političen list za slovenski narod*, entitled 'Dve zanimivi pismi nekdanjega spremljevalca misijonarja Knobleharja na njegovem misijonskem potu v Egipt, Nubijo in Sudan iz 1853. in 1854'.[21]

Through these letters (his to parents and his companions) one can follow Šašel's whole journey and compare it to the writings in the 'Bilder'. While Jeran's letters cover their departure from Ljubljana across the Adriatic, Ionian and the Mediterranean, their arrival at Alexandria and travels to Cairo, Lap's letters deal with the voyage from Cairo to Korusko, and the journey through the desert, from Korosko to Khartoum, which is also the subject of Klančnik's letter.

Comparing Šašel's work with Jeran's first two letters, as well as Šašel's first letter to his parents, it becomes clear that they coincide well with the first part of the travelogue,[22] while the letters by Lap and Klančnik, as well as Šašel's second letter, coincide with the second and the fourth parts of the book.[23]

For the sea voyage, one should compare only Jeran's first letter and the book, as Šašel's letter to his parents starts at Alexandria. Although there are slight discrepancies, mainly to do with arrival times or the passing by of some locations,[24] there are similarities and even striking coincidences. For example, both were impressed by the languages they heard spoken on Corfu – English, Greek, Italian and 'Illyrian'.[25] Certain events are described almost identically, often using the same expressions, as when a sailor lost his straw hat, i.e. Jeran: 'Več tovaršev je morsko bolest občutilo. Morje hoče tudi svoj davk imeti, ki ga veter pobira in odrajtuje; nekimu Prusu namreč je bil slamnik odnesel in v morje vergel: mornar se mu smeja, ko vidi de otožno za njim gleda, ali kmalo tudi njegov ferči za njim, potlej še ne drug, in poslednjič kapa našiga Jožeta Kramarja.'[26] While Šašel writes: 'Um die Abendstunden worden mehre von der Seekrankheit befallen. Das Meer will auch sein Opfer haben:

[20] Ivan Feliks Šašelj (Mokronog, 1859 – Šentlovrenc, 1944), a Slovenian Roman Catholic priest and writer. *Slovenska biografija* s.v. Šašelj, Ivan Feliks (1859-1944) (https://www.slovenska-biografija.si/oseba/sbi641102/; accessed 20.11.2018).

[21] Šašelj 1927a: 3-4 , 61: 3-4, 62: 4-5.

[22] The first part of Šašel's book has nine chapters – 'Laibach', 'In Triest und am Mittelmeere', 'Alexandria', 'Von Alexandrien bis Kairo', 'Kairo', 'Sclavenmarkt in Kairo', 'Kairo', 'Die Pyramiden', 'Eunuchen und Häuser der Mohamedaner'. Part 1 includes pages 28-55.

[23] The second part of the book has seven chapters – 'Von Kairo bis Theben', 'Die Ruinen von Theben', 'Assuan und Korosko', 'Die Wüste', 'Der Nil, die Nubier und die Krokodile', 'Berber', '*Stella Matutina* und die Nilpferde', 'In Chartum'. Part 2 includes pages 58-90. The fourth part has three chapters – 'In Chartum', 'Die Mission' and 'In die Heimat'. Part 4 includes pages 106-116.

[24] Jeran quotes the time they passed Poreč (Parenzo) as 6 pm, while Šašel says 7 pm. Jeran 1853a: 153; Šašel 2003: 30.

[25] Jeran 1853a: 154; Šašel 2003: 31.

[26] Jeran 1853a: 154.

einem Preußen entführte der Wind seinen Strohhut, ein Matrose lachte ihn aus, als er sah, wie traurig er dastand, - aber bald flog auch sein Hut dem andern nach.'[27] Although they enjoyed their voyage, they could not wait to land. Jeran again: 'Kakor prijetno se je bilo na parniku voziti, smo se bili vender vsi že naveličali, in želeli smo suhiga.[28] And Šašel: 'So angenehm es uns anfangs vorkam, auf dem Dampfer zu fahren, ebenso senten wir uns wieder festes Land zu erreichen.[29]

Šašel's description of Alexandria is more concise than Jeran's. Although they stayed there for 17 days, both mention that they had no time to see more of the city. Šašel: 'Die Zeit unseres Aufenthaltes lieβ mich von der einst so berühmten Stadt nicht viel sehen...[30] Jeran: 'Od mesta posebej ne morem kej pisati, sim v opravilih z našimi rečmi le malo zamogel vidjeti.'[31] However, Šašel is more descriptive in his letter to his parents, saying that the city was large but neglected and the people were rough and dangerous.[32]

They both mentioned their stay at the 'Hotel du Nord' and describe the church of St Catherine, the means of transportation (by donkey), and ways of dressing, but not in a similar way. A three-day Moslem celebration of Easter was described in Jeran's letter,[33] the book[34] and Šašel's letter.[35] More attention was paid to the description of the chief of the Baris – Moga. Jeran writes: 'Gosp. namestnik imajo nekiga zamurskiga poglavarja iz dežele Beri seboj, ki je okoli 25 let star in mu je ime Moga. Vse ljudje ga zijajo; je ves čern, rudeče oblečen in ves poln perstanov in oklepov, biserov in verižic po rokah, po nogah in po vratu. (...) Ima seboj stoliček, dobro ped visok in ravno toliko širok, na kteriga se usede, ko kam pride.'[36] 'Wir bewundertren ihn alle und konnten ihn nicht genug ansehen: er trug einen roten Rock, weiße kurze Hosen, statt der Kopfbedeckung bunte Straußfedern in die Haare gesteckt, Hände und Füße hatte er voll von Ringen und Glaskorallen, auch am Halse trug er sie; am linken Arme trug er an der Leine immer sienen Fußschemel, der ihm als Sessel und Kopfpolster zugleich diente. Zur Vertheidigung war er mit einem derben Stocke bewehrt. Ob er gleich jähzornig war, war sonst ein Charakter edel.'[37]

In his letter to his parents, Šašel mentions that he has painted Moga twice: one he did for Jeran and the other he sent to his parents.[38] The painting and the

[27] Šašel 2003: 32.
[28] Jeran 1853a: 154.
[29] Šašel 2003: 32.
[30] Šašel 2003: 33.
[31] Jeran 1853a: 155.
[32] Šašelj 1927a: 3.
[33] Jeran 1853b: 169.
[34] Šašel 2003: 35.
[35] Šašelj 1927a: 3.
[36] Jeran 1853a: 155.
[37] Šašel 2003: 33.
[38] Šašelj 1927a: 3.

description of his numerous items of jewelry help him to recreate Moga's character well in the book.[39]

The voyage to Cairo was described in more detail by Jeran. While Šašel paid attention to village houses and the landscape, Jeran, as a Roman Catholic priest, mused on Moslems and their faith. Both were deeply affected by the Nile storm, which caused the death of an Arab woman and her six-year-old child, and the stranding of their boat.[40]

Once in Cairo, Jeran does not share Šašel's fascination with the city. Šašel dedicates several chapters in his book to Cairo,[41] describing it as '(...) denn sie besiegt jeden, auch den trockensten Menschen mit ihren unendlichen Reizen, mit ihrem Leben, mit ihrem Sangenklang und Märchenduft'.[42] Unlike Šašel, Jeran was disgusted by the filth: 'Po ulicah, ki so z umazanimi otroci napolnjene, smerdi kakor kuga; čuda, de res kuga ne vstane'.[43] Surprisingly, Šašel's delight with Cairo in the book is not replicated in his letter home, writing 'the streets are very narrow and dark and smell awfully, we could hardly waited to leave'.[44] Both mention the mosque in Cairo that had been under construction for 25 years, with the well nearby a contribution from the Order of St Joseph. (Šašel says in his book that he descended '60 fathoms' into the deep well,[45] while there is no reference of this adventure in the letter.)[46]

Šašel pays great attention to the Pyramids in the book, the whole of chapter eight in the first part deals with their historical and technical data,[47] yet in the letter to his parents there is but one sentence.[48] As a Christian, Šašel was deeply moved by the evidence of the slave trade he saw in Alexandria and he writes to his parents about it.[49] He goes on to comment on it in detail in chapter six (part one of his book) – 'The Slave Market in Cairo'.[50]

[39] Šašelj 1927a: 4.
[40] Jeran 1853b: 170; Šašel 2003: 37; Šašelj 1927a: 4.
[41] 'Kairo', 'Sclavenmarkt in Kairo', 'Kairo, die Pyramiden', 'Eunuchen und Häuser der Mohamedaner'. Šašel 2003: 39-55.
[42] Šašel 2003: 39.
[43] Jeran 1853b: 170.
[44] Šašelj 1927a: 4.
[45] Šašel 2003: 42.
[46] Šašelj 1927b: 3.
[47] Šašel 2003: 49-53.
[48] Šašelj 1927a: 4.
[49] Šašelj 1927a: 4.
[50] Šašel 2003: 47-48.

The return of Luka Jeran to Europe was the subject of Jeran's third letter from Trieste,[51] as well as Šašel's letter to his parents,[52] and the event is also covered in the book.[53]

All the craftsmen were deeply attached to Jeran, who used to teach them Italian and Arabic. So were his fellow priests, and thus his departure was recorded in Jožef Lap's first letter, addressed to 'Visokočastiti gospod Rihar!'.[54] Unlike Jeran's letters, all of Lap's were written and sent from the same place (Khartoum), even though he wanted to present the whole journey. The editor therefore notes on Lap's second letter (15th January 1854) that his writing on the journey from Alexandria to Cairo would have to be omitted due to Jeran's previously published letters and the lack of space. Lap's account began with Cairo and the voyage from Cairo to Korosko.

In both the book[55] and the letter,[56] Lap and Šašel mention visiting 'Maria's cave', i. e. the crypt where Mary, Joseph, and the infant Jesus were said to have rested in the Church of Saints Sergius and Bacchus, also known as Abu Serga, in Coptic Cairo, as well as to the celebrated tree (a sycamore fig) where the Holy Family had rested.

Šašel dedicates the whole of his second chapter in part two ('Die Ruinen von Theben')[57] to Thebes and its monuments, while Lap records that they did not go for sightseeing as they wanted to make use of the favourable wind (they were not in the same boat).[58]

While they were in Aswan, both Lap and Šašel were much affected by the death of a ship's engineer, who died immediately after the arrival of his steamer, and whom they buried.[59] Some discrepancies are obvious in the description of the position of the island of Philae. While Šašel describes the island before coming to Shellal, Lap places the island just opposite their tent camp, saying that Aswan was 'more than an hour away'.[60] Its history is described in depth in the book,[61] while being only briefly mentioned in the letters.[62]

A huge difference, probably Šašel's *lapsus calami*, is in the dates quoted. While Šašel records that they had sailed on 21st November, Lap give us 'All Souls' Day', i.e.

[51] Jeran 1853c: 205-206.
[52] Šašelj 1927b: 3.
[53] Šašel 2003: 69.
[54] Probably this is Gregor Rihar Sr (Polhov Gradec, 1793 - Ljubljana, 1863), a Slovene Roman Catholic priest, composer and organ player. *Slovenska biografija* s.v. Rihar, Gregor starješi (1796-1863) (https://www.slovenska-biografija.si/oseba/sbi507766/; accessed 20.11.2018).
[55] Šašel 2003: 41.
[56] Šašelj 1927b: 3.
[57] Šašel 2003: 60-67.
[58] Lap 1854b: 50.
[59] Lap 1854b: 51; Šašel 2003: 69.
[60] Lap 1854b: 51.
[61] Šašel 2003: 68.
[62] Lap 1854b: 5.; Šašelj 1927b: 3.

2nd November.[63] This means that the dates of their arrival at Korosko also differed – according to Šašel it was 26th November, while Lap records 7th November. They stayed at Korosko for 25[64] or 27[65] days; they had to wait for their camels – Šašel mentions around 500,[66] Lap around 400.[67] There their luggage had to be weighed and cleared and they had to prepare for camel riding. Unlike Šašel's descriptions,[68] Lap is brief, stating at the beginning of his letter that 'he had been short of time as he was preparing to leave up the White Nile'.[69]

They both mention the arrival of two Italian priests from Verona,[70] before describing, each in a different way, their impressions of camels, riding them, and the desert itself. Here Klančnik's impressions are worth noting as well.[71] Most interesting, too, are Šašel's descriptions of a mirage, to which he pays more attention than Lap,[72] and the Knoblecher song – 'Hail to the Nile'.[73] On 16th December they reach Berber, where they embark on the mission ship *Stella Matutina*' and celebrated Christmas Eve. Šašel gives us the most detailed description of the ship and the mission children, as well as the Christmas events.[74] He dedicates a great part of one chapter to hippopotami, although they are only mentioned in three sentences in his letter,[75] and just one in Klančnik's.[76] Both the book[77] and Klančnik[78] state that they arrived at Khartoum on 28th December 1853, the letters by Šašel and Lap[79] record that it was on the 29th, where they were greeted by the gardener Hruška. Šašel and Klančnik were amazed at the abundance of fruit in the mission garden. While the book gives us descriptions of Khartoum, there are none in the letters. Those of Lap and Klančnik ended with their arrival at the mission,

[63] Lap 1854b: 51.
[64] Lap 1854c: 85.
[65] Šašelj 1927b: 4.
[66] Šašelj 1927a:3; Šašel 2003: 71.
[67] Lap 1854c: 85.
[68] Šašelj 1927b: 3; Šašel 2003: 71.
[69] Lap 1854c: 85.
[70] Lap 1854c: 85; Šašel 2003: 71; Šašelj 1927b: 4.
[71] The letter by the craftsman Janez Klančnik was published in *Zgodnja danica* on 6 April 1854, with the editor adding about his selection of some excerpts from his letter. There is also a footnote saying that Klančnik had taught himself to write and that some spellings and grammar had been corrected. Klančnik 1854: 63-64.
[72] Šašel 2003: 76-77; Lap 1854c: 86.
[73] Šašel 2003: 78; Šašelj 1927b: 4.
[74] Šašel 2003: 85, 89; Šašelj 1927c: 4-5; Klančnik 1854: 64; Lap 1854c: 86.
[75] Šašelj 1927c: 4.
[76] Klančnik 1854: 64.
[77] Šašel 2003: 107.
[78] Klančnik 1854: 64.
[79] Šašelj 1927c: 5; Lap 1854c: 86.

while Šašel mentions that he has not had time to see Khartoum yet, but that 'it was rather large with more black people than white'.[80]

Illness, even death, were the missionaries' constant companions. Thus Lap in his first letter,[81] before writing of their journey, announces some tragic news – the deaths of Matej Milharčić[82] and Ivan Kocijančić.[83] The Slovene craftsmen were also deeply affected by these sudden deaths, and they are mentioned in the book[84], the letter to Šašel's parents,[85] and that of Klančnik addressed to Jurij Volc.[86] Both mention the cross made of white stones they make at Milharčić's grave. The letter by Jožef Gostner, written in Khartoum on 23rd February 1854,[87] brings more sad news about deaths of missionaries and the situation in the mission; these details coincide with chapter two (part four) of Šašel's travelogue – 'The Mission'.[88]

It is this chapter, however, that raises some reasonable doubt about the origins of Šašel's book. Šašel includes here that everything had been going well for them until the deaths of Haller and Lap.[89] At the same time we have Lap's letter of 8th May 1854, saying that Šašel was already in Europe.[90] As Lap and Haller both died after Šašel's return to Europe, Šašel could not have witnessed their deaths.

Šašel often criticised the situation in the mission: while they had to live a frugal life and buy cheap bread from the locals, Knoblecher had a good stock of wine and bakery products. Moreover, sixteen sailors from the *Stella Matutina* had mistresses living at the mission's expense.[91]

Šašel mentioned in the book, as mentioned above, that he was truthful in his letters to his parents, begging them in one not to believe negative things that people were saying about them, as he was telling them how things really were.[92] However, he was generally unhappy with the reporting on the mission in *Zgodnja*

[80] Šašelj 1927c: 5.
[81] Lap 1854a: 39.
[82] Milharčič, Matej (Slavina, 1812 - Berber, 1853), a Roman Catholich priest and missionary. *Slovenska biografija* s.v. Milharčič, Matej (1812-1853) (https://www.slovenska-biografija.si/oseba/sbi368852/; accessed 20.11.2018).
[83] Ivan Kocijančič (Črnivec, 1826 - Khartoum, 1853), a Roman Catholich priest and missionary. *Slovenska biografija* s.v. Kocijančič, Ivan (1826-1853) (https://www.slovenska-biografija.si/oseba/sbi282421/; accessed 20.11.2018).
[84] Šašel 2003: 83-88.
[85] Šašelj 1927c: 4.
[86] Jurij Volc (1805-1885), a Roman Catholic priest. *Slovenska biografija* s.v. Volc, Jurij (1805-1885) (https://www.slovenska-biografija.si/oseba/sbi808121/; accessed 20.11.2018).
[87] Gostner 1854a: 86-87.
[88] Šašel 2003: 109-111.
[89] Šašel 2003: 110.
[90] Lap 1854d: 127.
[91] Šašel 2003: 110-111.
[92] Šašelj 1927a: 4.

Danica as 'lots of things said in Ljubljana and written in the newspapers were not true. They wrote only about the good things'.[93]

He wrote about Knoblecher's very cruel behaviour towards his colleague Jožef Lap that reduced him to tears.[94] According to Šašel's travelogue, Knoblecher was somewhat ashamed of the Slovene craftsmen.[95] However in his letters Šašel wrote in favourably about Knoblecher. He told his parents that Knoblecher had bought him shoes and a powder horn, among other things, in Alexandria.[96] It was also Knoblecher who rode with Šašel and explained the mysteries of the mirage.[97] He also mentions that he slept next to Knoblecher.[98] On another occasion Knoblecher took them to see Meroë, an ancient city on the east bank of the Nile.[99] Šašel explains that he had a lot to do and was given a splendid workshop – bright and spacious.[100] In Šašel's letters there are no traces of criticism towards Knoblecher, just enormous awe.

Conclusion

Taking into account all the available sources we have at the moment, it is not possible to resolve the question as to whether Šašel was the author of the complete manuscript of the travelogue that goes under his name today and how much of the contents are original. It is clear that the handwriting of the letters and the book are not alike. His letters reveal him as a fairly simple man in terms of his personal knowledge. The language in the letters, as well as the orthography and grammar, are idiosyncratic: he mixes Slovenian and German words to such an extent that his nephew, who sent them to the newspapers for publication, had quite a job to transliterate them.

The published letters in *Zgodnja Danica*, as well as his own home, certainly provided a good source for Šašel to chose what to write about. Moreover, he used several of the same phrases in the book as he and the other missionaries had used in their letters (i.e. crocodiles hanging from houses;[101] the water being as dirty as if after cleaning your rifle barrel, etc.)[102] He clearly compiled the information from his and other letters sent by the missionaries, with certain episodes that he did

[93] Šašelj 1927c: 5.
[94] Šašel 2003: 110.
[95] Šašel 2003: 110.
[96] Šašelj 1927a: 4.
[97] Šašel 2003: 76-77.
[98] Šašelj 1927c: 4.
[99] Šašelj 1927c: 4.; Šašel 2003: 89.
[100] Šašelj 1927c: 5.
[101] Šašel 2003: 42; Šašelj 1927a: 4.
[102] Šašel 2003: 79; Šašelj 1927b: 4.

not experience at first hand, i.e. the tribes of south Khartoum in the third part of the travelogue (pp 92-103), and the fates of other missionaries, as if he had been present at their deaths.

All in all, Šašel's travelogue is a valuable source of information on the mission of the extraordinary Ignatius Knoblecher, and it would certainly merit further research in terms of its many fields of interest and cultural references.

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Figure 1. Self-portrait of Jakov Šašel (after Schaschel 1863).



Figure 2. Šašel's travelogue (after Schaschel 1863).



Figure 3. Moga (after Schaschel 1863).



Figure 4. The sycamore fig in Matareyya Cairo where the Holy Family are said to have rested (after Schaschel 1863).



Figure 5. The *Stella Matutina* (after Schaschel 1863).



Figure 6. A mission boy by the grave of his benefactors (after Schaschel 1863).

CARLO DE MARCHESETTI: AN AUSTRIAN BOTANIST IN THE LAND OF THE PHARAOHS

SUSANNA MOSER

Civico Museo d'Antichità 'J.J. Winckelmann'[1], Trieste

Abstract: Carlo de Marchesetti was born in Trieste in 1850 and studied medicine at the University of Vienna. He became such a renowned botanist that he was nominated director of the Natural History Museum of Trieste in 1876. He kept this position until 1921, and during this lapse of time he personally excavated many important prehistoric sites in the area of Trieste and the Karst. Even though at that time the museum possessed two Egyptian mummies in their coffins, as well as other ancient Egyptian objects, and though he travelled to or through Egypt three times in his life, he seems not to have been much impressed by the remains of the ancient Egyptian civilisation, except in its prehistoric aspects (he took care to visit sites that yielded silex artefacts and became friends with Georg Schweinfurth).

Keywords: Marchesetti, Egyptian artefacts, prehistory, Trieste, travel accounts, history of Egypt.

Introduction

Carlo de Marchesetti (Figure 1) was born in Trieste on January 17th, 1850. He graduated in medicine at the University of Vienna in 1874, getting the only type of degree that allowed him to focus on the study of Natural Sciences according to the University system of the time. During the two following years he worked as a doctor, and in 1875 he was on board the Austrian ship *Hungaria* as ship's doctor, on a voyage to India, during which he made his first contact with Egypt. Once back in Trieste in 1876, at the young age of 26, he was appointed director of the local Museo di Storia Naturale, a position that he would keep nearly until his death. During his long career as a renowned botanist and a pioneer archaeologist in the field of prehistory, he travelled to China and Hong Kong in 1880-1881, this time passing through the Suez Canal, and thus only briefly touching the land of the Pharaohs, which he visited thoroughly in 1898, from the 19th January to the 16th March. Other important events in Marchesetti's life in terms of the present paper are his appointment as director of the Botanical Gardens of Trieste in 1903, and

[1] This is the new name of the former Civico Museo di Storia ed Arte, Trieste, which came into effect on 8 June 2018.



Figure 1. Photographic portrait of the young Carlo de Marchesetti (photo: Sebastianutti & Benque, Trieste, from the Fiorello de Farolfi Archive).

the lecture on Egyptian prehistory he delivered in 1911 as part of his scholarly activities. Marchesetti died in Trieste at the age of 76, on 1st April 1926.[2]

The available sources concerning the interest Marchesetti had in Egypt and his travels to that country are, of course, his writings. These take the form both of publications and handwritten notes and manuscripts, which are part of the bequest made by Marchesetti himself to the Municipality of Trieste. The manuscripts are preserved in the Archivio Diplomatico of the Biblioteca Civica, while copies of his publications are in the library of the Museo d'Antichità.

[2] For further details about Marchesetti's life, see Prihoda 1883a, Prihoda 1883b, Stenta 1929, Ruaro Loseri 1983, and Montagnari Kokelj 1994. For an analysis of the contribution by Marchesetti to archaeological science and prehistory, see Bandelli and Montagnari Kokelj 2005.

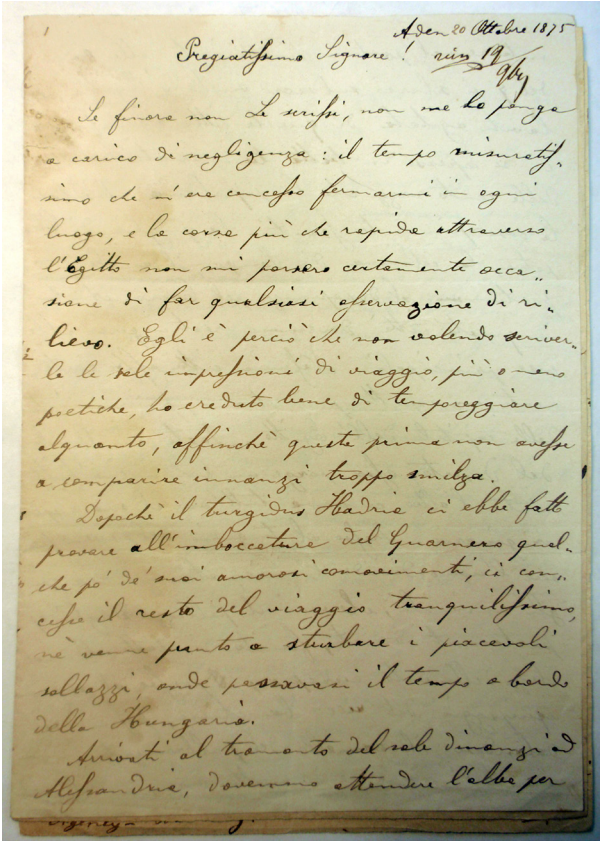


Figure 2. First page of the letter by Marchesetti to Muzio de' Tommasini, Aden, 20th October 1875 (© Archive of the Civico Museo di Storia Naturale, Trieste).

As far as the manuscripts are concerned, the ones pertaining to Egypt are: two preparatory manuscripts for the (unwritten) volume *Viaggio nell'Egitto* (*Voyage to Egypt*);[3] the letter to his mentor Muzio de' Tommasini of 20th October 1875, from Aden (Figure 2);[4] a brief section within a small notebook containing Marchesetti's diary of his voyage to India (1875-1876);[5] part of his diary of his voyage to the Orient (1880-1881);[6] and another small notebook with his diary of his voyage to Egypt (1898; Figure 3).[7] Of these, the letters and the preparatory manuscripts are

[3] Archivio Diplomatico, Biblioteca Civica, Trieste, bequest Marchesetti, 88/M/25/1 and 88/N/25/2. These are two copies (at different stages of elaboration) of the first chapter of a book about his voyage to Egypt and India which was never completed nor published.
[4] The letter is preserved in the archive of the Civico Museo di Storia Naturale of Trieste.
[5] Archivio Diplomatico, Biblioteca Civica,Trieste, bequest Marchesetti, 88/A/1/197.
[6] Archivio Diplomatico, Biblioteca Civica, Trieste, bequest Marchesetti, 88/A/1/196.
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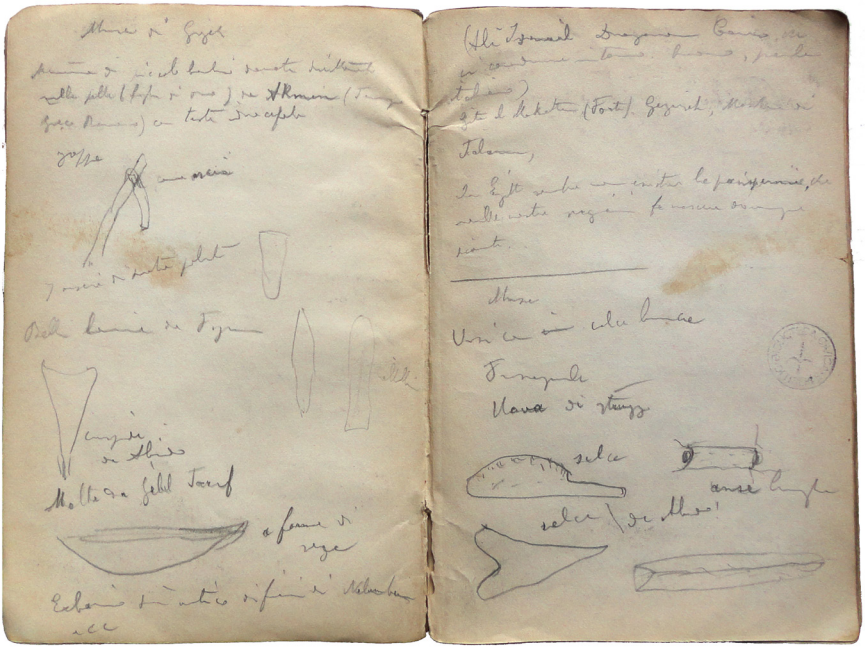


Figure 3. Pages 5-6 of Marchesetti's diary of his voyage to Egypt, 1898, with sketches of artefacts he saw in the Giza museum
(© Archivio Diplomatico, Biblioteca Civica of Trieste, bequest Marchesetti, 88/A/1/222).

written in pen and ink (thus are quite easily readable), while the notebooks are all in pencil, written in a very small and sometimes trembling handwriting, since they contain notes taken by Marchesetti directly during his travels, sometimes probably in precarious conditions.

There are published sources containing information on his first passage through Egypt;[8] these are either letters Marchesetti sent home, or memoires he published on his return, all to do with his first voyage to India. The other publications by Marchesetti that have a connection with Egypt are *Bericht über Fundstätten altägyptischer Steingeräthe und das Museum von Gizeh*,[9] to do with sites that were yielding prehistoric Egyptian artefacts, and a visit by Marchesetti to the museum at Gizeh. We also have his *Appunti sulla flora egiziana*,[10] on the plants

[8] Marchesetti 1876b, Marchesetti 1876d and Marchesetti 1876e.
[9] Marchesetti 1898.
[10] Marchesetti 1903a.

and vegetation of modern Egypt, and *La Preistoria in Egitto. Conferenza del dott. Carlo Marchesetti*,[11] a published transcription of the public lecture on Egyptian prehistory he gave in 1911. Another title can be added to this list: it is a brief article that Marchesetti wrote on the 80th birthday of Georg Schweinfurth, the famous German paleontologist, who was a pioneer in the study of Egyptian prehistory and who was also his friend.[12] If these titles are compared to the complete list of Marchesetti's articles and books compiled by Claudia Morgan,[13] it is clear that Egypt never constituted more than a marginal interest in his scientific work.

Marchesetti's first experiences in Egypt (9th-11th October 1875)

The first time Marchesetti set foot on Egyptian soil was during his voyage to India in 1875-1876.[14] Freshly graduated in medicine, and in his first official job as ship's doctor, he left Trieste on 1st October on board the *Hungaria*, a steamer of the Austrian Lloyd Company. He reached Alexandria eight days later, the 9th of October. He stopped there only for half a day and had barely time to visiting the obvious 'tourist attractions': the obelisk called 'Cleopatra's needle' and 'Pompey's Pillar', the Roman column in the Serapeum.[15] In the afternoon he left for Cairo, where he made a quick tour of the city and visited '...the tombs of Cheops and Chefren, the greatest monuments that man erected to his own ingenuity. They inspire a feeling that one would try in vain to describe in words. Those sixty centuries that look down upon us from their tops are more eloquent than any speech.'[16] From Cairo he

[11] Marchesetti 1912.
[12] Marchesetti 1916.
[13] Morgan 1994.
[14] The sources on the voyage are: Archivio Diplomatico, Biblioteca Civica of Trieste, bequest Marchesetti, 88/M/25/1 and 88/N/25/2; Archivio Diplomatico, Biblioteca Civica of Trieste, bequest Marchesetti, 88/A/1/197; the 19 letters to Muzio de' Tommasini (Archive of the Civico Museo di Storia Naturale, Trieste); Marchesetti 1875; Marchesetti 1876a-g; Marchesetti 1877a-b. Notes on the journey through Egypt are only to be found in the Archivio Diplomatico, Biblioteca Civica of Trieste, bequest Marchesetti, 88/M/25/1 and 88/N/25/2, in the letter from Aden of 20th October 1875, and in Marchesetti 1876b, Marchesetti 1876d, Marchesetti 1876e.
[15] The very brief comments by Marchesetti run as follows: 'After having visited the most interesting things - Cleopatra's Needle, Pompey's Pillar, the canal, etc. – we left for Cairo in the afternoon' ('Visitate le cose più interessanti – la guglia di Cleopatra, la colonna di Pompeo, il canale ecc. – partimmo al dopopranzo pel Cairo'), from the letter to Muzio de' Tommasini from Aden, 20th October 1875, Archive of the Museo Civico di Storia Naturale, Trieste, p. 1 verso). All the English translations of the quotes from Marchesetti's works are by the author of the present contribution.
[16] 'Le tombe di Cheops e di Cefrine, i più grandi monumenti che uomo innalzasse al proprio orgoglio, isipirano un sentimento che indarno cercherebbesi esprimere con la parola. Quei sessanta secoli che ci guardano dalla loro cima sono più eloquenti di qualunque favella'

went to Suez, crossing the whole delta of the Nile, whose vegetation seemed to him quite monotonous, although he admired the rigour of the agricultural exploitation of the region. The travel by train allowed him to indulge in his favorite activity: 'We left the following day for Suez. It takes 11 hours to get there, since in every station the train stops 20-30 minutes or more. I must say I was very happy about that, because this allowed me to gather many interesting plants, and I came to curse every time the harsh sound of the Arabic bell announced the departure'.[17] Once in Suez, he left almost immediately for Jeddah, on board the ship *Calypso*.

Marchesetti – Curator of Egyptian antiquities

In 1876 Marchesetti was back home in Trieste. He took part in the public competition held to find a new director for the Museum of Natural History of the city, and he won, notwithstanding his young age.

In those years the discovery of the antiquity of humankind, and the possibility of studying human prehistory through chipped-stone artefacts, were relatively new concepts,[18] and these – coupled with the many excursions he made around Trieste and its vicinity – led him to develop a strong interest in prehistoric archaeology. Indeed, many of the greatest discoveries concerning the prehistory of the region around Trieste and Istria are his.

As Marchesetti himself recognised, it all began thanks to his acquaintance with Sir Richard Francis Burton (1821-1890), the British consul in Trieste at the time. Together, they made a trip to Istria in 1874 and there Marchesetti visited for the first time a hillfort[19] – a type of fortified settlement characterised by massive enclosure walls built of huge blocks of karstic limestone, without the use of any mortar, typical of the local prehistory. His position as director of the Natural History Museum allowed him to curate the prehistoric artefacts discovered and to carry out scientific excavations, i.e. the necropolis of S. Lucia di Tolmino/Most Na Soči (Figure 4). There, between 1884 and 1902, he excavated 3960 tombs (of the nearly

(letter to Muzio de' Tommasini from Aden, 20th October 1875, Archive of the Museo Civico di Storia Naturale, Trieste, p. 3 recto).

[17] 'Partimmo il giorno appresso per Suez, a cui ci si mette 11 ore, atteso le fermatine di 20, 30 e più minuti in ogni stazione. Per me ne era contentissimo, chè così mi era dato destro di raccogliere parecchie piante interessanti e malediva al rauco suon dell'araba campana, ogni volta che ci annunziava la partenza' (letter to Muzio de' Tommasini from Aden, 20 October 1875, Archive of the Museo Civico di Storia Naturale, Trieste, p. 3 recto and verso).

[18] Jacques Boucher de Perthes published the first convincing evidence for the association of human artefacts with bones of extinct animals in 1841, and a few years earlier, in 1836, the director of the Danish National Museum C. J. Thompsen theorised the so-called 'three-age system', still in use today (Renfrew and Bahn 2000: 24-25).

[19] Bandelli 1994: 39.



Figure 4. Marchesetti digging at Most Na Soči/Santa Lucia di Tolmino in August 1902 (photo: Pietro Opiglia, © Photographic Archive of the Civici Musei di Storia ed Arte, Trieste, Inv. No. CMSA F69460).

6400 that the site has yielded so far), and published the results of his excavations in a series of articles[20] that confirm S. Lucia as one of the most important prehistoric sites in Europe.

Apart from the prehistoric artefacts, which, at the time, were considered to belong to the field of natural history rather than archaeology, within the collections of the Natural History Museum during Marchesetti's directorship there were nevertheless several ancient Egyptian objects, and of some quality: the 21st-Dynasty coffin of an anonymous priestess (inv. no. E4); the 22nd-Dynasty mummy, cartonnage case, and coffin of the priest Pa-sen-en-hor (inv. no. E1); a Ptolemaic cartonnage mummy pectoral (inv. no. E5); a Roman mummy mask (inv. no. E6); several crocodile mummies; and the mummies of a falcon and an ibis.[21] These, one

[20] All the articles have been assembled and reprinted in a single volume in 1993 (Marchesetti 1993).
[21] The Natural History Museum had already transferred most of its Egyptian collection to the newly established Museo d'Antichità (Antiquities Museum, now Civico Museo d'Antichità 'J.J. Winckelmann') in 1874. The objects just mentioned, however, did not reach the Museo d'Antichità until 2004, when all the Egyptian objects in public hands were eventually united

would think, should have aroused in him at least some interest, yet as a matter of fact he always remained silent about them,[22] even though he was to find himself in the land of the Pharaohs twice more in his life.

A second time in Egypt (7th-11th October 1880 and 21st-23rd January 1881)

The second time in Egypt for Marchesetti was, again, only a brief passage, this time during a voyage to China and Hong Kong he made between 1880 and 1881.[23] According to his diary, he left Trieste on 1st October and arrived in Port Said on the 8th. The poetic quality of his prose fully unfolds in his comparison of the harbour of Port Said to Dante's Inferno, no less, due to the frenzy there, even at night.[24] After taking a short break to visit Port Said, he boarded a ship again and travelled through the Suez Canal, passing Ismailia and arriving at Suez on October 11th. From there, he proceeded to Jeddah. The only notes he made concern the vegetation that grew along the canals and the life on board the steamer, complicated by the presence of many Muslim pilgrims going to Mecca.

On his way back, Marchesetti reached Suez on 21st January 1881, and from there navigated the Canal again. The only interesting note in his diary is about the wooden building that was built there for the opening ceremony of the Suez Canal, still visible on the shores of Lake Timsah at the time. The ruins of that building painfully reminded him of the frailty of all human things.

A third voyage in Egypt (19th January – 16th March 1898)

The deepest contact Marchesetti had with Egypt was in 1898, when he took a two-month trip along the Nile.[25] The first page of his diary contains a useful table of the stages of his journey, which can be summarised as follows:

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in a single venue (Crevatin and Vidulli Torlo 2013: 18). The inventory numbers given in brackets refer to the modern ones in use at the Museo d'Antichità.

[22] Given his usual modesty, it would be tempting to assume that the silence of Marchesetti was due to the fact that he realised a specialist was needed for the study of such objects, but no clue or hint can be gathered from the sources.

[23] Sources on the voyage are: the diary (Archivio Diplomatico, Biblioteca Civica, Trieste, bequest Marchesetti, 88/A/1/196); Marchesetti 1880-1881; Marchesetti 1881a; Marchesetti 1881b; Marchesetti 1883. Only the diary contains notes on Egypt.

[24] Diary of the voyage to the Orient 1880-1881, Archivio Diplomatico, Biblioteca Civica, Trieste, bequest Marchesetti, 88/A/1/196, p. 9 verso.

[25] Diary of the voyage to Egypt 1898, Archivio Diplomatico, Biblioteca Civica, Trieste, bequest Marchesetti, 88/A/1/222; Marchesetti 1898; Marchesetti 1903a; Marchesetti 1912.

January

19	departure from Trieste
23	arrival at Alexandria
24-31	Cairo and surrounding areas

February

2	Memphis and Saqqara, Beni Sueff, Magaga, Kynopolis
4	Beni Hasan, Naga
5-6	Assiut, Gebel el-Sheikh el-Haridi
7	Nag Hammadi, Denderah, Qena
8-10	Luxor (temple, east bank) and Karnak
10	Armant, Gebelein, Esna, Edfu, Gebel Silsileh
11	Kom Ombo, Aswan
12	Philae, Biggeh, First Cataract
14	Aswan, Edfu
15-17	Luxor (west bank)
18	Nag Hammadi, Abydos
19-20	Girgeh, Akhmim, Sohag, Assiut, Beni Hasan, Minya, Beni Sueff, Meidum, Dahshur, Saqqara
21	arrival in Cairo

March

5	departure from Cairo
6	departure for Ramlah (Alexandria)
7-11	Alexandria
12	departure for Trieste

As we see, he departed Trieste on Tuesday, 19th January 1898, on board the Austrian Lloyd steamer *Thalia*, arriving in Alexandria on the 23rd. He left immediately for Cairo, where he took almost a week to visit the city and its surroundings again, this time in detail: he mentions the Citadel, many mosques, Ezbekieh's gardens, the bazaars, and the tombs of the Mamluks. He re-visits the Giza pyramids (Figure 5), where he also tours the newly opened museum.[26] There, he only observes the prehistoric material,[27] taking also the opportunity to complain that many of the

[26] It is the museum currently in Tahrir Square, Cairo: after having Boulaq as its venue, for a short period of time at the end of the 19th century, it was moved to Giza, before finding its final home in Cairo.

[27] The objects that Marchesetti describes in his diary (88/A/1/222, pp. 5 verso - 7 verso) were exhibited in Rooms 70, 74 and 74bis, as can be deduced from Loret 1897: 378-384.



Figure 5. A typical view of Egypt: the Sphinx with the pyramid of Cheops in the background, as photographed by Marchesetti in 1898 (© Photographic Archive of the Civici Musei di Storia ed Arte, Trieste, Inv. No. CMSA F16522).

objects coming from the excavations by Flinders Petrie of 1893 were not yet on display.[28]

From Cairo he then embarked for the usual cruise along the Nile. The first stop was made at the pyramids of Memphis and Saqqara, where he also visited the mastabas of Ti and Mereruka and the Serapeum, and paid a visit on his friend, the famous German paleontologist Georg Schweinfurth. After that, he stopped at Beni Hasan, where he visited the Speos Artemidos and the Middle Kingdom rock-cut tombs, which reminded him of the rock-cut temples he had seen in India. In Asyut, Marchesetti gathered up some skulls lying on the ground.[29] Other halts included Denderah and Qena, and then Luxor. There, he zealously visited all the monuments that still form today's top tourist attractions. The monumentality of the hypostyle hall of Karnak's temple astonished him, but he never again seems to show any signs of real interest in the vestiges of the Pharaohs. On his way back, again at Luxor, he

[28] Marchesetti 1898.

[29] These skulls are still part of the collections of the Museo Civico di Storia Naturale, Trieste.



Figure 6. Photograph by Marchesetti, who labelled it as the 'arrival of the scientific expedition at Qena', 1898 (© Photographic Archive of the Civici Musei di Storia ed Arte, Trieste, Inv. No. CMSA F16484).

visits the excavations of the Swiss Egyptologist Edouard Naville at Hatshepsut's temple in Deir el-Bahari. On 12th March he embarks on the *Habsburg* for his cruise home, arriving on the 16th, and thus concluding his series of contacts with the lands where the Nile flows.

Every now and then, in the notes Marchesetti made during his voyage, there are mentions of photographs taken. This suggests that, although travelling with rather cumbersome equipment, he deemed it very important to have first-hand graphic documentation of what he saw, demonstrating once again the quality of his scientific approach to all the subjects of his studies. Luckily enough, the series of photographs he took are now preserved in the 'Fototeca' of the Civici Musei di Storia ed Arte, Trieste. Even though it is always fascinating to be able to link the impressions jotted down by him with the actual images he saw, his choice of subjects can appear peculiar: while the views of the ancient monuments are typical (compare with Figure 5), there are very interesting photographs of water-lifting techniques (*shaduf*) as well as the departures and arrivals of the caravans



Figure 7. Photograph of the geological stratifications of Gebel Abu Foda, taken by Marchesetti in 1898 (© Photographic Archive of the Civici Musei di Storia ed Arte, Trieste, Inv. No. CMSA F16473).

that transported him to the archaeological sites and back (e.g. Figure 6). If taken as a whole with some of his observations, then a keen 'ethnographical' interest is noticeable: the manners and customs of the Arabs seemed to Marchesetti very distant from his own, and, although he enjoyed this 'exoticism', he thought that the modernisation (in fact, Westernisation) of the country was, in the end, a good thing. Another unusual theme often seen in his photographs is geological stratification (Figure 7). The natural landscape (plants, rock formations, etc.) of Egypt remained what he most eagerly liked to observe and document.

Marchesetti and the prehistory of Egypt

When we come to Egyptian antiquities, it is now perfectly clear that the only age he was really interested in was, again, prehistory. In this regard, the two visits he paid to Egyptologists during his voyage are significant: on 28th and 30th of January



Figure 8. A few examples of the flint tools that Georg Schweinfurth donated to the Natural History Museum thanks to his friendship with Marchesetti, now deposited at the Civico Museo d'Antichità, Trieste and studied by Mirjam Mahn. Top row (from left): chert flake from the Middle or Upper Palaeolithic, Deir el-Bahari (inv. no. E84); probable chert flake, Deir el-Bahari (inv. no. E85); grey chert geofact, Deir el-Bahari (inv. no. E87); chert biface donated by Schweinfurth, unknown provenance (inv. no. E47). Bottom row (from left): Moustérien point (pointed Levallois-flake, preparatory product) from the caves next to Luxor, donated by Schweinfurth (inv. no. E55); chert Levallois core, Nubian Type I, from Deir el-Bahari, Middle Palaeolithic (inv. no. E66); chert geofact from Deir el-Bahari (inv. no. E60); fragment of chert flake from Deir el-Bahari (inv. no. E70)
(photo: S. Moser, © Civico Museo d'Antichità 'J.J. Winckelmann', Trieste).

1898 he was in Helwan with Georg Schweinfurth,[30] and then on 17th February of the same year he visited Edouard Naville on Luxor's west bank.[31]

It seems that the visits to Schweinfurth resulted in (or were themselves the result of) a personal bond between the two men, which was to last. As a consequence of this friendly relationship, Schweinfurth donated to the Natural History Museum of Trieste about 200 flint tools in 1909: 'Different and important were the donations made to the Museum, among which stands out that of the illustrious explorer of Africa, Professor Georg Schweinfurth of Berlin, who wanted to enrich our Museum with a precious collection of 199 eolithic and palaeolithic flint instruments from Upper Egypt, Thebes and Aswan, which constitute the oldest remains of primitive

[30] Diary of his voyage to Egypt 1898, Archivio Diplomatico, Biblioteca Civica, Trieste, bequest Marchesetti, 88/A/1/222, p. 2 recto.
[31] Diary of his voyage to Egypt 1898, Archivio Diplomatico, Biblioteca Civica, Trieste, bequest Marchesetti, 88/A/1/222, p. 16 verso.

man.'[32] These artefacts can now safely be identified (thanks to small paper labels in German glued to some of them) with the flint tools preserved both in the Civico Museo di Storia Naturale and in the Civico Museo d'Antichità, Trieste (Figure 8). In the former there is an assemblage of 115 instruments, while the latter has 81 finds. The total of these items is close enough to the original number;[33] they are mostly flakes, points, or geofacts dating to the different phases of the Palaeolithic.

In the last visit Marchesetti made, he was led by Edouard Naville up a 'side valley' of Deir el-Bahari, where he could gather a number of prehistoric flint tools. In Marchesetti 1903b: IX, he further specifies: 'Thus, taking advantage of my different voyages, I was able to gather a good series of *more than 500 flint tools* from the Neolithic and Palaeolithic in Helwan and Luxor in Egypt, as well as many skulls from Asyut...'[34]. If the identification of the previously mentioned flint tools is correct, then the location of the samples of Egyptian prehistoric artefacts collected by Marchesetti has, unfortunately, still to be discovered. Nonetheless, it must be stressed once more what a diligent scholar he was, aiming at expanding his knowledge of prehistory by comparing local materials with foreign ones (Egyptian, in this case). In particular, one of the photographs he took while on his travels merits attention (Figure 9): on the back of the photograph there is a handwritten note, undoubtedly by Marchesetti, which says 'the crosses mark the layers that yielded flint tools'.[35] It is clear that what we have here is one of the first examples of the recording of the stratigraphic provenance of archaeological

[32] 'Vari ed importanti furono i doni fatti al nostro Museo, tra i quali eccelle quello dell'illustre esploratore dell'Africa, prof. Giorgio Schweinfurth di Berlino, il quale volle arricchire il nostro Museo di una preziosa collezione di ben 199 selci eolitiche e paleolitiche dell'alto Egitto, da Tebe e da Assuan, che ci rappresentano le reliquie più antiche dell'uomo primitivo.' (Marchesetti 1911: 1).

[33] In a previous publication (Moser 2015: 303-304), I wrote that, of the 81 artefacts, 50 belonged to Schweinfurth's donation, and 30 were flint tools that Marchesetti acquired himself in Egypt (see below). This assumption was proved wrong by the discovery of the 115 tools in the Natural History Museum. All of the flint tools mentioned in the present article have been subjected to study by Mirjam Mahn, of the University of Bonn, at the end of 2016.

[34] 'Così approfittando dei vari viaggi intrapresi, mi fu dato di raccogliere *una bella serie di oltre 500 selci neolitiche e paleolitiche* da Heluan e Luxor in Egitto, come pure parecchi teschi da Assiut...' (italics by the present author). For the skulls, see above and note 23. Further details on the instruments are given in Marchesetti 1898: 'An der Hand Ihrer Abhandlung über die prähistorischen Verhältnisse Aegyptens habe ich einige jener interessanten Fundstätten besucht. So fand ich eine gute Anzahl recht charakteristischer neolithischer Messerchen und eine Pfeilspitze in einem Sandhügel südwestlich von Heluan, und verschiedene paläolithische Flint-Instrumente auf dem Plateau vom Bab el Meluk bei den Königs-Gräbern in Theben, obwohl hier in Folge des eifrigen Suchens schöne Stücke selten geworden sind. Dagegen lieferte mir eine neue Stelle in einem kleinen Seitenthale hinter Der el Bahari – im Alluvium – reichliche und ganz gute Exemplare vom Typus Saint Acheul...'.

[35] 'Le crocette indicano lo strato con gli oggetti in selce' (photographic archive of Civici Musei di Storia ed Arte, Trieste, Inv. No. CMSA F16459).

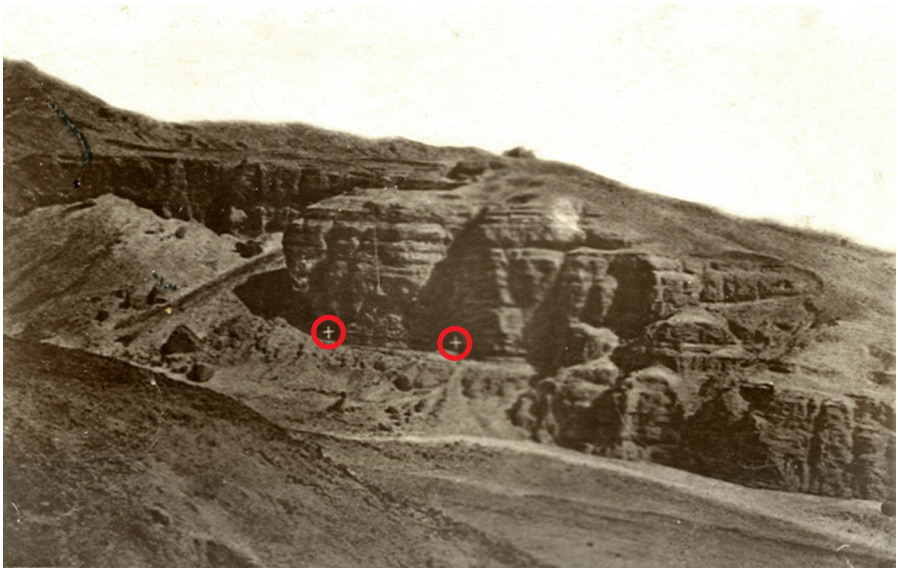


Figure 9. Photograph taken by Marchesetti on the west bank of Luxor in 1898. His handwritten caption on the back reads 'the crosses mark the layers that yielded flint tools'. The red circles emphasise the small white crosses that were added to mark the archaeological layer (graphic elaboration by S. Moser; © Photographic Archive of the Civici Musei di Storia ed Arte, Trieste, Inv. No. CMSA F16459).

objects, which was not at all part of the scientific standards at that time. Although the precise location of this 'side valley' is presently impossible to ascertain, having the picture of the very layer from which Marchesetti gathered his collection of flint tools makes the lack of the tools themselves more disappointing.

To conclude this overview of the Egyptian prehistoric objects preserved in the Museums of Trieste, it is worth mentioning another set of flint tools in the collection. Another friend of Marchesetti, Sir Richard Francis Burton (1821-1890), donated to the Museo d'Antichità a series of ancient Egyptian artefacts, among which was a flat, cardboard box containing 52 small flint blades[36] (Figure 10). These objects were gathered up at Helwan by an acquaintance of Burton, a certain M.A. Lombard, who gave them to Burton as a present: 'M.A. Lombard, proprietor of the Hôtel d'Helwan, obliged me with a pasteboard, to which are attached 51 flints, collected in the neighbourhood of the Thermæ. Of these, many have jagged and saw-like edges. The antiquary must be careful how in these days he

[36] The study by Mirjam Mahn (see above note 33) revealed that they are sickle inlays and blades, with or without retouch, whose date ranges from the Neolithic to the Dynastic Period.



Figure 10. Board with the mounted lithics from Helwan donated to the Museo d'Antichità by Sir Richard Francis Burton (photo: S. Moser; © Civico Museo d'Antichità 'J.J. Winckelmann', Trieste, inv. no. 11717).

makes purchases near Cairo, where the Arabs have learned "flint knapping" to perfection.'[37] In the copy of the article that Burton himself sent to Marchesetti (as shown by the handwritten dedication on the first page), and which is currently preserved in the library of the Museo d'Antichità, there is a note written in pencil next to the paragraph that describes the acquisition of the flint tools, that reads 'now in the Trieste Museum, C[arlo] M[archesetti]'. It is thanks to this note, and to the paper label glued on the lid of the box containing the tools, that it was possible to reconstruct the history of these objects.

Conclusion

Apart from a specific scientific interest in the prehistory of Egypt (testified to, it is worth remembering, by the public lecture he gave on this subject in 1911), what

[37] Burton 1879: 301.

Marchesetti found really fascinating about Egypt was not the magnificence of its Pharaonic past, but the modern life of its inhabitants.

A true positivist, the coexistence 'side by side' of the utmost luxury with the misery of the traditional Arabic houses in the larger cities, like Alexandria and Cairo, was to him both shocking and intolerable (even though in some passages of his diaries[38] he complains that the 'Europeisation' of Egypt had erased much of its exotic charm). He never fails to notice, nor record, the elements of modernity he encounters: 'At half past 8 we passed next to Kynopolis, where a large sugar factory was splendidly electrically illuminated'.[39]

This veritable wonder for everything modern he found is combined, in his notes, with the low opinion he had of the Arabs in general. Typical of the amusing anecdotes in his diaries, and the most significant in terms of his attitudes to the modern inhabitants of Egypt, we have this: 'The stick and bakshish are the two universally recognised saints of Egypt, and it is up to you whether you find more worshippers of the first or of the second. A few coins adroitly dropped in the pocket of the employee charged with the inspection of your luggage will let it pass untouched, even if it contained nine new plagues to desolate Egypt; a sound slap on the ugly face of an annoying guardian will procure you such endless bowing and scraping that would make a sultan haughty. The scant experience I had of these two infallible remedies, and especially the second, caused me much embarrassment at the beginning, but with time and good will I eventually managed to understand that, when travelling through the Orient, there is no other alternative – it's either bakshish or stick!'

Although in several passages of his writings about Egypt Marchesetti might sound a bit racist and imbued with the colonialist spirit of his time, they do not detract from the evidence that he was indeed a fine scholar, even in a field that was not his own.

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[38] For example, he regrets the 'degeneration' of Alexandria, i.e. the mixture of European and Arabic elements (manuscript 'Viaggio nell'Egitto', Archivio Diplomatico, Biblioteca Civica, Trieste, bequest Marchesetti, 88/M/25/1, pp. 13 verso and 14 recto, and 88/N/25/2, pp. 3 verso and 4 recto).

[39] 'Alle 8½ si passò presso Kynopolis, ove una grande fabbrica di zucchero era splendidamente illuminata elettricamente' (diary of his voyage to Egypt 1898, Archivio Diplomatico, Biblioteca Civica, Trieste, bequest Marchesetti, 88/A/1/222, p. 9 verso).

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PROKESCH-OSTEN JR (1837-1919)

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Abstract: In 1874, Anton Prokesch-Osten Jr published one of the first German travel guides to Egypt *Nilfahrt bis zu den zweiten Katarakten* (*A Nile Cruise to the Second Cataract*). This was three years before Baedeker issued his guide for Lower-Egypt. Born in Athens, the son of the famous Anton-Prokesch-Osten, a diplomat of Metternich, Anton Prokesch-Osten Jr lived abroad for several years, including Constantinople. He travelled to Egypt with his father on several occasions and developed a love and admiration for the history and the monuments of Egypt. He emulated English-language travel guides in terms of the book's structure and layout, enriched with many personal comments.

Keywords: biography; travel to Egypt, writings, travel guide.

Biography

When you hear of Anton Prokesch-Osten you mostly associate it with the father of the person who is the focus of this contribution. Anton senior was a celebrated diplomat at the time of Metternich, being his General Consul first in Athens, and then *Internuntius* of Austria for 16 years in Constantinople.[1]

As was common at the time, his son bore the same Christian name, and thus Anton Irenäus Prokesch-Osten Junior was born on 19 February 1837 in Athens,[2] the second of six siblings. Initially the family lived on a ship due to the prevailing lack of hygiene conditions in the city at the time (a first son had died of fever). Later, the diplomat had a house built, subsequently named the Villa Prokesch-Osten,[3] by the

[1] His father was to be a major Austrian diplomat in Athens from 1834 to 1849, serving the new Greek court of King Otto. From 1855 to 1871 he was *Internuntius* in Constantinople. Bertsch 2005: 627-629.

[2] Julius (born 10 September 1833 in Vienna – died 30 June 1835), Fritz (born 20 July 1835 in Athens – died 17 August 1838), Franz (born 2 July 1851 in Berlin – died 28 February 1856), Karl (born 5 June 1840 in Vienna – died 7 February 1864), Irene Antonia (born 22 July 1841 in Burnabat, Smyrna – died 1898 in Graz, married Franz Freiherr von Reyer; they lived in Carinthia at Krastowitz Castle). Bertsch 2005: 628.

[3] The villa was ready on 20 February 1837. Bertsch 2005: 628.

Viennese architect Karl Rösner;[4] the now derelict villa still exists in Omonia Square in Athens. His mother, Irene Kiesewetter,[5] was an excellent pianist.[6] The couple held regular salons at their Athens home, inviting guests to private concerts and literature readings. Many famous travellers were to visit, including Hermann of Pückler Muskau,[7] Archduke Johann of Austria, Jakob Philipp Fallmerayer,[8] Hans Christian Andersen,[9] and many, many others. The young Anton Prokesch-Osten grew up therefore within a humanist environment, spending the first twelve years of his childhood (between 1837 and 1849) in Athens; after which his father was ordered to Berlin (1849-1853) and Frankfurt (1853-1855).

In October 1853, the 16-year-old Prokesch-Osten Jr joined the Austrian Military and his service notices in the Austrian state archives trace his career.[10]

Seven years later, in November 1860, he ended his active career and went to the non-active defensive Dike of the Cavalary.[11] In 1870 he was promoted to the rank of major and within a short time he had a flourishing career, most probably with the help of his father's influence; of interest are the various medals he obtained along the way for his services, including the Austrian Iron Cross, Knight of the Greek Redeemer, the Ottoman Medschidie medal, the French Legion of Honour, etc.

Another award was Knight, 1st Class of the Ernst August Medal. This was awarded following the Prussian move on the Kingdom of Hannover on 2 October 1866, forcing the royal family into exile. As Austria was allied with Hannover, Franz Joseph I of Austria granted the family asylum and they settled in Gmunden in Austria.[12]

[4] Carl Roesner (1804-1869), architect and professor at the Viennese Academy of Art. Bertsch 2005: 245.

[5] Her father Raphael Georg Kiesewetter was from 1821 to 1843 vice-president of the Society of Music Friends (*Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde*) in Vienna. *MUGI - Musik und Gender im Internet*, s.v. Kiesewetter, Irene. Cf. https://mugi.hfmt-hamburg.de/Artikel/Irene_Kiesewetter (accessed April 2020).

[6] The couple married in 1832. Bertsch 2005: 627.

[7] Hermann von Pückler-Muskau (1785-1871), horticulturalist and author of *Letters of a Dead Man*. Bertsch 2005: 246

[8] Jakob Philipp Fallmerayer (1790-1861) Orientalist and publicist. Bertsch 2005: 260.

[9] Hans Christian Andersen (1805-1875) Danish poet and writer of fairy tales. Bertsch 2005: 257.

[10] 26 Oct. 1853: Cadet to the Hussar-Regiment of Count Schlik; 1 Nov. 1853: Second Lieutenant, 2nd class, Hussar Regiment of Count Schlik; 5 Sept. 1854: Second Lieutenant, 1st class; 15 April 1855: First Lieutenant to the 2nd Hussar Regiment; 21 Feb. 1859: Adjutant to the diplomatic corps of the Military Supreme Command, Prague and Hermannstadt; 23 Mar. 1859: Second Cavalry Captain, 2nd Class, Adjutant Corps; 27 June 1859: First Cavalry Captain, 1st Class, Adjutant Corps; 1 June 1860: Captain, 1st Class.

[11] As 'Landwehrmajor', Österreichisches Staatsarchiv, Kriegsarchiv, Qualifikationsliste für Offiziere, Grundbuchsblatt des 1. Jägerbataillons, betr. Anton Prokesch-Osten Jr.

[12] The Hannoverians contributed significantly financially to the vicinity, and Castle Cumberland became a favourite rendezvous for aristocrats. The royal household included 200 people. The family of the Duke involved themselves in cultural and social matters and supported the construction of the Protestant church in Gmunden (1871-1875). The family

Prokesch-Osten Jr and his family also moved later to Gmunden, and he and his wife became friends of the Hanoverian court there.

Incidentally, further accounts reveal that Prokesch-Osten Jr had received an excellent private education at home, was a very good rider and enjoyed music. His command of languages was impressive, speaking, besides German, French, English, Italian, and Hungarian; he was able to write well in French and English.[13]

On 10 March 1861, at the age of 24, Anton married a leading actress from the Viennese Burgtheater, Friederike 'Fifi' Gossman.[14] The couple spent their honeymoon in Constantinople, at the Palais Autriche, the Austrian Internuniatur, where Anton Prokesch-Osten Sr resided.[15] They attended receptions, balls and travelled to Egypt and Nubia.[16] Friederike ended her career at the Burgtheater after she married, and the couple moved to Gmunden, where they lived in the Villa Prokesch-Osten.[17] A postcard exists of the villa that shows the tower added in 1870.[18] Friederike occasionally performed for charity events.[19] They had four children, but only their daughter Johanna had descendants.[20]

In December 1868 Prokesch-Osten Jr travelled to Egypt for five weeks, with his father and Alexander Warsberg, a good friend of his father, the Austrian Consul in Corfu.[21] They visited the construction site of the Suez-Canal.[22] In October 1869 he accompanied his father to the opening of the Suez Canal and was on board the ship *Elisabeth* with Emperor Franz Joseph I of Austria.[23] Thus, the son immersed himself

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were also generous sponsors of the city, helping to finance waterways and streets, providing help for the poor, sponsoring students and ex-servicemen. Georgs Street was named after King Georg V, as a sign of gratitude and the city's appreciation of the Hannoverian family. Mautner 1878: 218-228.

13 Österreichisches Staatsarchiv, Abt. Kriegsarchiv, Qualifikationsliste für Offiziere, Grundbuchsblatt des 1. Jägerbataillons, betr. Anton Graf Prokesch-Osten Jr.

14 Mautner 1878: 218-228.

15 Bertsch 2005: 365.

16 Berlepsch 1908: 10.

17 Friederike equipped the villa with a room she dedicated to theatrical costumes and props. Mautner 1878: 218-228.

18 Mautner 1878: 218-228.

19 Mautner 1878: 218-228.

20 Children of Anton and Friederike Prokesch-Osten Jr: 1) Konstanze Irene (1861-1921), married Franz, Count of Stauffenberg; 1) Alexandra Karoline (1864-1945), married Franz Count Pongrácz of Szent-Miklós and Óvár; 3) Johanna (1870 - ?), married Viktor Freiherr von Schleinitz; 4) Georg Prokesch von Osten (1873-?). (https://gw.geneanet.org/khoss?lang=en&n=prokesch+von+osten] [geneall .net/de/name/1825031/johanna-prokesch-von-osten).

21 Bertsch 2005: 410.

22 Bertsch 2005: 443, fn. 31; 410.

23 Bertsch 2005: 150.

in Egypt and the Orient and gradually prepared notes for a new handbook for travellers to Egypt. In this he would certainly have been motivated by his father, a zealous writer, who produced thousands of letters, articles, books and diaries.[24]

In 1829 Anton Prokesch-Osten Sr published *Erinnerungen aus Aegypten und Kleinasien*[25] (Memories of Egypt and Asia Minor). In 1831 he published *Das Land zwischen den Katarakten des Nil*[26] (The Land Between The Cataracts of The Nile), in which he provided descriptions for visitors to this part of the river in an innovative style and format. Father and son travelled several times to Egypt and developed a love and admiration for the history and monuments of the region.

When Anton Prokesch-Osten Sr died in 1876,[27] his son became the literary executor of his father and edited his letters, articles, memoires and diaries,[28] and began to write a biography of him, which was to remain unfinished.[29] Anton Irenäus Prokesch-Osten Jr died in Gmunden on 12 March 1919, aged 82.

Publications

After his short military career Prokesch-Osten Jr dedicated himself to his writing, including detailed accounts of his father's correspondence with the leading diplomatic events and personalities of his time, including Von Gentz and Metternich. The major works include:

- A five-volume edition of his father's communications with Friedrich von Gentz (Vienna 1867/8, Paris 1876/7.
- *Nilfahrt bis zu den Zweiten Katarakten* (1874)
- The edited *Dépêches inédites du Chevalier de Gentz* (in three volumes, Paris 1876/7).

[24] Bertsch 2005: 104.

[25] Prokesch-Osten Sr, *Erinnerungen aus Ägypten und Kleinasien*, 3 Vol., Vienna, 1829-1831.

[26] Prokesch-Osten Sr, *Das Land zwischen den Katarakten des Nil*, Vienna, 1827.

[27] Prokesch-Osten Sr acquired a significant coin collection and gave it to the Belin Museum shortly before his death, his son not sharing his father's interest in coins and medals. There were also financial considerations: 'Das Angebot kam mir um so genehmer, als es mich in die Lage setzt, Toni aus seiner sehr gedrückten Lage zu reissen und Fifi von der Nothwendigkeit entbindet durch die Rückkehr zur Bühne die Zukunft ihrer Kinder zu erleichtern.' (Letter from Prokesch-Osten Sr to Warsberg, Paris, 18 March [!!YEAR!!]; Prokesch-Osten X, Österreichisches Staatsarchiv)

[28] Bertsch 2005, 697 f.

[29] Im Steiermärkischen Landesarchiv in Graz erhalten, Prokesch-Osten (Sohn), *Biographie meines Vaters*, K.2.H.43. FamArch,III. Begonnen im Herbste 1877 (darunter die Bleistiftnote: 'unterbrochen vom Septr.77-Septr.78'), Erster Abschnitt: 1795-1813 (fol.1r-25v), Zweiter Abschnitt (Bleistiftnote: 9/12 78-20/1 79), (fol.26r-54v; umfasst die Jahre 1813-1820). Das dritte Kv mit den Teilen (III.) und IV, umfasst die Jahre 1820-25 (fol.56r.-77r). Kv 43 und 44. Fam. Arch, III.

- A collection of his father's letters on the history of the 'Oriental Question' (Vienna 1877).
- A selection from the memoires of Anton Prokesch-Osten Sr on his dealings with the Duke of Reichstadt, and two of his missions to Italy – entitled *Two Biographical Sketches* (Stuttgart 1878).
- Excerpts from the autobiographical notes of Anton Prokesch-Osten Sr based on his 16 years in Constantinople (1879/1880).
- Correspondence between Friedrich Von Gentz, Prince Metternich and his father Anton Prokesch-Osten Sr (in two volumes, Vienna 1881).
- A selection from the letters of Count Prokesch-Osten Sr, 1849-1855 (Vienna 1896).
- A selection from the diaries of Count Prokesch-Osten Sr, 1830-1834 (Vienna 1909).

A Nile Cruise to the Second Cataract by Anton Prokesch-Osten, 1874

In 1874 Anton Prokesch-Osten published his travel guide *A Nile Cruise to the Second Cataract*: included no illustrations, only certain ground plans of the temples and monuments; it is dedicated to his father 'dem Deutschen Herolde der ägyptischen Denkmälerkunde'.[30]

The author wrote the preface in Gmunden in June 1874;[31] it begins with a quote by Heinrich Stephan:[32] 'Wenn die Geschichte den Boden adelt, so gehört das Thal des Nils zu dem urältesten Adel der Länder dieser Welt' (If history has ennobled the ground, so the valley of the Nile belongs to the eldest nobility of the countries of this world).

In his preface, Prokesch-Osten junior mentions that travel guides to Egypt and Nubia exist in English and French, but not in German. He explains that he has written this guide based on his own personal experiences from the country and that 'This book should... act as a guide to accompany the German traveller to Egypt [and] provide an archaeological guide and explanations of the works of Professors Brugsch, Lauth, Mariette, Lepsius and Dümichen... [My] wish is that this book should be a useful and familiar companion to the Nile Traveller.'[33]

[30] 'A guide through Egypt and Nubia by Anton Count Prokesch-Osten Jr. With plans, maps and illustrations in lithographic prints and woodcarvings'. Leipzig, F.A. Brockhaus, 1874. 578 pages, with Index, and maps of Alexandria, Cairo (Old and New), Thebes, and a complete map of Egypt and Nubia.

[31] Prokesch-Osten 1874: Preface.

[32] Heinrich von Stephan (1831-1897), General Director of the German Post Office, he was invited by the Viceroy of Egypt to the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869 (von Stephan 1872: V).

[33] Prokesch-Osten 1874: VII-X.

It is interesting that there is no mention of Dr Moritz Busch, who wrote the first German travel guide to Egypt in 1858. Busch, a visitor to America and Egypt, was a journalist, with a reputation as the translator of Dickens and Mark Twain into German. Busch[34] published the first travel companion in German for Egypt in 1858 for the famous steamer company Österreichischer Lloyd, based in Trieste; it was grandly called *Egypt for Travellers in Egypt and adjacent countries subject to the Pascha*, and included 14 illustrations and two maps (Cairo and Egypt), printed by Brockhaus. The book was subsequently translated by W.C. Wrankmore, the same year, into English and French. The structure of the book is very close to that of Prokesch-Osten (see Table 1).

A case can be made for saying that the creator of what we think of as the modern guidebook for travellers was John Murray, who had established a publishing house in London in 1768; it was his grandson who was to edit the famous red books from 1836 until 1901. As we know, these were pocket handbooks with red covers, with the major sights being graded with a number of 'stars'. For the Egypt volume, Murray contracted the traveller John Gardner Wilkinson, who had spent 12 years (1821-1833) in the region, Wilkinson returned to Egypt in 1842 and the first *Handbook for Travellers in Egypt* was published in English five years later, in 1847.[35]

Moritz Busch released his handbook in German 1858, and 16 years later (1874) Anton published his *Nile Cruise To The Second Cataract*. During these 16 years, of course, there had been many new excavations and much knew knowledge evolved from the research. Three years after Prokesch-Osten's 1877 publication came out, the first Baedeker Egypt appeared[36] – a smart, slim, red handbook, although it only covered Lower Egypt and the Sinai Peninsula,[37] according to a manuscript prepared by G. Ebers.[38]

A simple Table shows how the contents of Prokesch-Osten's book compares with that of Moritz Busch:

Prokesch-Osten Jr, 1874	**Dr Moritz Busch, 1858**
Ch. I – Alexandria	Ch. I – Alexandria
Ch. II – Cairo	Ch. II – Cairo
Ch. III – Travel preparations	

[34] Julius Hermann Moritz Busch (1821-1899); https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Moritz_Busch.
[35] The oldest one is Usborne's *Guide to Egypt and the Levant*, 1840.
[36] Karl Baedeker (1801-1859), German publisher and author of the eponymous travel guides (https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Karl_Baedeker).
[37] Baedeker 1885.
[38] https://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/baedeker1877bd1, see page V.

Ch. IV – Pyramids and Memphis	Ch. III – Pyramids and Memphis
Ch. V – Cairo to Minieh	Ch. IV – Benisooef, Medinet el Fayum, Lake Meriotis, Assiut, Girgeh, Abydos, Denderah
Ch. VI – Minieh to Siut	
Ch. VII – Situ to Belieni	
Ch. VIII – Belieni to Luxor	
Ch. IX – Thebes	Ch. V – Thebes
Ch. X – Luxor to Edfu	Ch. VI – Esna, el Kab, Edfu, Kom Ombo, Elephantine, Philae, Cataracts
Ch. XI – Edfu to Assuan	
Ch. XII – Assuan to Philae	
Ch. XIII – Nubia: Philae to Kelabsche	
Ch. XIV – Kelabscha to Derr	
Ch. XV – Derr to Wadi Halfa	Ch. VII – Dabod, Kalabshee, Sebua, Abu Simbel, Wadi Halfa
Appendix – Fajum, Suez Canal	Ch. VIII – Other tours: Suez, Sinai
	Ch. IX – Other tours: Rosetta, Natron Lakes, Damiette, Tanta

Table 1. Comparing the contents of the guides by Anton Prokesch-Osten Jr and Moritz Busch.

The works of Prokesch-Osten and Busch are very similar in terms of structure. In his introduction, a mere 107 pages, the former recommends books[39] on Egyptian history, culture and geography, and encourages the traveller to take some with on the journey. Indeed many of these authors he knew personally, through his father. The list of books is, of course, impressive,[40] for without a good background knowledge of Egypt your trip will surely be a superficial one.

[39] Prokesch-Osten 1874: 5-7.

[40] Brugsch, *Aus dem Orient* (Berlin, Grosse, 1864); Pückler-Muskau, *Aus Mehemd Ali's Reich* (3 vols, Stuttgart, Hallberger, 1844); Curtis, *Nile-Notes of a Howadji* (London, Clarke & Co.), 1856; Brugsch, *Reiseberichte aus Aegypten* (Leipzig, Brockhaus, 1855); Lepsius, *Briefe aus Aegypten, Aethiopien und der Halbinsel des Sinai* (Berlin, Hertz, 1852).

Prokesch-Osten Jr recommends in his introduction several English and French books to take along or read in advance, in addition to the German literature on Egypt available at the time.[41] The author then begins with his first chapter 'Alexandria'.[42] The voyager comes from Europe to Alexandria by ship, and then takes the train to Cairo, where he or she is to charter a boat and set off on a Nile cruise, with a north wind blowing, directly to Abu Simbel and on to Wadi Halfa, the most southerly point; all the excursions to the sites of the famous monuments will be made during the return journey. Despite his recommendation, he describes the monuments of Egypt from north to south, and not in the other direction, as he suggests.[43] In chapter two we are introduced to the wonders of Cairo.

In the third chapter, entitled 'Preparations for Travel',[44] Prokesch-Osten recommends a Nile cruise only by *dahabeah*, the iconic boat: '... in this book we have not considered those hasty visits to Egypt using those paddle-steamers that travel regularly along the Nile... [but] only the highly enjoyable way of travelling on a dahabeah...'[45] The tourist will ideally need three months for the grand tour from Cairo to Wadi Halfa, and two for the detour from Cairo to Aswan: it is, naturally, a question of time and money. Prokesch-Osten describes in detail the hiring of a dahabeah in the next 16 pages, offering nine different contract possibilities with the dragoman: one can opt for a 'monthly' package, or 'per trip', there being significant differences between the two.[46]

Braun, *Geschichte der Kunst* Bd. 1 (Wiesbaden, Kreidel, 1856); Prokesch, *Erinnerungen aus Aegypten und Kleinasien* (Wien, Armbruster, 1830); Prokesch, *Das Land zwischen den Katarakten des Nil* (Wien, Gerold, 1831); Brehm, *Reiseskizzen aus Nord-Ost-Afrika* (2. Aufl., Jena, Mauke, 1862). Fraas, *Aus dem Orient. Geologische Beobachtungen* (Stuttgart, 1867); von Kremer, *Aegypten* (Leipzig, Brockhaus, 1863); Stephan, *Das heutige Aegypten* (Leipzig, Brockhaus, 1872); Lüttke, *Aegyptens neue Zeit* (Leipzig, Brockhaus, 1873); Lane, *Sitten und Gebräuche des heutigen Aegyptens. Aus dem Englischen übersetzt von Dr. Zenker* (Leipzig, Dyk); Gardner Wilkinson, *An Account of the Manners and Customs of Modern Egypt* (London, 1837); Gardner Wilkinson, A popular account of the ancient Egyptians (London, 1854); Ebers, *Aegypten und die Bücher Moses* (Leipzig, Engelmann, 1868); Bunsen, *Aegyptens Stelle in der Weltgeschichte* (Hamburg, Perthes); Mariette-Bey, *Aperçu de l'historie d'Égypte* (Paris, Franck, 1870); Brugsch, *Histoire d'Égypte* (Leipzig, Hinrichs, 1859); Sharpe, *Geschichte Aegyptens* (1846); *The History of Egypt: From the Earliest Time till the conquest by the Arabs; Études sur l'architecture égyptienne par le Cte du Barry de Merval; Herodot; Strabo; Diodor; Flavius Josephus*; Murray, *Handbook for travellers in Egypt* (London 1873), Marriette-Bey, *Itinéraire des Invités* (Caire 1869); Levernay, *Guide général d'Égypte. Annuaire officiel etc.* (Alexandrie); Lepsius, *Denkmäler aus Aegypten*; Rosellini, *Monumenti*; Francois Levernays, *Guide général d'Égypte, annuaire officiel*; Parthey, *Das Alexandrinische Museum* (Berlin, 1838-1839).

41 Prokesch-Osten 1874: 5-7.

42 Prokesch-Osten 1874: 113-135.

43 Prokesch-Osten 1874: 196

44 Prokesch-Osten 1874: 182-197.

45 Prokesch-Osten 1874: 3.

46 Prokesch-Osten 1874: 182-197.

Occasionally we are treated to humorous asides, in particular with reference to his dragoman, typically 'clever, scheming, and reluctant',[47] or the potential hazards of the Nile: 'Swimming... is absolutely without danger, as long as one keeps one's head covered. Attention should be paid to the proximity of the crocodiles'.[48]

Anton's travel guide quickly gathered good reviews. In the *Österreichische Monatsschrift für den Orient* for the year 1875 there is a particularly positive one: 'All the noteworthy details are referred to; everything scientific is based on the broad and sure foundation of thorough research, and seriously acquired knowledge, and yet modestly conveyed'.[49]

Joseph von Doblhoff, another notable traveller to Egypt,[50] and further around the world, is subsequently to refer to this book in his publication *Von den Pyramiden zum Niagara, Eine Reise um die Erde, 1881* as follows: '[This] new book published in 1874 by Count Prokesch-Osten is to be especially recommended for those travellers, who either by necessity or of their own free will, make a longer stay in Egypt and intend to benefit from their time there'.[51]

Conclusion

Prokesch-Osten's style, using the first-person plural, may be described as poetic, and there are many vivid accounts. He provides good, well-based information and certainly awakens curiosity for Egypt and its monuments; his descriptions showing his evident affection for the country. Accurate and detailed descriptions are provided for monuments and temples. There are many references to the famous Egyptologists of this time, who obviously advised him of the most recent excavations and the latest results of research. In the Appendix he invites the traveller on an excursion to Fayum and the Suez Canal – the latter, perhaps, one of the first accounts, the waterway having only been opened in 1869.

It seems fitting to conclude with an extract in English, showing his florid style – 'Once the Dahabieh is ready to set sail, the last rope freed and the board which connects the land has been drawn up, then progress is rapid. Long poles push the boat away from the land, the oars begin to row, the large sails swell in the wind, resembling the flapping wings of a bird of prey... That is the Palace of Kasr-e-Nil on the left, then the garden-rich Island of Roda, with its high walls with the Kiosk with the Nilometer standing upon it. On the right the Palace of Giza appears with its old and respected patron saint looking from a distance. Standing there like

[47] Prokesch-Osten 1874: 183.
[48] Prokesch-Osten 1874: 11.
[49] *Österreichische Monatsschrift für den Orient* 1875: 144.
[50] Doblhoff travelled in 1873, but published his book in 1881.
[51] Doblhoff 1881: 55.

giants, are the Pyramids, unchangeable over the millennia. Now on the left you can see ancient Cairo, behind which on the outermost projections of the golden Mokattam, the Citadel Mosque, with its delicate minarets, reaches for the sky. One stands much longer on the deck and takes delight in the bustling activities of the boat-bedecked Nile. We glance back at the fairytale city sinking in the distance, and dream of adventures hurrying towards us.'[52]

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[52] Prokesch-Ostern 1874: 197. Translator: the author.

THE BOMBARDMENT OF ALEXANDRIA 1882 IN THE WRITINGS OF MILAN JOVANOVIĆ MORSKI

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Abstract: The reports on and analyses of the bombardment of Alexandria in 1882 predominantly focus on the political, military and economic causes, aspects, interests and consequences of the event. It is usually only briefly reported on ordinary people who found themselves in the middle of the turmoil, whether they were Egyptians or foreigners, and their individual experiences remain largely underrepresented. However, one account of these experiences features in the literary work of Milan Jovanović Morski, a medical doctor and writer. The aim of this paper is to examine if the episode Jovanović focused on reflects the real circumstances and, specifically, what is the extent of its documentary value, especially concerning the presence of the Austrian citizens from Boka Kotorska (Bay of Kotor; Bocche di Cattaro) in Egypt.

Keywords: Bombardment of Alexandria 1882, Milan Jovanović Morski, Austrian citizens, Boka Kotorska.

In the reports on and analyses of the bombardment of Alexandria in 1882, whether they were made at the time or later, up to nowadays, the political, military and economic causes, aspects, interests and consequences of the event are in the foreground. The names, roles and actions of the protagonists – persons, institutions and states – are invariably mentioned and their impact scrutinised. But it is usually only briefly reported for those ordinary people who found themselves in the middle of the turmoil, whether they were Egyptians or foreigners, and thus their individual fears, losses and despair have remained underrepresented. However, an account of such experiences features in the literary work of Milan Jovanović Morski, and the aim of this contribution is to examine if the episode Jovanović focused on reflected the real circumstances and, specifically, what is the extent of its documentary value concerning the presence of the Austrian citizens from Boka

Kotorska (Bay of Kotor; Bocche di Cattaro)[1] in Egypt.[2] As seafarers and merchants, many of them visited Alexandria, some lived there or had professional ties to the city. The histories of seafaring, the well-known shipowner-families, and the biographies of important individuals from Boka Kotorska have all been presented in numerous works, written by scholars, enthusiasts and writers,[3] occasionally touching upon Alexandria and Egypt. Milan Jovanović Morski had chosen to write about the poor, who, except for their names in the official documents, remained unrecorded and whose life circumstances are discernible only in statistical data and literary works.

Milan Jovanović Morski (1834-1896), born in Jarkovac (Banat, Austrian Monarchy),[4] was a medical doctor, professor at the Higher School of Belgrade (later University of Belgrade), member of the Serbian Learned Society, and of the Serbian Royal Academy of Sciences and Arts. He studied medicine in Vienna, obtaining his doctoral degree in Leipzig in 1867, and practised medicine in Austria-Hungary (Novi Sad and Herceg Novi), Serbia (Belgrade), and Montenegro (Cetinje). Jovanović's nickname, Morski ('the maritime one'), refers to the time he was employed as a ship doctor for the Austrian Lloyd company (1878–1882), and in that capacity travelled to India and China.[5] He had a literary career too. He wrote – in his mother tongue, Serbian – dramas and comedies, essays, theatre, music and literary reviews, translated from several languages,[6] but over time he has been primarily appreciated as a writer of travelogues. Jovanović's 'traveler's notes', as

[1] For the inhabitants of the Bay of Kotor, the term Boka Kotorska has been including only the costal part of the bay itself and the littoral closely connected to it, but in administrative terms under the Austrian rule, it included also Budva (Crkvenčić and Schaller 2006: 51-52) and the narrow coastal area with Sutomore (Spizza, Spitza) as its southernmost point. Milan Jovanović Morski used the term in its administrative sense.

[2] On the characteristics and literary merits of Jovanović Morski's travel stories: Kostadinović 2012, with further literature.

[3] Focusing on the captain's family he personally knew, Jovanović Morski devoted one short story, 'Kap u more'/ 'A drop in the sea' (Jovanović 1896) to the lives the families of seafarers, especially wives, led – a life of separation and worries caused by the always present dangers for men at sea, and tragedies.

[4] Biographical data, i.a. in: *ÖBL* 1962: 138; Gavrilović 1898; Veljković 2016; Maksimović 2008: 623-625.

[5] Ernst Haeckel travelled in 1881 to India on the Austrian Lloyd *Helios*, and in his travelogue *Indische Reisebriefe*, he speaks of the pleasant and educated ship's officers, singling out captain Lazzarich and doctor Jovanovich, who during the journey joined the same group of Germans and Austrians as Haeckel himself did (Haeckel 1883: 24, 26). The painting Haeckel presented to Jovanović had a personal dedication. Gavrilović 1898: XXV. The watercolours Jovanović himself painted on his journeys are now lost; some were reproduced in 1898 by Andra Gavrilović, in the journal *Iskra*. Maksimović 2008: 237-238.

[6] For example, his translation in Serbian of Shakespeare's *Measure for Measure* was published in 1882 in Novi Sad.

he himself named them, appeared in periodicals,[7] and some were later included in books published in the 1890s. Stories *From both Land and Sea* ('S mora i sa suva') were printed in 1892, *To the East and back again* ('Tamo amo po Istoku'), on the journeys from Trieste to India and China, was issued in two volumes in 1894 and 1895, and *Uphill and downhill in Naples* ('Gore dole po Napulju') in 1898, posthumously.

The events in Alexandria in 1882 were first mentioned by Jovanović in 'Aleksandrija', a text published in the same year, in the journal *Otadžbina*,[8] later reprinted as the first chapter of *To the East and back again* (Jovanović 1894: 3-20). Ten years after the bombardment, it was the subject of 'Bloody business' ('Krvava rabota'), one of the stories published in his book *From both Land and Sea*.[9]

In 'Aleksandrija', a short introduction to the journey from Trieste across the Mediterranean, and the various reasons the ship's passengers had for travelling to Egypt, is followed by admiration for the view of the city from the sea ('like a swan in the midst of the lake', Jovanović 1882: 3), and by the impressions of the port, the city and its inhabitants. The account was distilled from experiences of all the stays the writer had in Alexandria, and thus not time-specific until almost the very end of the text. At this point Jovanović announces: 'the beautiful city is no more!' (Jovanović 1882: 18) and explains that it was 'destroyed by the rage' of the fellahin, who rebelled against the Europeans, non-Muslims, being the decision-makers in Egypt. Jovanović then stated that he had recently seen these foreign 'masters' fleeing from the flames and seeking refuge on the ships. This is followed by a report that, out of the whole European part of the town, only two or three bankers' houses remained; they, and those who found shelter in them, were successfully defended by armed men from Boka Kotorska, organised into several groups, and their dangerous mission was relieved only when European soldiers landed. The episode ends with Morski's admiration for the bravery of these men, and pity at the same time, as poverty at home drove them to risk their lives, for and against anybody, for a pittance.

Other accounts on the state of the European districts of Alexandria and the rich suburb of al Ramla were recorded along similar lines: if not destroyed by the fire set with petroleum, the houses were looted, and, according to Royle, only those houses in which it was known that Europeans were still inside, were spared.[10] It is also recorded that the Greek community, together with other European residents of Alexandria, had been planning since May 1882 to organise some three to four thousand armed men to protect foreigners and their property, but the plan had to be abandoned; unfortunately, details are missing on the composition of this

[7] Maksimović 2008: 627, 629, 633

[8] Jovanović 1882. The text was written in the form of a letter to Vladan Đorđević, the owner and editor of the journal *Otadžbina*.

[9] Jovanović 1892: 67-85.

[10] E.g. Vaujany 1885: 132-137; Royle 1886: 185-186; Reimer 1988: 546, 548.

privately organised militia, including the ethnicity of its members.[11] The words of Henry de Vaujany that in one part of Alexandria, 'in the midst of burning fires, courageous men, risking their lives, defended bankers' establishments... together with several faithful servants',[12] closely resemble Jovanović's lines on the men from Boka Kotorska.

The scenes from the closing episode of 'Aleksandrija', as well as some details about Alexandria and the bombardment mentioned there, were elaborated in the story 'Bloody business'. The narrative starts with a description of the unique and mesmerising beauty of the Egyptian coastline at dawn, the time when ships coming from Europe would approach the port of Alexandria, the view already admired in 'Aleksandrija'. The joyful anticipation of the already familiar sight was shattered by a disturbing observation: on that early morning in the year 1882, the new lighthouse is missing from the horizon, and where the city should be, some reddish mist is discernible in the still dim light of daybreak. The next passage shows that the captain and the crew of the Lloyd's ship begin to understand the reasons for the flames and disappearance of the lighthouse – they are fully aware of Egyptian discontent over British influence, and of the conflicts between the Egyptians, led by Arabi-Pasha (Urabi-Pasha) and the British, which had been simmering for some time. In both texts, Jovanović comments that Arabi-Pasha represented in a way what Abd el-Kader and imam Shamil were for their respective people, adding that his fate will probably be similar to their destinies. By the time 'Aleksandrija' was published in the autumn of 1882, Arabi's soldiers had been defeated, and Egypt invaded by Britain.[13] If 'fate' meant unsuccessful revolt, Jovanović's comparison of the results of the actions of colonial powers – the British in Egypt, French in Algeria, Russians in the Caucasus respectively – was based on facts. If he meant the personal fate of the commander-in-chief of the Egyptian army, Colonel Arabi, then Jovanović had made a reasonable prediction: at his trial in November 1882, Arabi was sentenced to death, but subsequently the sentence was commuted and he was sent to permanent exile,[14] the same fate that befell emir Abd el-Kader and imam Shamil.

The next part of 'Bloody business' refers to the current situation. At that very moment Alexandria was locked in the 'steel chain' forged of British ironclad battle ships, and the city was bombarded by them. The fires in the city blended with the

[11] Kazamias 2014: 261-262.

[12] Vaujany 1885: 136.

[13] The journal *Otadžbina* had 12 issues in 1882, Nos 33-44, allowing No 41 to be dated to the autumn. As no dates, except the year, were printed on the issues, one can only surmise that it may have been September or October; the outcome of the British intervention was obvious, even before the battle of Tel el-Kebir, on 13 September 1882. Jovanović's next letter, 'Suez Canal' (Suecki kanal) was published in *Otadžbina* 45, the first issue of 1883.

[14] Cromer 1908: 336-337.

sun, but the white smoke was visible. The ship Jovanović was on slowly approached the harbour and was ordered to anchor 5 km away, out in the deep sea. The British were trying to land their forces in two areas – the two citadels – and were met by hard resistance. Yet, by noon, one citadel was taken and the second fell in the afternoon, after being blown open, whereupon the British soldiers landed in large numbers, causing the Egyptian fighters to retreat.

Jovanović Morski proceeds to his finale, moving his attention to the people of Alexandria. Most were not expecting such an escalation of the conflicts and did not leave the city. When the bombardment started, and houses were hit, they, absurdly, as Morski points out, rushed to the seafront, i.e. in the direction the bombs were coming from. Many crowded on the pier, several kilometres long, that enclosed the harbour. Jovanović acknowledges the honourable gesture made by Admiral Seymour, the commander of the Royal Navy fleet, in ordering smaller vessels to pick up the people from the pier and take them to the larger ships anchored further away. The refugees who boarded the Lloyd's steamer were mostly Europeans, and there was a considerable number of Arabs from Syria, who had their stores in Alexandria. Jovanović noticed that they were disorientated when they arrived, and fear was visible on their faces, so that only after a while some realised that their families and friends were not with them, but were on other ships; thus small boats went from ship to ship searching for missing family members.

Soon, the various stories were told: many spent two or three days locked in their houses, not going out to fetch supplies for fear of the Egyptian mobs in the streets and looters. These gangs were mostly targeting the homes of Europeans, although they were often unable to get to the safes that contained most of the wealth. Those Lloyd's passengers whose travel destination was Alexandria, were anxious that they will have to return to Europe. Jovanović records that the telegraph cable had been cut and connected to a ship anchored in the distance, providing the only communication with the rest of the world.[15] Accordingly, the captain asked the Austrian Lloyd headquarters for instructions and received orders to transfer those passengers who wanted to remain in Egypt to the ship that was due to arrive from Port Said, and then he was to return to his home port.

Next the main characters of the story are introduced – at sunset, a group of fully armed men board, all wearing distinctive Montenegrin caps. Jovanović Morski recognises them as men from the shores above Budva, who, unable to feed hungry mouths at home, travelled the world in search of work. Their bravery and loyalty were highly valued by the bankers and wealthy people of Alexandria and they were employed as guards in their houses; they stayed to defend these until the water

[15] Alexandria had been connected to Europe by telegraph since 1851. Walz 2018: 14. The British cut the cable on 10 July 1882, disconnecting the shore, and connected the cable to the telegraph ship CS *Chiltern*. Henehan 2014: 192-193.

supply was cut off by the rioters. Their dejected faces told everything – they, too, were forced by the Arabi revolt to leave Egypt with little or nothing. Among the other refugees on the ship was a Greek merchant, desperately realising that, panic-stricken, he had left all his money and valuables in his safe when rushing from his house with his wife and children. Through the mediations of the narrator, the merchant promised the Montenegrins 10% of the money, approximately £300, if they would try and rescue the contents of his safe. At this point there was fighting in the city between the British soldiers who had landed in some parts of Alexandria and Arabi's men. The group of Montenegrins was provided with a document stating the purpose of their undertaking, which would be needed when they reached the European quarter, already under control of British soldiers. Their endeavour was successful, and upon their return to the ship they handed the merchant's property over to the captain, who assumed the role of consul – being from Boka Kotorska, they were Austrian citizens[16] – to assess what was retrieved and to see that the promised reward was paid.

Jovanović Morski's readers were informed of the growing political and military tensions between Egypt and Britain and of the events resulting from them,[17] and the story of men from Boka Kotorska brought the events from Alexandria close to home.

The pride of the people from Boka Kotorska is their long tradition of seafaring, which, coupled with trade, was the main source of income for centuries. At the end of the 18th and beginning of the 19th century, Boka Kotorska's maritime interests reached its zenith, having some 400 certificated vessels, a further 290 without, and 3000 seafarers in 1805.[18] Although Boka lost much of its importance after 1814, and its fleet and wealth also gradually decreased[19] – shipowners and merchants were

[16] A quarter of a century later, while commenting on the various nationalities living in Egypt – among them 7000 Austrians – the Earl of Cromer remarked: '...the Austrian is often merely a subject of the Emperor of Austria for purposes of Consular protection and nothing more'. Cromer 1909: 246.

[17] The readership of the monthly *Otadžbina* had at their disposal the influential, official newspaper *Srpske novine*, which from June to mid-August 1882 provided extensive daily information on the subject, although with a delay of several days (http://www.digitalna.nb.rs/sf/NBS/novine/srpske_novine, accessed 1.3.2019).

[18] Čučić 2006: 77.

[19] Among the reasons contributing to this, the following were mentioned: The dominance of the Austrian Lloyd Company in the Adriatic; the development of the port in Trieste was of primary interest for the Austrian empire, so that shipowners from other east-Adriatic ports, left without any state support to cope with the change from sailing ships to steamships, were soon unable to compete. See: Matavulj 1999: 30-31; Čučić 2006: 79. The merchant fleet of Boka Kotorska, consisting of sailing ships, had temporarily, although not fully, recovered in the period 1850-1870 (Čučić 2006: 78), but the choice to hold on to the traditional type of vessels was not necessarily, at least not at first, a poor assessment of the circumstances. Gordon Graham argues that for transporting goods over the oceans, e.g. to the Far East, cargo steamers could not compete with merchant sailing ships until the 1880s,

either moving their business to other towns,[20] or selling their ships – seafaring remained important in terms of employment,[21] ranging from captains[22] and other higher officers to ordinary seamen. Yet the hardships experienced by the people from the region of Boka Kotorska was no exaggeration by Jovanović Morski. Being a local doctor in Herceg Novi in 1875-1876,[23] he witnessed events at first hand in the course of his daily rounds on horseback through the villages in the hills above the bay, as witnessed by Simo Matavulj (1852-1905), himself a writer, who was at that time employed as a teacher in Herceg Novi.[24] Agricultural production in Boka Kotorska in the 19th century, as shown in the official output figures for grapes, cereals, oil, potatoes, as well as livestock, were insufficient for the needs of the local population, meaning that these staples had to be imported, and in the years when crops failed, or livestock suffered, those who depended on agriculture fell into extreme poverty.[25] To sustain their families, men sought to earn by serving on ships, or emigrating, some of them only temporarily. Most of the emigrants were illiterate or poorly educated peasants, who worked in foreign countries as physical labourers or accepted any work, saving money to send home or bring with them when they returned.[26] Official records for the later part of the 19th century show that the majority emigrated to various parts of North and South America, Australia, however Alexandria and Port Said are also named in the official documents as places of residence for several males from Boka Kotorska.[27] Stjepan Mitrov Ljubiša (1824-1878), a writer and politician who was well informed of circumstances of

when the last of the major technical issues for steamships were resolved; he also pointed to the increase in building of, and demand for, sailing ships in the 1850s at the time of the Crimean War. Graham 1956.

[20] They mostly chose Trieste, but there were other locations also. Some members of the Lukovich family chose Cardiff and Venice too for example. Čučić 2006: 78.

[21] Nautical schools existed in Boka Kotorska already in the 17th and first half of the 18th century, in Kotor, Herceg-Novi, Perast and Prčanj, and the skills were thought by distinguished captains and later by the suitably qualified priests; in the middle of 19th century, a state-funded nautical school was opened in Kotor, along with similar schools in Dalmatia – Bakar, Zadar, Split and Dubrovnik. Bašić 2015: 342-343.

[22] Among those who between 1869-1900 had passed their master exams, i.e. who were licenced captains of deep-sea ships of the Austrian merchant navy, some 11% were from Boka Kotorska, 61 from Prčanj, which at the time had less than 800 inhabitants (Čučić 2006: 79; Crkvenčić and Schaller 2006: tab.1).

[23] Veljković 2016: 154-160.

[24] Matavulj 1988: 55.

[25] As for fishing, analysis of the available data indicates that it also declined in the second half of the century and was not of any great significance for the population of Boka at the time. Peričić 1988: 222-226, 230-231.

[26] Peričić 1988: 230; Crnić-Pejović 2007: 166.

[27] Crnić-Pejović 2007: 170-171.

life in Boka Kotorska,[28] wrote that half of all the adult males had left, providing from overseas for those they had left at home: 'One can find these men from the coast in each and every part of the world, and the highlanders mostly in Egypt and Istanbul, digging tunnels'.[29] Ljubiša is referring to work on the 'Tünel' (the funicular) in Istanbul, at that time, but is probably including here those men who left for Egypt, many attracted by the demand for high numbers of labourers for the construction of the Suez Canal and related building projects.[30] The men Jovanović Morski wrote about belonged to this category of emigrants – poverty had driven them abroad, and, desperate, faced with the prospect of returning with nothing, were prepared to risk their lives to rescue the Greek merchant's wealth.

Jovanović's decision to ascribe Greek ethnicity to the merchant was appropriate. In the 19th century, Alexandria was transformed from a small town to an important trade centre with a harbour and military base, and by 1882 the city had almost 250,000 inhabitants.[31] The number of representatives of foreign countries, companies, and well private individuals taking up residence in the city grew as well, so that around 1880, foreigners represented *c.* 20% of the city's population.[32] In terms of trade, urban development, and life in the city, Europeans were most influential: 'Alexandria was a colonial city before Egypt was a colony'.[33] Greek, Italian and Maltese enclaves were the largest foreign communities in Alexandria.[34] The Greek merchant in Milan Jovanović's story could have been one of those traders or financiers for whom Alexandria was now home,[35] and who for this reason did not leave the city before the

[28] Ljubiša was from Budva, and mayor of the town in 1865; in the 1860s and '70s he represented Boka Kotorska in the Landtag of Dalmatia and was later a representative in the Imperial Council in Vienna. *ÖBL* 1971: 255.
[29] Ljubiša 1874: 46.
[30] J. Cole pointed to the 'large contingents of Southern European workers' in Egypt competing for work with Egyptian artisans and workers. Cole 1989: 111.
[31] Reimer 1988: 531, 534, T. 2, n. 15; Ghoneim 1996: 286.
[32] Ghoneim 1996: 286-287; Reimer 1988: 531, 534.
[33] Reimer 1988: 531. Anti-European feeling was already present in Egypt before the summer of 1882, but in Alexandria the large numbers of foreigners and the fact they had the upper hand in the city were decisive factors leading to the outbursts of dissent. Reimer 1988, 546f. Some 50 Europeans, and an unrecorded but probably similar number of Egyptians, died in the clashes between Europeans and Egyptians in Alexandria on 11 June; attacks on Europeans followed in several Delta towns. Chamberlain 1977: 20, 33; Cole 1989: 122.
[34] Chamberlain 1977: 20.
[35] Reimer 1988, 541.

11th July 1882.[36] Three thousand pounds,[37] important papers, and other valuables could indeed have made up the contents of the safe of a well-to-do merchant.[38] Jovanović does not give the exact number of the men who took part in the mission to retrieve the merchant's valuables, but he does say that each could pass a year at home, with his family, living off his share of the £300 reward.

Although the 'Bloody business' was set in a specific historical moment,[39] the bombardment of Alexandria served primarily as a setting for a story in which Morski's interest in people and their fates could be exercised.[40] Jovanović's observations on the Egyptian residents of all nations and creeds in his first three letters (referencing Alexandria, Suez Canal, and the Red Sea), which he later included in *To the East and back again*, are a mix of compassion and prejudice. His lack of sympathy for the colonial pressure on Egypt is discernible; he is fully aware of the poverty of the Egyptian population and their discontent with foreign influences on the country; his sympathy for Arabi-Pasha can also be seen. Even so, when writing of the bombardment of Alexandria in 1882, he empathised with those in danger for the very reason that they were foreigners, Europeans, those he could identify with, especially after meeting the terrified residents who managed to find the safety of his ship. Above all, his heartfelt sympathy goes out to the men from Boka Kotorska who are among the refugees.[41]

Both 'Bloody business', and the vignette in 'Aleksandrija' as its nucleus, display the blending of travelogue and story-telling, recurring trait of Jovanović's writings inspired by his travels, and can tentatively be classified as a sub-

[36] According to Ghoneim (1996: 288), some 32,000 foreigners left the city in the week following the events of 11 June, and by the bombardment in July, the number rose to some 60,000. The numbers clearly refer to all foreigners who left Egypt via Alexandria, not only to the city's residents. Since May 1882, when Britain and France announced that they will send naval forces to Egypt, there was a strong influx of Europeans arriving in Alexandria from other parts of Egypt. Reimer 1988: 547. Almost 100,000 Europeans were living in Egypt in 1882. Cole 1989: 111.

[37] The three thousand pounds then would equate to anything between £300,000 and £5,000,000 in 2017, depending on a range of criteria (commodity, income, wealth). See, e.g. https://www.measuringworth.com/calculators/ukcompare/, from the website of the Economic History Association (http://eh.net/howmuchisthat/; accessed 2 Feb. 2019). Jovanović explicitly mentions 'English' pounds. Jovanović 1892: 79. In 1882, 'one Egyptian pound is about 10^{d} [pennies] more in value than the pound sterling.' Martin 1882: 639.

[38] Initiated by demands for compensation, the international enquiry into the losses of the Europeans in 1882 in Alexandria, assessed a figure for loss and damages at over £4,000,000. Chamberlain 1977: 34.

[39] Cf. Kostadinović 2012: 214, n. 9.

[40] Cf. Maksimović 2008: 627.

[41] Jovanović Morski delves into his feelings for the people of the region in 'Kap u more', especially in the introductory part of the text, published shortly before his death. Jovanović 1896.

genre of the travelogue form.[42] Nevertheless, it does not mean that the story was invented, and a further point might support this. It is true that Jovanović's practice of omitting personal names and referring to characters in his 'traveller's notes' by ethnonyms, regions of origin, family ties, etc.,[43] is employed in the texts under discussion here. The merchant is a 'Greek', the ship captain is 'from Dalmatia', the group of men are 'from Maine and Paštrovići', or 'people from Boka" (Bokelji; Ital. Bocchesi), and on one occasion 'Montenegrins'. The only exception is Đuro from village of Pobori in the 'Bloody business', and the name may have been used for literary reasons, to highlight one man and use his personal story as representative for the group. However, the omittance of names here must not be taken as an indication of the fictional character of the story and its protagonists,[44] it may be understood as a means of bringing the story to another level, with the group Jovanović met in Alexandria exemplifying the life of hardship and danger many of the inhabitants of Boka Kotorska littoral had to endure.

To conclude, therefore, although it cannot be ascertained whether or not the particular episode concerning the group of men who risked returning into the turmoil of Alexandria to try and retrieve the valuables of the Greek merchant, and who eventually return to the ship successfully, is truthful, the narrative Jovanović offers about the political background, and his descriptions of the course of the military actions in question, although brief, were accurate and sufficient to convey the reality of the events. The main elements of the story (the bombardment, the circumstances in the city, the presence in Egypt of the men from the region of Boka Kotorska, and the kind of work they had) were all based on facts. Ultimately it is convincing,[45] and, to sum up, the tale at the heart of a 'Bloody business' may well be based on a real event, and its protagonists, and thus have a considerable level of documentary value.

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[42] Kostadinović 2012: 215-216.
[43] Kostadinović 2012: 216.
[44] The names were – and still are – sometimes omitted to maintain a certain level of privacy for the persons mentioned in a published text. For example, Simo Matavulj, who lived in Herceg Novi from 1874 to 1881, was in the habit of mentioning a friend in anecdotes, using the initials 'J.' or 'J. G.' or the nickname 'Ješo' (Matavulj 1988: 51ff.); the individual in question was Jefto Gojković, the most respectable merchant in town and a member of the council (Zloković1978: 249, 252).
[45] See Kostadinović 2012: 215, on 'truthful' and 'convincing' in the context of Milan Jovanović Morski's travel stories.

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MÁRIA FÁY, THE FIRST HUNGARIAN WOMAN TRAVELLER AND HER JOURNEY TO THE ORIENT

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Abstract: Mária Fáy Béláné Mocsáry (1845-1917) was a pioneer Hungarian woman traveller who started her exciting journeys when she was nearly fifty. In her travel to the Orient in 1893, she not only visited Egypt but also India, Ceylon, and later the USA and Mexico. As well as managing to touch the imagination of the broader public through her catchy but objective reports, Mária also earned accolades from the academic community. She was frequently invited to give lectures, and also published articles in academic bulletins. This paper not only investigates how her travel experiences boosted the public interest in research into the Orient, but also indicates how she became a role model for Hungarian women, who at that time had only just acquired rights to study at universities.

Keywords: Travelogue, travel writing, Egyptomania, Women and Gender Studies, History of Egyptology, Mária Fáy, Ede Mahler.

This paper introduces a unique individual, Mária Fáy, and her journey to Egypt – which was published as *Keleti utazás* in 1901.[1] We will see that Fáy was not the first Hungarian woman to travel to distant countries outside Europe, however, one of the aims in this contribution is to show that she was a real pioneer of her age; and not only because she was a woman, but because she managed to touch the hearts of a broader public with her accessible, objective reports that featured in various newspapers, as well as gaining the respect of the academic community.

The last decade of the 19th century was the period when Egyptology was established as an academic discipline in Hungary. Through the example of Mária Fáy's works our objective here is to prove that without an understanding of the lay public interest, and its affects on establishing new academic institutions, we cannot see the fuller picture in terms of the development of Egyptological studies in Hungary.

The problem with the current historiographical literature and research as relates to Hungarian Egyptology derives from two factors. The first is that it is fair to say that such research barely exists. To date, Judit Horváth is the only scholar to have summarised the emergence of Hungarian Egyptology from its

[1] Fáy 1901.

beginnings in detail, published in 1985.[2] Of course, today we have to mention the very important and recent publications of László Török, who strives as well to shed light on the 'post-Mahler times' of Hungarian Egyptology.[3] The second problem is that these publications, representing the classic research methods of historiography, interpret the development of Egyptological studies too narrowly and focus strictly on evidence of academic interests in Ancient Egypt specifically. In fairness, Judit Horváth dedicates several pages to a short description of the contemporary lay interest in the subject: e.g. eight pages to newspaper articles and seven to travelogues.[4] In terms of the travel literature, she mentions only some main, common characteristics: the most popular routes for travellers and some popular details, i.e. Lukács Gyertyánffy scratching his name on the sanctuary wall at Abu Simbel.[5] She points out that these travelogues are mostly about modern Egypt and they only mention ancient monuments occasionally.[6] Mária Fáy's book, among others, therefore, appears only in the list of further literature at the end of the chapter.[7] However, we will see that it is worth analysing such travel books more closely, as they can provide unique contributions towards an understanding of the social and intellectual environment of the late 19th century, when institualization of Egyptology has just begun in Hungary.

If we look at the historiographical evidence, we find that Egyptology had a very close connection with 'non-academic' awareness from the beginning. As Stephanie Moser says:

'Egyptology, perhaps more than many other disciplines, is concerned with subjects that have attracted a great deal of public attention and have generated a variety of forms of public engagement.'[8]

The new historical approach, represented by French historians through what is known as the '*Annales* School' had already introduced new methods in the 20th century that focus on the analysis of social history and cultural practices, and emphasise history from the point of view of 'mentalities' rather than political and diplomatic themes.[9] Thanks to this different approach, new sources, such as travel books, have been included very effectively in historical studies. Balázs Venkovits pointed out that the importance of travelogues has been acknowledged in Hungary as well, but 'their texts have often been neglected or were of merely

[2] Horváth 1985.
[3] Török 2009.
[4] Horváth 1985: 43-50, 53-58.
[5] Horváth 1985: 53.
[6] Horváth 1985: 55.
[7] Horváth 1985: 57.
[8] Moser 2014: 242.
[9] Czoch 2003: 470.; 472-475. For a history of the understanding and the *Annales* School, see also Duby 1961: 938-966; Le Goff 1974: 106-129; Ariés 1988: 167-190.

documentary value. At the same time, as most travel accounts of the time are available in Hungarian only, international scholars have been excluded from professional discourse'.[10]

However, thanks to scholars such as Tibor Glant[11] and Balázs Venkovits, travel writing related to the USA is a quite well-researched area in Hungary. For Hungarian female travel writing, and Hungarian travellers to Egypt in general, we must face up to a significant deficiency, which we could experience earlier also through the example of the forgotten travel diary of Miklós Zsolnay.[12] The situation is even worse when we come to talk about women travellers. Venkovits, however, who deals with Mária Fáy's journey to the USA and Mexico in his dissertation, notes that travel books written by Hungarian women are valuable sources, in that they can present a wealth of material about different approaches towards the countries and cultures they visit.[13]

Mária Fáy was one of the most exceptional women travellers of her age, as demonstrated by her journeys not only to Egypt, but also her extended solo trips to Mexico and Cuba as well. Born in Pomáz in 1845, she was the daughter of Ignác Fáy and Franciska Kenessey. Unfortunately, when she was only one her mother died and she was raised and educated by her father and a distant relative András Fáy, a well-known writer and public figure in Hungary in the second half of the 19th century. Thanks to her guardians, the young Fáy received an excellent education and she accompanied her father on his travels to Italy – funded by income from their estates. At seventeen, Mária married Béla Mocsáry and they travelled together across Europe. Their relationship, it seems, was not a happy one and they had no children. After Mocsáry died in 1890, Mária Fáy started to travel again,[14] but this time without male guardians, a highly unusual situation at the end of the 19th century. Fáy is usually seen as the first Hungarian woman traveller, but we also know from Venkovits' research that this is inaccurate, as she was preceded, i.e. by Etelka Győrffy and Theresa Pulszky, who sent letters and published accounts in newspapers about their journeys.[15] For Egypt, we know that before Fáy, Mária Sáy also wrote about her travel experiences, but she was accompanied by her husband, Móricz, and following the cultural practices of the time the account was published under his name.[16] It is therefore more appropriate to say that Mária Fáy was the first Hungarian woman to travel in Egypt, having planned and organised her journey on her own, and published her travelogue under her own name. We

[10] Venkovits 2015: 11.
[11] For Hungarian travel writing related to the USA, see Glant 2013.
[12] Feró 2018: 41-54.
[13] Venkovits 2015: 222-223.
[14] Szinnyei 1891-1914.
[15] Venkovits 2015: 223, 227.
[16] Sáy 1881.

must add, though, that even as travelling to the Near East in the late 19th century became more feasible for women, it was still an unconventional practice. Fáy also mentions in her book that when she decided to organise a separate travel from Jerusalem to Jericho, the famous Thomas Cook Company was not impressed with her plan:

'The wish of the Cook Travel Company is that its first female travellers, who are travelling to Egypt and Palestina under their guidance, but without male guardians, should speak of them [i.e. Cook's] in favourable terms on arriving home. Therefore, they were not keen on my sudden idea to travel to Jericho, which I decided on only before 3 three days before.'[17]

We also know that Mária Fáy did not originally intend to publish a book, however her reports from India and Ceylon to various newspapers received such positive reader feedback that she was often referred to as the world famous 'globetrotter',[18] whose lectures were extremely popular.[19] *Új Idők* says of her in 1905: 'Mária Fáy is one of the most interesting ladies in Hungary at the moment. Moreover, she is one of the most interesting women in general. If an English lady travels, she comes to Europe – Paris is the most usual target, or goes to Italy and feels satisfied, because she has 'travelled'! But this Hungarian lady, not including her journeys across Europe, has been to Africa and India – and America twice – on her own. (...) She has brought thousands of carefully observed, selected and precisely elaborated... photographs home. She took all these pictures herself and now her travel accounts, in a bound album, demonstrate what an Hungarian lady is capable of.'[20]

Thanks to this popular acceptance, Fáy was to publish her experiences in Egypt in a second, extended, edition of her travel book, which originally described only her journey to India and Ceylon.[21] However, we know from the Preface that

[17] Fáy 1901: 65. 'A Cook utazó-vállalatnak az az óhaja, hogy első magyar női utasai, kik az ő vezetése mellett férfi-kiséret nélkül Egyptom és Palaestinába utaztunk, rendezéséről megelégedve nyilatkozzunk itthon. Nem volt tehát kedvére, hogy három napig tartó jerichoi útra való indulás előtt oly rögtönözve határoztam el magamat...'

[18] Pesti Hírlap 1907: 34.

[19] Budapesti Hírlap 1902: 10.

[20] *Uj Idők* 1905: 36. 'Özvegy Mocsáry Béláné született Fáy Mária egyike most Magyarország legérdekesebb asszonyainak. Sőt általában a legérdekesebb asszonyok egyike. Ha az angol nő utazik, átjön Európába - legtöbbnyire Páris a célpont, - elmegy Olaszországba és nyugszik babérain, mert ő - utazott! De ez a magyar asszony, Európában tett utazásairól nem is szólva, járt Afrikában, járt Indiában, járt kétszer is Amerikában-egymaga. (...) Ezerre menő, remekül megfigyelt, kiválasztott, pontosan kidolgozott fényképet hozott haza. Maga készítette mind s most már albumojba kötve tesz tanuságot arról, mire képes a magyar asszony.'

[21] Fáy 1901: 3. 'The respectful attention of the broad audience towards the description of my travel to India and Ceylon, encouraged me to publish a new edition for the honourable readers, extended with my journey to Egypt and Palestina, supplemented with photographs about the famous lands, buildings and the preserved monuments. I believe that the description of my

after her husband died, her first journey outside of Europe was to Egypt, before she later decided to travel on to Asia: 'I loved nature and travel my whole life. But where should I go?! I did not yearn for Europe, and how could I travel far across the sea? I, who am so anxious about my health! But I had to make up my mind and I decided to travel with one of my dear sisters to the Orient; to Egypt (to Nubia), to Palestine in January 1893, and to Greece and Turkey on my way back.'[22]

Mária began her journey in January 1893, together with her sister Margit, and she recorded about their adventures in a chronicle of 54 pages in six chapters,[23] with 38 photographs. They followed a popular route with the guidance of the Thomas Cook Company. They travelled by train from Budapest to Trieste, then boarded the Austrian Lloyd Company's ship *Amphitrite* and arrived in Alexandria in five days.[24] Here, they went to see Pompey's Pillar before taking the train to Cairo.[25] Their first visit was to the Mosque of Mohamed Ali, then the Coptic Quarter – where they made the acquaintance of a Hungarian driver, Ferencz Beck, who became their guide in the city.[26] This is one of the more remarkable sections of the book, as usually our sources about Egypt in the 19th century describe the travels and experiences of the upper classes, but the short telling of Beck's story gives an insight into how ordinary Hungarians could get to Egypt: 'A chance meeting with the Hungarian Ferencz Beck led to him becoming both our coachmen and guide. He told us later that he had been in constant quarrels with his brothers in his homeland and his desire grew to see the world, and this took him to Egypt. Here, he managed to obtain horses, made a good life for himself as a successful excursion

journey to the Orient could be only complete if I link Egypt's great land covered with ancient monuments, the sacred land of Palestina together with the fairy land of India in order to provide an entertaining reading and also a guide.' (A nagy közönségnek azon megtisztelő rokonszenve, melylyel 'India és Ceylon' -ban tett utazásom leírását fogadta, bátorított fel arra, hogy az egyiptomi és palaestinai utazásom leírásával kibővítve, az utazásom közben érintett nevezetesebb tájak, építmények és fennmaradt emlékek fényképeivel kiegészítve, új kiadásban t. olvasóim rendelkezésére bocsássam. Azon hitben élek, hogy keleti utazásom leírása csak akkor képez kerek egészet, ha Egyptom ősemlékeivel behintett nagy térségét és Palaestina szentföldjét India tündéries tájaival úgy fűzöm össze, hogy mindazoknak, kik a nagyvilág e tündéries földje iránt érdeklődnek: egyrészt szórakoztató olvasmányt, másrészt útbaigazítást nyujtson.)

[22] Fáy 1901: 1-2. 'A természetet és az utazást egész életemben szerettem. De hová menjek?! Nem vágytam én sehová sem Európába; a messze tengeren túl pedig hogyan utazzam? ki a hőséggel szemben oly érzékeny vagyok! Be meg kellett lenni; s egy kedves húgommal 1893 január havában Keletre mentem Egyptomba (Nubiáig), Palaestinába, s Görög- és Törökország felé vissza.'

[23] From Budapest to Egypt; Egypt; On the river Nile; Luxor and Thebae; Assuan Philae, Abydos; Cairo.

[24] Fáy 1901: 6, 8.

[25] Fáy 1901: 8-9.

[26] Fáy 1901: 10-12.

guide. Alas, when we met him, his luck was rather in decline and the four horses that remained to him later dropped to one. We visited him at his home, where he lived with an Egyptian woman and they squabbled constantly. He said they had once parted, but as neither could find a better partner they got back together again.'[27]

Beck drove them to the pyramids at Gizeh,[28] where Fáy witnessed a peculiar incident she was keen to note down: 'A fellow countryman was there on the same day, and as he did not have a chance to gratify his passion for hunting, he began to shoot at full bottles of champagne placed on the head of the Sphinx. This news spread far and fast. On our arrival at Constantinople later, Pasha Széchenyi already knew about it, as news from Cairo gets there quickly.'[29]

We have not yet had the chance to find out who this mysterious Hungarian might have been, but this incident possibly reveals something of the social mores and practices among the European communities of Egypt and the Near East. Miklos Zsolnay also mentions in his diary that it was highly recommended to him that he should follow the local social conventions of the European upper classes when there, and one of his first priorities upon arriving at Cairo was to be introduced to the

[27] Fáy 1901: 11-12. 'Ezen ismerkedés után magyar ember lett a kocsisunk és vezetőnk egy személyben, kit Beck Ferencznek hívtak. Mint később elbeszélte, az Alföldön testvéreivel viszálykodásban lévén, mint szegény embert a látnivágyás Egyptomba vezette. Ott lovakra tett szert, melyekkel szerencséje volt s csakhamar ő lett a kirándulások kedvelt vállalkozója. Ottlétünkkor szerencsecsillaga lejebb szállt, már csak négy lova volt – az idén úgy hallottam, hogy már csak egy van. Meglátogattuk őt a lakásán, hol egy egyptomi asszonynyal lakott örökös zsörtölődésben; egyszer el is hagyták egymást, de jobb társat egyik sem talált magának, ismét összekerültek.'

[28] Fáy 1901: 12-13. 'A gizehi pyramisokhoz, a fáraók temetkezési helyéhez széles, magas töltésű, terebélyes fákkal árnyékolt út vezet. Hűvös reggelen, midőn a lenge szellő a finom sivatagport arczomra hordta, önkéntelenül Madách szavai 'Az ember tragédiájáéból jutottak eszembe, hogy: "Ezen finom por egy éven át csak néhány vonalnyit tesz ki, de évezredeken át elfogja temetni a fáraók és a népek nagy és kínos munkáját". Igazat mondott, mert már magasan takarja a pyramisokat a sivatagi tiszta kvarcz, melyben bokáig gázoltunk.' ('To the pyramids of Gizeh, the tomb of the pharaohs, leads a broad, high road shadowed by big trees. One chilly morning, when a light breeze blew fine desert dust into my face, unbidden the words of Imre Madách came to mind from his play, "The Tragedy of Man": "A little wave of dust doth mark its flight, That mounts a few short inches in a year, And some few cubits in a thousand years; Yet a few thousand years shall overwhelm Thy pyramids, and thy great name shall be Buried beneath a barrier of sand." He had it right, as the fine desert quartz covers the pyramids so high that it reached our ankles.' (extract from 'The Tragedy of Man' by Imre Madách translated by J.C.W. Horne 1963).

[29] Fáy 1901: 13-14. 'Egy honfitársunk ugyanaz nap volt ott és miután vadászati szenvedélyét Egyptomban kedvére ki nem elégíthette, a Sphinx fején lévő telt pezsgős üvegekre lövöldözött. Ennek messze ment hire; visszajövet Konstantinápolyba, Széchenyi pasa is tudta már, mert ott a kairói eseményekről gyorsan vannak értesülve.'

local socialites by Miksa Herz.[30] Mária Fáy stressed that reports of unacceptable and inappropriate behaviour circulated rapidly and could have significant consequences: 'Pasha Széchenyi was interested in the news from Cairo and was pleased to hear good reports about his fellow countrymen; however, the son of the great Széchenyi became noticeably disappointed, when he heard the unpleasant news to do with the behaviour of one of them, as Cairo is a meeting point for influential travellers from around the world, who are aware of each other's acts.'[31]

Mária records their visit to the Cairo Museum with great enthusiasm, and is keen to share details to do with Ancient Egyptian afterlife and the mummification process. We also read that dealing in ancient artefacts was a natural consequence of tourism: 'On our way back from the pyramids, we spent the whole afternoon in the very interesting museum at Gizeh, where we also returned several times to buy scarabs.'[32]

After Cairo, Mária and Margit took a three-week cruise along the Nile, from the capital to Assuan and Phylae. On the journey, organised by the Cook's, they stopped from time to time on the river and made brief excursions to the ancient monuments, including the Step Pyramid at Sakkara, the Serapeum, and Mariette's house.[33]

There were frequent amusing episodes for Mária to jot down: 'We also had minor accidents; for example, once I managed to step into the Nile instead of onto the boat. I swore something in Hungarian to the attending Englishman, as he held my hand the wrong way; and the same day my sister found herself in the dirt before the Colossi of Memnon – assisted by her old and stumbling donkey. Every day several tourists fell off their donkeys.'[34]

They spent three days in Luxor and Thebes and visited the Valley of the Kings, the Ramasseum, the temples of Karnak and Luxor, and Medinet Habu.[35] During her account of the tombs in the Valley of the Kings, Mária wryly notes:

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[30] Zsolnay 1887-1888: 61-62.

[31] Fáy 1901: 100. 'Érdekelték Széchenyi pasát a kairói események és örömét fejezte ki, midőn ott lévő honfitársairól szépet hallott; ellenben észrevehetőleg rosszul esett nagy Széchenyink fiának, hogyha valamelyikről azok közül helytelen dolgokat kellett hallania, mert Kairó találkozó helye az egész világ művelt utazóinak, kik tudomást vesznek egymás viselkedéséről.' 'Pasha' Széchenyi is Ödön Széchenyi, the son of István Széchenyi. After Ödön Széchenyi established the Fire Department of Budapest in 1863. he was invited by Sultan Abdul Aziz to set up a similar institution in Constantinople in 1874. Szinnyei 1891-1914.

[32] Fáy 1901: 14. 'A pyramisoktól visszajövet, az egész délutánt a felette érdekes gizehi múzeumban töltöttük, hová még más ízben is elrándultunk vásárolni scarabeusokat.'

[33] Fáy 1901: 20-21.

[34] Fáy 1901: 24. 'A kirándulások apró inczidenseihez nékünk is kellett járulni; például, egyszer én a csolnak helyett a Nílusba léptem, valamit magyarul mondva azon angolnak, a miért kezemet rosszul tartotta, húgom pedig az nap öreg, botlós szamarával együtt a Memnon-szobrok előtt tisztelgett a földön. Némely utas mindennap elesett szamarával.'

[35] Fáy 1901: 25-33.

'We saw no mummies in either; they were dragged away to museums, mostly by the English.'[36]

Yet we may assume that Mária returned herself to Hungary with some ancient artefacts acquired from Egypt: 'We bought our souvenirs in the Museum of Excavations, together with the help of the German consul, who is actually an Arab – one should be careful there, because in Luxor fakes of artefacts, scarabs and little statues are common.'[37]

She mentions that she, too, bought the occasional mummy part for herself and her friends as gifts: 'When I bought a mummy hand from an Arab, as requested by one of my dear relatives from home, I was looked at it cautiously to see if it might be real. A knowing Englishman assured me that the hand was perfectly real, however it was more likely to be that of the trader's father rather than from any tomb of a king. My sister bought a mummy leg, but she, alas, was obliged to throw it into the Nile – as it became unbearable in our cabin.'[38]

Unfortunately, we do not know for certain whether Mária brought back any Egyptian artefacts to Hungary; no newspapers of the day make any mention to them, nor her travel writings.

After the trip to Luxor they also visited Esna and the Temple of Horus in Edfu, before moving to Assuan, Philae, and Abydos.[39] Of Edfu she notes that the structure was the most intact ancient monument in Egypt at that time.[40] She also wrote that the Philae temple was in relatively good shape as well, and enthused about the still intact painted ceilings of Abydos.[41]

When planning her Egyptian trip, Mária was clearly aware that the delights of the Nile ranked among the most popular destinations for her class at the end of the 19th century. She was not disappointed by her decision. Writing of her boat trip she affirms: 'The tourists on the *Ramses* expressed that a Nile cruise in Egypt probably crowns all travels.'[42]

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[36] Fáy 1901: 27. 'Múmiát nem láttunk egyikben sem, azokat széthordták muzeumokba leginkább az angolok.'

[37] Fáy 1901: 31. 'Az ásatások múzeumában vásároltuk a német consullal, a ki különben arab ember, emléktárgyainkat – mivel ott vigyázni kell, mert Luxorban gyárilag igen jól utánozzák a régiségeket, scarabeusokat, kis szobrokat.'

[38] Fáy 1901: 31. 'Midőn egy arabtól egy mumiakezet megvettem, melyet egy rokonom itthon emlékül kötött ki magának, kételkedve nézegettem, hogy valódi-e. Egy komoly angol bizonyította, hogy tökéletesen reali a kéz, csakhogy az eladó apjáé lehetett, nem pedig a király-sírokból. Hugóm egy mumialábat vett, de azt nagy sajnálatára a Nílusba kellett dobnia, mivel a láb kellemetlenné kezdett válni kis fülkénkben.'

[39] Fáy 1901: 33-34, 35-45.

[40] Fáy 1901: 34.

[41] Fáy 1901: 42-43.

[42] Fáy 1901: 45. 'A világutazók a Ramsesen odanyilatkoztak, hogy az egyptomi nílusi út lenne az utazások koronája.'

After the cruise, Mária Fáy arrives back in Cairo and in her notes we read of the great carnival in the city in February, with the locals wearing Ancient Egyptian costumes.[43] And it is at the end of the Egyptian chapter that she gives us her practical advice, e.g. which months are the most comfortable for train travel or taking a river cruise.

Fáy's travelogue does not contain much information on Ancient Egyptian history, nor extended descriptions of the monuments. As she reminds us in her Preface: '... based on my memories and letters sent back home, I am writing down my journey for charitable purposes – my goals are not scientific ones. As a simple village woman, I did not set out on my journey to do this end, but to present an entertaining read (...) Therefore, I recommend my work to all Hungarian Ladies.'[44]

Mária Fáy's travel book is of particular value as it describes some of the more interesting social practices of her age; the author herself served in a way as a role model for Hungarian women. This was a great advance in the late 19th century, as being an independent woman who travelled to distant countries on her own, and went on to be published under her own name, was exceptional. However, we know that thanks to travel companies such as Thomas Cook (sadly only recently wound up) and to the development of a suitable infrastructure, it became more and more easy to organise such trips, even for female travellers; the social conventions were, indeed, slowly changing. When Mária Fáy was travelling there was much debate in the Hungarian media about the role and education of the country's women;[45] indeed, it was one of the main topics of parliamentary debate at the time.[46]

András Fáy, Mária Fáy's guardian, had already called politicians' attention to the need to improve the education of women, at least at the elementary level. András Fáy had a great influence on József Eötvös,[47] the first leader of the Ministry of Religion and Education in the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Although he initiated a

[43] Fáy 1901: 46. 'Az előttünk elvonuló óriás gizehi pyramisból méltóságteljesen lépett ki egy~egy sírjából feltámadt fáraó a sphynxkendőben, és bennünket confettival dobált. (...) Isis istennő is megjelent nagy pompájában a Nilus kulcsával, áldást szórva maga körül.' ('From the great pyramids of Gizeh, marching before us, stepped out gracefully several pharaohs risen from their tombs in sphynx-scarves, spreading confetti before us. (...) The goddess Isis was also there in all her great splendour, with the key of the Nile, spreading blessings all around her.').

[44] Fáy 1901: 1. '...haza írt leveleim és emlékeim alapján, jótékony czélra leírom utamat, — nem tudományos szempontból, hiszen egyszerű falusi asszony létemre, úgy sem azért keltem útra, hanem szórakozásul hölgytársnőim számára. Ezért a magyar hölgyeknek ajánlom munkámat.'

[45] Merényi 2006: 11-13.

[46] Mann 1993: 105.

[47] Kéri 2015: 243-246. For more details, see: Fáy 1841.

law[48] on compulsory education for all children between the ages of six and twelve, and high-school graduation became possible for them as well,[49] Hungarian society still baulked at the idea of women attending university or having an academic carrier – instead of running the home. Among the fiercest of critics was Károly Böhm, who opined that women were not up to studying sciences, driven as they were by their sex to give birth and nothing more; those women without children, either accidently or through their own choice, became disgruntled and doomed to an unhappy life. He described these women pejoratively as 'Scratcher women', who involve themselves with science or publish various things.[50] Fortunately, the leaders of the Ministry of Education, such as Loránd Eötvös and Gyula Wlassics, made a stand for the importance of the education of women, fully realising that the development of female education, and the fight against illiteracy, would lead to the elevation of the whole Hungarian nation within the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Gyula Wlassics attempted to open all university faculties to women, but he had to deal not only with the great opposition of Hungarian society, but also with the disapproval of Franz Joseph I himself.[51] The Hungarian press carried sarcastic caricatures with images of well-educated women as well as the Minister.[52] Nevertheless, he finally succeeded, and at least the faculties of Humanities, Medicine and Pharmacy opened their gates to female students.[53]

Given the above circumstances, we cannot be surprised that the first thing Mária Fáy found important to highlight before describing her journeys was how much she supported conventional family life and the classic role of women as housewives: 'She whose home is only but moderately warm, should care for it faithfully – for even if one should search for respite from the North to the Equator, love, which alone can bring happiness to a woman, can be found only there.'[54]

In such a hostile social environment, it was an extraordinary achievement that Mária Fáy managed not only to publish her travel experiences but also that she frequently gave lectures – invited by the Hungarian Geographical Society and also by the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. The importance of her works has been acknowledged by the Hungarian Ministry of Education as well, as suggested by

[48] For the Hungarian terms of the law, see: *1868. évi XXXVIII. törvénycikk a népiskolai közoktatás tárgyában*.
[49] Mann 1993: 23.
[50] Bhöm 1883: 22-54.
[51] Mann 1993: 105. See footnote 38.
[52] Kéri 2015: 282-283.
[53] Mann 1993: 105.
[54] Fáy 1901: 2. 'Kinek csak némileg is meleg családi tűzhelye van, gondozza azt hűségesen, mert — hiába keresne megnyugvást északtól az egyenlítőig — a szeretet, mely egyedül boldogítja a nőt, csak ott található fel.'

Közlöny:[55] 'The Minister of Religious and Educational Affairs has recommending the procurement of the following book: 'Travel to the Orient. Egypt, the Holy Land, India, Ceylon'. A travelogue by Mocsáry Béláné Fáy Mária. Budapest. Published by Jr. Otto Nágel. To be provided for the libraries of girls' high-schools, commercial high-schools, and training colleges.'

We know that the Ministers of Education at the beginning of the 20th century began to strongly support the publishing of Hungarian educational literature, textbooks and coursebooks; previously only translations were accessible for public schools, and even universities, in the late 19th century. Gyula Wlassics encouraged universities to initiate new faculties and funded brand new institutions as well. He also supported teachers wanting to attend study visits to different countries, including Egypt, and he ensured there was a special allocation from the budget to ensure a sound financial platform for such activities. [56] The lack of proper educational materials written by Hungarian authors was so great that the value of alternative works of high standard by women authors increased as well. Mária Fáy's book *Travel to the Orient* was on girls' reading lists in public schools. That her book was not only recommended but actually read widely can be confirmed by the copy I possess. It contains a tiny card with a recommendation from the Ministry, the stamp of the Public School for Girls in Szeged, and a note written by hand that it was from the 'Teacher's Library'.[57] In this period, when a separate Faculty of Egyptology did not exist,[58] and even the procurement of translated literature on Ancient Egypt was hard to find, Mária Fáy's work could open a whole new world – with its photographs of the ancient monuments, mummies, and her accounts of the country and its culture. Her extremely popular lectures, and that school libraries included her book, illustrate that there was a desire to learn as much as possible about exotic countries and their cultures.

When trying to discover the roots and background of the academic development of Egyptology, we should take into account the state of the period's cultural status and also lay interests and their characteristics. Contemporary social environment and practices are also important factors when making our analysis. Without so doing our perceptions are rather one-sided, which is already suggested in a way by the former literature on the historiography of Egyptology, writing that only 'the financial situation of the university' and 'the negative attitude of Hungarian

[55] Hivatalos Közlöny 1901: 508. 'A m. kir. vallás- és közoktatásügyi minister a következő czimű munkát: 'Keleti Utazás. Egyptom, Szentföld, India, Ceylon. Utijegyzetek. Irta Mocsáry Béláné Fáy Mária. Budapest. Ifj. Nagel Ottó bizománya. Felsőbb leány-, felső-kereskedelmi iskolák, továbbá tanító és tanítónőképző-intézetek tanári könyvtárai számára való beszerzésre ajánlja. (1750. eln.-1901.)'.

[56] Mann 1993: 94.

[57] Fig. 4.

[58] Török 2011: 13.

cultural policy in the years before the Great War'[59] could be to blame for the delay in initiating Hungarian archaeological fieldwork in Egypt, and in establishing the discipline of Egyptology in Hungary. Gyula Wlassics supported various foreign study visits of teachers even before Ede Mahler's studies. Zsolt Beöthy was one, who, thanks to this support, managed to establish a major collection of Ancient Egyptian artefacts. We know that the Ministers of Education were committed to give fundamental support to Higher Education, and the budget of the Ministry was constantly increased, even in the time of Albert Berzeviczy; at least until 1910, Albert Apponyi also released substantial funds to extend museum collections and strengthen academic research in the universities.[60]

It seems that even though Ede Mahler gave various lectures on Ancient Egyptian civilisation in the National Museum and the Academy of Sciences, he never attracted greater attention. Judit Horváth mentions that authors of travelogues on Egypt, such as Miklós Aubermann in his book, published in 1904, often complained there were few representatives of Egyptology in Hungary.[61] Ede Mahler came out with his general work on the history of Ancient Egypt[62] only in 1906, and was appointed Professor of Egyptology in 1910.[63] Until then, the introduction of Egyptian civilisation to the broader, lay audience remained in the hands of pioneer 'bloggers' and social influencers of the 19th century, such as Mária Fáy.

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[59] Török 2009: 16.
[60] Mann 1993: 121.
[61] Horváth 1985: 55.
[62] Mahler 1906.
[63] Török 2011: 13.

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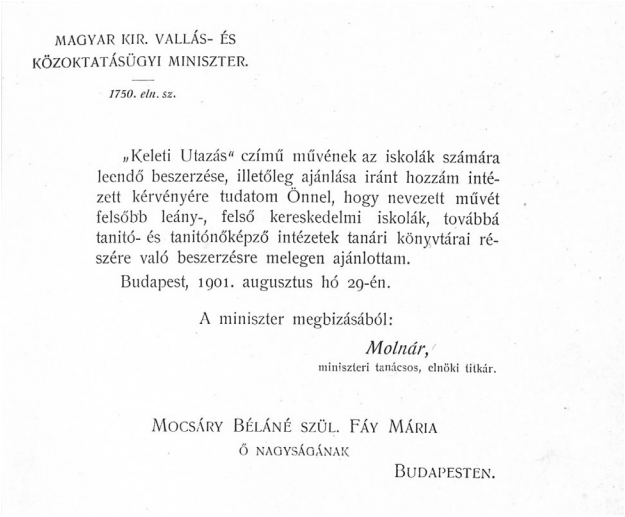
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MAGYAR KIR. VALLÁS- ÉS
KÖZOKTATÁSÜGYI MINISZTER.

1750. eln. sz.

„Keleti Utazás" című művének az iskolák számára leendő beszerzése, illetőleg ajánlása iránt hozzám intézett kérvényére tudatom Önnel, hogy nevezett művét felsőbb leány-, felső kereskedelmi iskolák, továbbá tanító- és tanítónőképző intézetek tanári könyvtárai részére való beszerzésre melegen ajánlottam.

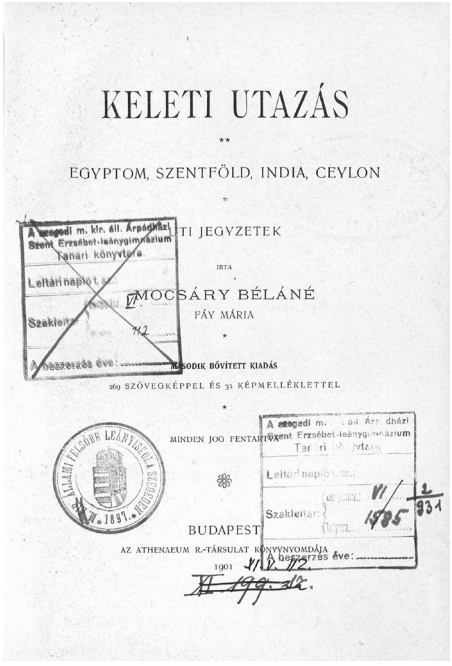
Budapest, 1901. augusztus hó 29-én.

A miniszter megbizásából:

Molnár,
miniszteri tanácsos, elnöki titkár.

MOCSÁRY BÉLÁNÉ SZÜL. FÁY MÁRIA
Ő NAGYSÁGÁNAK
BUDAPESTEN.

Figure 1. Recommendation of the Minister of Education in the 2nd edition of Mária Fáy's book (photo: author).



KELETI UTAZÁS

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EGYPTOM, SZENTFÖLD, INDIA, CEYLON

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TI JEGYZETEK

IRTA

MOCSÁRY BÉLÁNÉ

FÁY MÁRIA

*

MÁSODIK BŐVÍTETT KIADÁS

269 SZÖVEGKÉPPEL ÉS 31 KÉPMELLÉKLETTEL

*

MINDEN JOG FENTARTVA

BUDAPEST

AZ ATHENAEUM R.-TÁRSULAT KÖNYVNYOMDÁJA

1901

Figure 2. Title page of Mária Fáy's book with the stamp of Szeged Public School for Girls (photo: author).

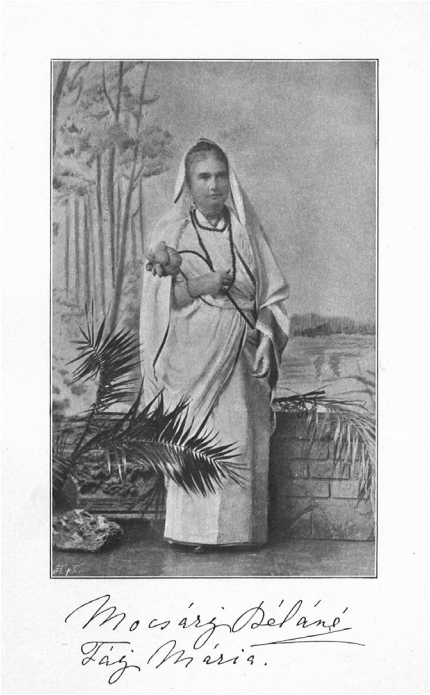


Figure 3. Mária Fáy's portrait with her signature from her book (Fáy 1901: 395) (photo: author).



Figure 4. Hand written note by the Public School for Girls in Szeged. (Fáy: 1901, inner cover page) (photo: author).

THE EGYPTIAN COFFIN AND MUMMY OF STEPHAN DELHAES AND OTHER MUMMIES FROM AKHMIM IN HUNGARY

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Abstract: The study presents some coffins and mummies originating from Akhmim preserved in Hungarian public collections. The discussed pieces all were purchased by Hungarian collectors of the late 19th century, when an increased demand for Egyptian mummies in Hungary seems to have appeared simultaneously with the discovery of the ancient Egyptian necropoleis of Akhmim in the 1880s. The second part of the study deals with the Egyptian collection of the artist and collector Stephan Delhaes, whose eclectic collection comprised *c.* 500 ancient Egyptian artefacts. In his will he bestowed all pieces of his collection to Hungarian museums. As we do not have any relevant documentation of the ex-Delhaes collection, in the current research we try to reconstruct its original composition. The paper highlights an Akhmim coffin and mummy of the Delhaes collection.

Keywords: Akhmim, Akhmim coffins in Hungary, Egyptian mummies in Hungary, Egyptian collection of Stephan Delhaes, coffin of Hortesnakht.

Interest in ancient Egypt, as well as in non-European cultures in general, increased in Hungary in the course of the last third of the 19th century.[1] Many of the contemporaneous collectors and travellers donated or sold their acquisitions, or parts thereof, to public collections, above all to the Hungarian National Museum. However, a number of collectors of the period seem to have preferred other (e.g. public educational) aspects, when looking first to purchase (genuine) ancient Egyptian mummies. Their primary purpose was to provide a visual aid for students in the scientific departments of reputable ecclesiastical secondary schools, this way supporting their old *alma maters*. The acquired mummy was usually placed in a painted anthropoid coffin that served as its safe container, and at the same time as an addition that made the item more appealing to prospective purchasers.

[1] * This study was supported by grants NKFI K-125440 (National Research, Development and Innovation Office, Hungary). Kóthay 2019: 197.

It can hardly be a mere coincidence that this increased demand for Egyptian mummies appeared simultaneously with the discovery of the ancient Egyptian necropoleis of Akhmim in the 1880s. It is undoubtedly due to this significant archaeological discovery that the supply of ancient Egyptian mummies and coffins unprecedently turned up in the art market in those years.

In 1884, Gaston Maspero, Director of the Antiquities Service, carried out a hasty archaeological survey of the site, during which he reportedly opened twenty tombs and found no fewer than 800 mummies in two weeks.[2] After this survey he conducted almost completely undocumented archaeological fieldwork in a rather unprofessional manner at the site, mainly at el-Hawawish and el-Shalamuni,[3] until 1888. This exploration was accompanied and followed by rampant looting of the site by both locals and foreign visitors, the consequence of which was that by the last decade of the 19th century the cemetery had acquired the appearance of a veritable battlefield. According to eyewitnesses, parts of mummified bodies were strewn everywhere and the ground was covered with holes dug by looters.[4]

As a further consequence, during the last two decades of the 19th century, numerous coffins landed in European and American public and private collections from Akhmim, most of them containing a mummy. During recent researches, we have successfully reconstructed the modern history of a number of mummies and coffins preserved in Hungarian collections that arrived in the discussed period from the archaeological site of Akhmim.

A mummy (Museum of Fine Arts, Budapest, inv. no. 51.637) and a late Ptolemaic – early Roman period coffin lid (Museum of Fine Arts, Budapest, inv. no. 51.638) (Figure 1) were purchased by Adolf Kunc (1841-1905), the provost and prelate of the Provostry (Abbey) of Csorna, a polymath scientist, teacher and school director, and Member of Parliament between 1884 and 1887. In 1893 Kunc founded a new secondary school and friary built in Szombathely, south-west Hungary, where, three years later, he equipped the scientific collection of the school with a mummy and the discussed cartonnage coffin lid, to be used as a visual aid for the students.[5] In this acquisition he was assisted by Gusztáv Ruprich (1855-1912), a doctor at the spa of Sankt Radegund bei Graz in Austria, who had excellent connections and an extensive circle of acquaintances among the Hungarian and international elite spa guests.[6] Dr Carl-August Reinhardt (1856-1903), the German consul in Cairo in the

[2] Kuhlmann 1983: 54; Depauw 2002: 71; Germer, Kischkewitz and Lüning 2009: 113-116.
[3] Riggs 2005: 62.
[4] Kuhlmann 1983: 51; Germer, Kischkewitz and Lüning 2009: 114.
[5] The circumstances of their acquisition were reconstructed by József Horváth, see Horváth 2011.
[6] I am indebted to Péter Rupprich who made available to me much valuable information from the Ruprich family archive.

1890s, well-known to contemporary Egyptology, also played a prominent role in the acquisition of the coffin and the mummy, as mediator.

According to their correspondence, Reinhardt finally offered to purchase two mummies, a cheaper one and a more expensive exemplar.[7] The cheaper one (a female mummy) was finally purchased by Gusztáv Ruprich himself, and was gifted to his own *alma mater*, the Cistercian Secondary School in Székesfehérvár in the same year.[8] Unfortunately, this later mummy has not yet been identified.

An additional piece (inv. no. 51.1995.1-2) in the Egyptian collection of the Museum of Fine Arts (Figure 2) can be dated to the end of the Third Intermediate Period. The coffin was transferred to the Museum of Fine Arts in 1950 from Eger, north-east Hungary. On stylistic and iconographic grounds, it obviously originates from Akhmim.[9] According to the museum archives, it also once contained the remains of a mummified body of a man, but these have not been preserved.[10] The coffin was purchased by Károly Kovács, an hotelier in Cairo from 1884-1885; i.e. just after the discovery of the Akhmim necropolis. He sent the object to the Cistercian High School in Eger to enhance its scientific collection.[11]

Finally, the mummy and coffin of the early Third Intermediate Perod in the Calvinist Collections in Pápa, north-west Hungary were purchased in 1884 by Károly Markstein, a businessman residing in Cairo, who donated it to the scientific collection of his former secondary school in Pápa.[12] The accompanying certificate was completed by Emil Brugsch, younger brother of Egyptologist Heinrich Brugsch.[13] It proves that the coffin was found during the archaeological survey at Akhmim carried out at that time by Gaston Maspero.

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[7] During 1896, Reinhardt purchased large quantities of cartonnage coffins and fragments from the same tomb complex in the cemetery of Akhmim, see Smith 1994: 296-298; Riggs 2005: 67-69; Germer, Kischkewitz and Lüning 2009: 165-168; Liptay 2011b; Liptay 2014; Liptay 2018a: 406-409. A number were probably sold to private collections. On the collecting activity of Carl-August Reinhardt (concerning Egyptian artefacts), see also: Köpstein 1996: 35-47; Albersmeier 2007: 10-11.

[8] Horváth 2011: 49.

[9] Liptay 2013: 159.

[10] Archives of the Museum of Fine Arts, no. SZM 672/950.

[11] Kiss 1987: 587.

[12] Calvinist Collections of Pápa, inv. no. A.1. I would like to express my gratitude to László Köntös, director of the Calvinist Collections of Pápa for his permission to study and publish the coffin, and to Szilvia Halászné Kapcsándi for her help in my research. The coffin and mummy were first published in 1987, see László 1987 and Varga 1987. See also Liptay 2011a and 2018: 403-406.

[13] For his role in the exploitation of Akhmim, see Germer, Kischkewitz and Lüning 2009: 116.



Figure 1. Coffin lid
(Museum of Fine Arts, inv. no. 51.638).



Figure 2. Coffin lid and box
(Museum of Fine Arts, inv. no. 51.1995.1-2).

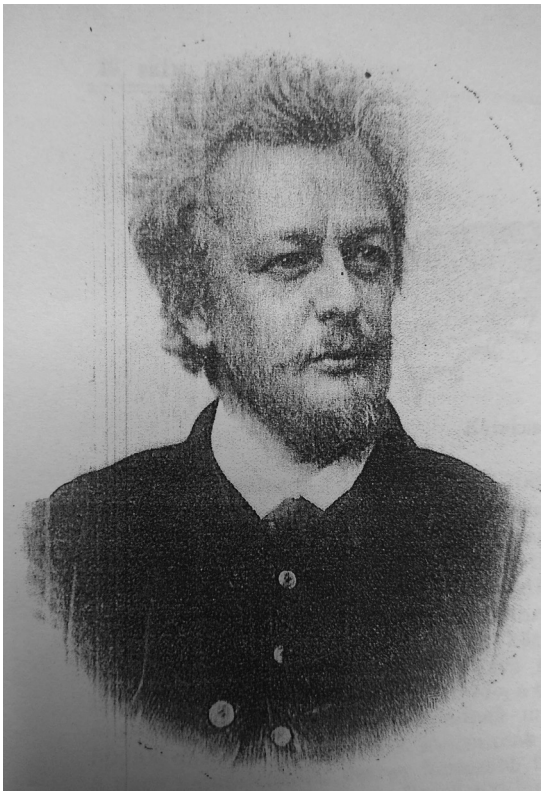


Figure 3. Stephan Delhaes (after Vasárnapi Újság XLIX, no. 48; 30 November 1902: 782).

The Delhaes Collection

The historical painter, conservator, connoisseur and collector Stephan (Stefan; István) Delhaes (1843-1901) (Figure 3) was the son of a wealthy Flemish textile wholesaler.[14] His father, Nicolaus (Miklós) Delhaes, and his Hungarian wife Emerenc(z)ia Lukits, first settled in Pest, perhaps in the beginning of the 1840s. The father, Miklós Delhaes and his brother, Richárd,[15] ran a prosperous textile trade company in downtown Pest in the 1840s. However, after 1848, Miklós Delhaes disappears from the record; he obviously died in those years (perhaps during the Hungarian War of Independence, 1848-1849), but we do not know the exact date and circumstances of his demise. After his death the widow remarried to an

[14] Bodó and Vígh 2002: 190-191. His most recent biography: Pallag 2019, 117-118.
[15] It seems plausible that after his death the company continued to work in Pest by his brother and his descendants.



Figure 4. Maximilian Lenz: The Artist's Studio
(Museum of Fine Arts, Budapest, Department of Art after 1800, inv. no. 39.B).

Austrian army officer, and they moved to Vienna, with Stephan, her only child from her first husband.[16]

After graduating from the Academy of Art in Vienna, Stephan Delhaes worked as a conservator for the Liechtenstein Gallery in the Liechtenstein Garden Palace at Rossau, and hired there his studio from the Duke. The wealth inherited from his father not only allowed him to live a carefree life, but he was even able to form his own valuable collection of artefacts and antiquities. His studio in the Liechtenstein Palace – which was one of the main attractions of Vienna in those days – was depicted by the painter Maximilian Lenz (1860-1948) in the beginning of the 1880s (Museum of Fine Arts, Collection of Art after 1800, inv. no. B.30) (Figure 4). This studio housed his rich and eclectic collection, containing prehistoric objects and ancient Egyptian, Greek and Roman antiquities, objects of daily use from the medieval and early modern ages, as well

[16] Gohl 1906; Bodó and Vígh 2002: 191; Pallag 2019: 117.

as a collection of paintings and drawings. His significant numismatic collection of nearly 20,000 pieces, in turn, was curated separately and kept in his apartment at Schlösselgasse 2; he was among the founders of the Numizmatische Gesellschaft of Vienna in 1870.[17]

His contemporaries describe him as retreating and modest, but a fairly generous person. He was considered as a 'Fachmann allerersten Ranges'[18] and commemorated as one of the last old-style Viennese collectors and connoisseurs. He remained unmarried all his life. His family – with a half-brother and a half-siter from his mother's second marriage among them – adored him. He devoted his time to travelling and studying art history and archaeology. He was a popular figure in the social life of both Budapest and Vienna. Every time he visited Budapest he took his newly purchased pieces with him to show them to his friends.[19]

He proudly kept his Hungarian identity until the end of his life. In 1893, in his handwritten will, he left all the items in his collection 'to his birthplace, Budapest',[20] i.e. to Hungarian museums and public collections. He himself estimated it at some 228,000 Hungarian crowns, but other experts considered it was worth twice that amount.[21] However, during the 1870s and 1880s – i.e. well before bequeathing his whole collection to Hungary – he had already donated a number of artefacts to the Hungarian National Museum.[22]

After his death in 1901, the ancient Egyptian objects were kept in the Hungarian National Museum until 1934, after which they were transferred to the newly established Egyptian Collection of the Museum of Fine Arts.

Unfortunately, no documentation or list of the Aegyptiaca belonging to his collection seems to have survived, or at least we have not found it yet. However, we know that the collection comprised no less than 498 ancient Egyptian items.[23] Among these only a few can be identified for the time being, i.e. those that after having been displayed in the National Museum were published in two photographs in a newspaper in 1902.[24] According to his testament, the Delhaes objects were exhibited separately from the other antiquities of the museum, in an exhibition area called the 'Delhaes Corridor'.[25] Consequently, we can assume that all the objects seen in the photographs belonged to the Delhaes bequest.

[17] Gohl 1906: 118.
[18] Gohl 1906: 119.
[19] *Budapesti Hírlap*, no. 349 (18 December 1901): 4.
[20] *Pesti Hírlap* XXIV/no. 15 (6 January 1902): 7; *Neue Freie Presse* Nr. 13164 (19 April 1901): 6.
[21] *Budapesti Hírlap*, no. 349 (18 December 1901): 4; *Műcsarnok* 26 (1901): 338.
[22] See contemporary newspaper announcements and the accession registers of the Hungarian National Museum between the 1870s and 1890s.
[23] According to the Archives of the Hungarian National Museum (no. 25/-1902).
[24] *Vasárnapi Újság* XLIX, no. 48 (30 November 1902): 784.
[25] Hoffmann 1914: 222. n. 8, 223, n. 1, 228, n. 6, 230, n. 5 and n. 10, 231, n. 1, 231, n. 4; Szentesi 2006: 76, n. 315.

In the first picture one can recognise a shabti figure, a bronze situla and a bronze Isis lactans statuette. Additionally, there are some unidentifiable smaller objects (e.g. scarabs) in the background. Among them only the situla can safely be identified with the bronze situla of our present collection (Museum of Fine Arts, Budapest, inv. no. 51.2272).

In the second picture, at the feet of an anthropoid coffin, one can see a funerary stela that can be easily identified as the Late Period funerary stela from Abydos in the present collection (Museum of Fine Arts, Budapest, inv. no. 51.2151). The vessel in the middle and the stone stela or relief fragment on the right are as yet unidentified.

The coffin and mummy of Hortesnakht

Unfortunately, in the painting by Maximilian Lenz neither an Egyptian anthropoid coffin nor any other larger-sized Aegyptiaca can be recognised. Nevertheless, based on the above-mentioned photograph published in 1902,[26] the coffin can safely be identified as one of the painted wooden coffins with a gilded face from the present collection (Museum of Fine Arts, Budapest, inv. no. 51.2097.1-2) (Figure 5). However, the available contemporary sources do not report whether or not the coffin contained a mummy.

Indeed, the mummy and the painted wooden anthropoid coffin of the Delhaes collection have been handled and displayed separately from each other for a long period. Until recently, we had only one clue, i.e. the handwritten manuscript of a mummy examination carried out in the Museum of Fine Arts in 1936, in the course of which the anthropoid coffins of the Egyptian collection were opened, the mummies and mummy trappings found inside were inspected and described. One of the descriptions seemed to make clear that the Delhaes coffin had contained a mummy covered with cartonnage mummy trappings and a gilded cartonnage mask that can be identified with one of the mummies in the collection (Museum of Fine Arts, Budapest, inv. no. 51.2080). It seemed to prove that the mummy and the coffin must have been purchased together by Delhaes, and that they were parts of the same burial equipment in antiquity.

For this reason, one of the important results of our current mummy research project was that we could gather iconographic as well as scientific evidence of their common origin. Additionally, we could identify the gilded mummy mask (Museum of Fine Arts, Budapest, inv. no. 51.1932) in the collection that originally belonged to the set of cartonnage trappings.

[26] *Vasárnapi Újság* XLIX, no. 48 (30 November 1902): 784.

The coffin

According to the inscription of the lower part of the coffin lid, the owner's name was Hortesnakht, a female name attested exclusively in Akhmim during the Ptolemaic Period.[27] Based on its typological features and iconographic layout, the coffin must originate from Akhmim.[28] Although it presents the traditional and general layout of contemporary Panopolitan coffins, its iconography shows some peculiarities which may provide clues to a more precise dating within the period. Based on these iconographic details, the coffin can be dated approximately to the second half of the 3rd century BC.[29]

The cartonnage mummy trappings

The wrapped mummy is covered with a three-piece set of painted and partly gilded cartonnage trappings – a typical exemplar of those used in Panopolitan burials during the Ptolemaic Period. Moreover, some iconographic features make it probable that this cartonnage set (similarly to the coffin) can also be dated to the second half of the 3rd century BC.[30]

The layout of the design itself, as well as some individual iconographic motifs of the cartonnage set and the coffin, are similar, and in some cases even identical. Moreover, the unique iconography of the goddess Nut, with outstretched wings, on the coffin lid is basically identical with that depicted on the cartonnage trapping covering the body. The occurrence of some rare motifs together undoubtedly indicates that both the coffin and the cartonnage set were decorated by the same group of artists, or even by the same hand.[31] These stylistic and iconographic analogies and congruencies of rare motifs provided the first hard evidence for the common origin of the coffin and the mummy.

The mummy

The mummy is wrapped in linen bandages, the surface of which has been soaked in a dark resinous substance. The arms are placed crossed on the chest: the left hand is clenched, while the right hand is open. Jonathan Elias pointed out that this positioning of the arms and fingers is extremely common in Ptolemaic Panopolitan

[27] See, e.g. Munro 1973: 369; Varga 1993: 192 and n. 29; Haslauer 2012: 210-211.
[28] Brech 2008: 224-228.
[29] Liptay 2013; Liptay 2018a: 404-406.
[30] Elias 2008: 11; Liptay 2018a: 405-406.
[31] Liptay 2018: 405.

burials.[32] The CT-analysis revealed that four visceral packets were placed in the cavity. According to the anthropological analysis Hortesnakht died around the age of 18-20.[33]

The final evidence that the mummy was once buried in the associated coffin was provided by chemical analysis of the samples taken from the solid, black resinous substance found on the inner part of the lid (where the head of the mummy came into contact with the coffin wall) and on the bandaged head itself. The results of the Fourier Transform Infrared Spectroscopy carried out in 2011 revealed that the samples consist of the same substance in both cases.[34]

Consequently, based on the common stylistic and iconographic features of the coffin and the cartonnage trappings covering the mummy bandages, together with the results of chemical analyses, it has been demonstrated that both the mummy and the coffin of the ex-Delhaes collection belonged to the original burial of a certain Hortesnakht in Akhmim, presumably dated to the second half of the 3rd century BC.

Other objects from a hypothetical family tomb of the Ptolemaic Akhmim

Interestingly however, the name Hortesnakht is also attested in the genealogy associated with an additional piece from the Budapest collection. A fragmentary text of a characteristically Akhmim-type Ptah-Sokar-Osiris figure (inv. no. 51.2098), that can be dated approximately to the same period as the coffin and mummy of Hortesnakht, contains the name of the deceased (Hor-[...]) and that of his father, Pahesi. The funerary statue was studied and published by Edith Varga in 1993, and most recently by Carlo Rindi Nuzzolo[35] (Figure 6). Despite the fragmentary state of the inscription containing the name of the owner, Edith Varga successfully reconstructed the genealogy of the family. She has identified the name of Pahesi and the names of his father (Shanofer) and mother (Hortesnakht) on another Ptah-Sokar-Osiris statue (JdE 28+3, 25+7), and on a hypokephal (JE 10699/CG 9443) in Cairo.

In 2012, Elfriede Haslauer published the coffin of the same Pahesi preserved in the collection of Schloss Eggenberg in Graz,[36] which was donated in 1896 by Johannes Weitzer[37] (1832-1902), owner of the Weitzer Wagon Factory. It is not too fanciful to assume that Hortesnakht, the owner of the Budapest coffin, was the mother mentioned in the inscriptions of Pahesi, and thus she was the grandmother

[32] Elias and Lupton 2005: 36; Liptay 2018a: 405.
[33] Fóthy, Komáry and Liptay 2012.
[34] Petrik 2011: 60-61.
[35] Varga 1993; Rindi Nuzzolo 2014: 34.
[36] Haslauer 2012.
[37] Haslauer 2012: 194 and n.1.



Figure 5. The coffin lid and box of Hortesnakht (Museum of Fine Arts, Budapest, inv. no. 51.2097.1-2).

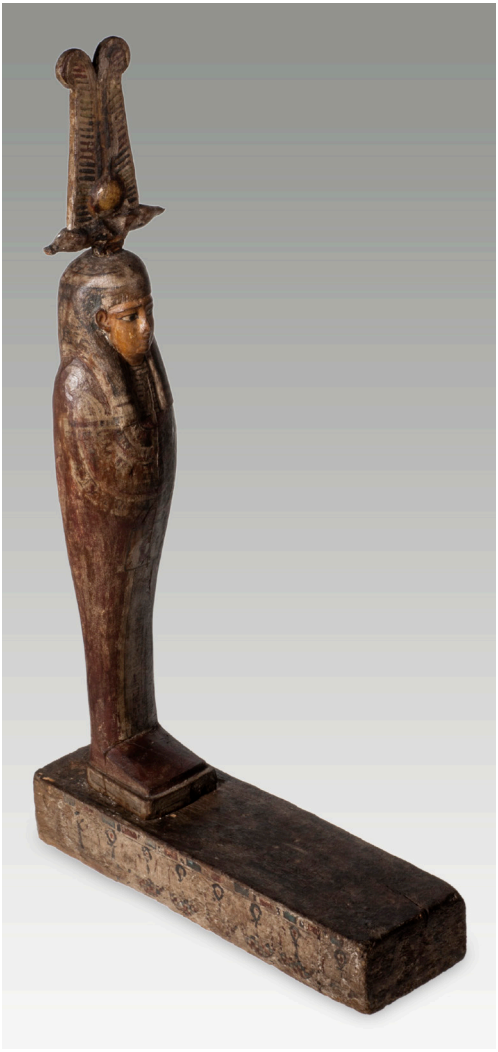


Figure 6. Ptah–Sokar–Osiris figure (Museum of Fine Arts, Budapest, inv. no. 51.2098).

of Hor[...], the owner of the Budapest Ptah-Sokar-Osiris figure. Consequently, it is very likely that here we are dealing with the funerary equipment of three generations of a Ptolemaic family tomb.

Concerning the Budapest coffin and mummy of Hortesnakht from the Delhaes collection, the date of Johannes Weitzer's purchase (1896) of the coffin and mummy in Graz may be of key importance. It is most tempting to assume that Stephan Delhaes, who lived in Vienna, bought the coffin and the mummy at the same time and in the same place (perhaps from the same antiquities dealer in Austria or Germany), where and when Johannes Weitzer purchased the coffin of Pahesi, grandson of Hortesnakht. Furthermore, it is very likely that the Budapest Ptah-Sokar-Osiris figure – among the pieces of funerary equipment from the family tomb – appeared on the European art market at the same time and was bought by Delhaes himself, together with the coffin and mummy of Hortesnakht, in 1895 or 1896. If so, the Budapest Ptah-Sokar-Osiris figure might prove to be an additional item of the ex-Delhaes collection.

Conclusion

As we have seen, during the last third of the 19th century it was a well-established practice among Hungarian collectors to purchase Egyptian mummies in coffins from the newly discovered ancient cemeteries of Akhmim. People with good social and international connections could buy one via correspondence from Egypt; others could get one while residing temporarily in Cairo where they ran their businesses; and collectors could easily come across good pieces also on the European art market. However, in general it seems that in Hungary, among educated people, mummified bodies were rather considered as more appropriate for natural history collections, e.g. accessories for school scientific departments.

Nevertheless, it is this period that witnessed a changing attitude towards ancient Egyptian culture in Hungary. As early as the first third of the 19th century, there was a wrapped mummy on display in the exhibition of the Hungarian National Museum in Pest.[38] In the 1870s, when the first courses in Egyptology were started at the university in Budapest, several hundred ancient Egyptian objects (with human and animal mummies among them) were kept in public collections in Hungary. Obviously, this is also the period during which Egyptian mummies ceased being the objects of macabre unwrapping parties and gradually became curiosities in public collections.

[38] Liptay 2018b: 14-18.

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ORIENTAL PAINTINGS IN THE FORMER KEGLEVIĆ CHÂTEAU TOPOĽČIANKY

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Abstract: The study reveals six Oriental paintings from the Château Topoľčianky, owned by the Keglević family between 1742-1890. Count Ján Nepomuk Keglević reconstructed the Château in the Neo-Classical style, his son Štefan Keglević then sold it to the Habsburg-Lorraine's. Archduke Joseph August brought here various 'souvenirs' from North Africa and enriched the interiors with Oriental paintings. Three watercolours by Alphonse Birck show views of Algeria – Bou Saâda and Béni Ounif. A painting of a lion's head is by Géza Vastagh Jr. An unsigned genre scene with a Man playing on double horn was painted by Gyula Tornai and exhibited in Budapest in 1904 as Trombitás (Trumpeter). Another painting depicting a man with a fez, is signed 'E. v. Ransonnet'. Its author is either Eugen or, as proven in this study, Elisa von Ransonnet, his sister.

Keywords: Topoľčianky, Keglević (Keglevich), Archdukes Habsburg-Lorraine, Orient, painting around 1900, Alphonse Birck, Géza Vastagh Jr, Gyula Tornai, Elisa von Ransonnet (Nemes).

Keglević's Château

The village of Topoľčianky lies approximately 130 km east of Bratislava in the former Tekov County. In the Renaissance period, the local fortress was changed into a manor house and this then changed into a château through rebuilding and completion in the 19th century. It was owned successively by noble families of the Hungarian Kingdom – first the Rákoci (Rákóczi, Rákóczy), then the Ziči (Zichy).[1] During the reign of the empress Maria Theresia, in 1742, it became the property of Count Jozef Keglević (Keglevich, Keglevics) of Bužim, inherited via his wife, the Baroness Terézia Tavonat of Tavon.[2] The count belonged to an ancient Croatian

[1] The last was Karol Ziči *de Zich et Vásonkeö* (*1684 †1741 Bratislava), who owned Topoľčianky until 1741. He was the son of Adam Ziči (†1701 Želovce) and his second wife Terézia Rozália Jakušić of Vrbova/*Jakusics de Orbova* (†1721). Čepček 1983; Križanová 1992; Ruttkay 1995; 2004.

[2] As Karol Ziči had no descendants, the manor was inherited by his cousins on the mother's side: the daughters of the mother's widowed sister Mária Polyxénia, née Jakušić: ¾ Terézia

family[3] who had established themselves in the Hungarian Kingdom during the Ottoman times. The family predicate *de Buzin* was connected with Bužim Castle on the current Bosnian-Croatian border.[4]

The high 'k. & k.' (Imperial & Royal) official Jozef Keglević,[5] with his wife Terézia Tavonat and their ten children,[6] did not settle in the inherited Topoľčianky domain. As comes/župan of Turňa County, he lived in Turňa nad Bodvou, east of Topoľčianky, and later in Bratislava (*Pressburg*), where he built a representative Baroque palace.[7] Jozef Keglević was an educated man, he corrected texts and

Thavonath de Thavon (*1706 Vienna), wife of Jozef Keglević (*1700 †1763 Turňa n./B.), and ¼ Margaréta *Thavonath de Thavon* (†1763), wife of Andrej Kohári of Čabraď and Sitno/*Koháry de Csábrág et Szitnya* (*1694 †1758). Tschan 2000; Botík 2004.

[3] According to the latest research, the family is of Roman origin (Veljković 2018). Known is Peter (early 14th c.) who had sons, Kegel and Martin. Kegel is likely to have been the builder of the Kegalj fort (Kegaljgrad, Knin County) and from whom we get the surname Kegljin, Kegljević, Keglević, later with the predicate of Porećane/*de Porechan*, the name of one of their villages. They had properties not only in Knin County, in the middle part of the Zrmanja river valley, but also in Dalmatia. Since 1495 – after Ivan/Ján Keglević, as the new duke, settles in Bužim and becomes Duke of Bužim/*de Buzin* – the family used that predicate. His successor was his brother Peter Keglević (†1554/1555, buried in Pregrada, Zagorje) who was *ban* of Banovina of Jajce and 1530 *ban* of Banovina of Croatia. He took part in many battles against the Ottomans, at Mohács in 1526 and in defence of Vienna in 1529. In the 17th c. the family split into two main branches: Croatian and Hungarian (= of the Hungarian Kingdom). The second son obtained the title of 'baron' in 1646 and 'count' in 1687, from the emperor Leopold I Habsburg, thanks to Mikuláš II Keglević *de Buzin* (*1636 †1701 Kőszeg, Vás County) from Turňa County (in Slovakia), as did his father Mikuláš I Keglević (*1600 †1642), who obtained Turňa Castle through marriage with Barbora Móricz of Ópusztaszer/*de Sövényháza*. Nagy 1859: 151-160; Klaić 1917; Šavor 1954; Botík 2004; Regan 2012; Veljković 2018.

[4] Bužim Castle became the property of Ivan/Ján Keglević/*Keglewyth de Porichane*, who acquired it from the Hungarian king Vladislaus II Jagiello on 19 May 1495. The family members occupied themselves with the mining of gold, silver, and other minerals. After Ján, the castle went to his brother Peter, and then to the latter's son Matej Keglević, who did not defend it, and the castle fell into Ottoman hands in October 1530. Hueck 1987: 158. In some sources, the Keglević family dominion 'Buzin' is wrongly mentioned as being in Albania. Čepček 1983: 129-130.

[5] Jozef Keglević (*1700 Turňa n./B. †1763 Turňa n./B.), son of Adam Keglević (†1713 Turňa n./B.) and Mária Pethő of Gerse/Gersekarát (*1681 †1753 Bratislava), was main comes/župan of Turňa County, governor adviser, 'k. & k.' secret adviser, and guardian of the Royal Crown. His brother Gabriel Keglević (*1710 Turňa n./B. †1769 Pétervására) built the manor house and lived in Pétervására, 100 km S/W of Turňa n./B. Vargyas 2015.

[6] Jozef (*1729 †1792 Turňa n./B.), Ján (*1730 Turňa n./B. †1767), Žigmund (*1732 Turňa n./B. *1805 Trnava), Mária Magdaléna (*1736), Joachim (*1737 Turňa n./B.), Karol (*1738/1739 Bratislava †1804 Vienna), Július (*1740 Bratislava), Xaver (*1742 †1775 Rome), Štefan (*1743 Bratislava †1793 Tengen-Uttenhofen, near the German-Swiss border) and Terézia Antónia (*1746 Bratislava) (http://genealogy.euweb.cz/hung/keglevich3.html).

[7] The palace was built on two medieval sites that Jozef's wife, Terézia Tavonat, had bought from 'k. & k.' adviser Jozef Duchon for 7000 gold ducats on 15 Feb. 1745. Some parts of

supported publication of the book written by the French historian and Byzantinist, Charles du Fresne, on the history of Keglević's 'native' Illyria.[8]

Jozef's son, Karol Keglević, who was also a high 'k. & k.' official,[9] also chose not to live in Topoľčianky, but he was instrumental in establishing a park close to the manor house and in the construction of a new church with the family burial crypt.[10] His older brother Žigmund Keglević, a church dignitary, high provost of Esztergom, titular bishop of Mrkan[11] and rector of Trnava University, supported these activities of his brother.[12] Karol Keglević decided for the church to be

previous houses were used in the new palace, which had four wings until the beginning of the 19th century, before one was demolished, and it occupied also the area of present Strakova Street; nowadays the palace is at Panská Street 27. Its portal is decorated with pilasters and sculptures of two small, recumbent lions. Above the portal is the family coat-of-arms: in a blue field, two golden lions standing against each other holding a sword with a golden handle in between them, on which a crown with nine pearls is stabbed. The palace was inherited by Jozef's son Karol Keglević. His daughter Anna Lujza Barbora, known as Babetta, (*1780 †1813) was a pupil of Beethoven (in Vienna). Beethoven might had visited and held a concert in the Keglević's palace in Bratislava during a meeting of the Hungarian Parliament, between 17-23 November 1796. He composed here his piano sonata No. 4 Es-dur, Op. 7, dedicating it to Babetta Keglević. In 1850, Keglević sold the palace to the Pálffy family: first it belonged to Mária Pálffy, and from 1880 to 1911 to Štefan Pálffy. The Keglević family bought an old Renaissance mansion from the Kampers in the 'Podhradie' quarter, under Bratislava Castle, nowadays Žižkova Street 12. They also placed their family crest on its façade. Šourková 2002; Federmayer 2003.

[8] Caroli du Fresne, domini du Cange: *Illyricum vetus et novum, sive Historia regnorum Dalmatiae, Croatiae, Slavoniae, Bosnaie, Servaie atque Bulgariae.* Posonii (= Bratislava) 1746. Ostojić 1999: 55.

[9] Karol Keglević (*1738/1739 Bratislava †1804 Vienna) was main comes/župan of Turňa County, Imperial Chamberlain and 'k. & k.' secret adviser. His portrait (with a plan of the mannor-house in Sajóvámos, which he built in 1782) is by an unknown artist and was auctioned at Dorotheum in Vienna (13 Dec. 2012) (oil, canvas, 95cm x 78.5cm). Sájovámos is near Miskolc, approximately 60 km south of Turňa n./B.

[10] The church-crypt has in its walls 45 places for coffins; 18 of them were used. Three cenotaphs are in the church interior dedicated to the memory of Karol Keglević (†1804), Adela Keglević (†1839) and her husband Ján Nepomuk Keglević (†1856). Adela's cenotaph is decorated with an allegorical statue of the 'Resurrection of a Soul' made by Hans Gasser (*1817 Eisentratten, Carinthia †1868 Pest).

[11] Mrkan is a small island in the Adriatic, south of Dubrovnik, where was the seat of the oldest bishopric in the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina (*Trebinjsko-mrkanska biskupija*). After its occupation by the Ottomans, the title became symbolic only, without benefits, but it enabled the wearing of episcopal garments and insignia. Žigmund Keglević became bishop of Mrkan on 19 April 1764. (www.wikiwand.com/de/Liste_von_Titularbischöfen_im_Königreich_Ungarn; accessed 10 April 2018).

[12] Two portraits of Žigmund Keglević (*1732 Turňa n./B. *1805 Trnava) are in the Château Topoľčianky (Inv. No. 741 and 1796). In one he points to a medallion lying on the book *Historia regni Hungariae* by František Kazy, published in Trnava 1751, with Žigmund's support. Another portrait was in a Sotheby's auction in Amsterdam on 11 March 2001 (oil, canvas, 90.8cm x 73.6cm): in this painting he is sitting with a deed with the following text: *Illmo: ac*

dedicated to Catherine of Alexandria, patron saint of his wife, Katarína Ziči.[13] The architect and artists came mainly from Vienna.[14] The church was consecrated in 1779.

Only Karol's youngest son, Ján Nepomuk Keglević, law educated, high 'k. & k.' official, art collector and connoisseur,[15] moved to Topoľčianky. He did so after paying off his co-inheritor, his older brother František Keglević, and after the magnificent Palladian construction of the western wing was finished in 1825 (Figure 1). He changed the manor house into a real château, using architects and artists mainly from Vienna.[16] Ján Nepomuk Keglević inhabited Château Topoľčianky with his wife and second cousin Mária Adela Ziči.[17] He established

Rdmo: D:D:C Sigismundo / Keglevics. Et Eppo: Macar. E: J S Can: / & Præp: Maj: / Tÿrnaviae (www.mutualart.com/Artwork/Portrat-von-Sigismund-Graf-von-Keglevich/CDB8A772D4721D90; accessed 15 April 2018).

[13] Júlia Katarína Ziči/*Zichy de Zich et Vásonkeö* (*1752 †1809) was a daughter of Ján Nepomuk Ziči (*1710 †1764) and Katalin Széchényi *de Sárvár-Félsövidék* (*1717 Sopron †1747). Her first husband was Juraj Cziráky *de Czirák et Dénesfalva* (*1731 †1777); her second was Karol Keglević, with whom she had five children: Anna Lujza (*1779 Bratislava †1813), Františka Serafína (*1780 Bratislava †1811 Vienna), Katarína Anna (*1782 Bratislava), Jozefa Anna (*1784 Bratislava) and Ján Nepomuk (*1786 Bratislava †1856 Topoľčianky).

[14] Melchior Hefele (*1716 Kaltenbrunn †1794 Szombathely) was the architect. Hubert Maurer (*1738 Bonn-Röttgen †1818 Vienna), a professor from the Viennese Academy, painted the altar picture.

[15] Ján Nepomuk Keglević (*1786 Pest †1856 Topoľčianky) studied in Theresianum in 1802-1805. After the death of his widowed mother in 1809 he had to take responsibility for the family properties, but he continued to live for art: he collected pictures, wrote poetry, and in 1812 was co-founder of the *Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde* (Society of Music Friends) in Vienna. He was also interested in botany. He was comes/župan (1823-1825) and main comes/župan (from 1825) of Tekov County, and from 1827 was a deputy in the Hungarian Parliament, commissioned to oversee the stabilisation of the border between the Hungarian Kingdom and Moravia. From 1831 he was member of the 'k. & k.' Secret Council, helping with a cholera epidemic and setting up a temporary hospital in the Château Topoľčianky. In 1839-1844 he was the manager of the Royal cellars and from 1843 an honorary member of the Viennese Academy. In 1847 he became manager of the Hungarian royal mansion in Buda, and from 1850 conservator of monuments in the Bratislava regions. Wurzbach 1864: 178; Kneschke 2014: 125–126; Juríková 2016: 69 (Ján Nepomuk's writings on cholera).

[16] Alois Pichl (*1782 Milan †1856 Vienna) projected the western wing and Pietro Nobile (*1774 Capriasca †1854 Vienna) the glass-house; Josef Klieber (*1773 Chateau Ambras †1850 Vienna) made statues for the tympanum; August Robatz (*1757 Český Krumlov †1815 Vienna) busts in the library; the sculptor Jakob Schroth (*1773 Vienna †1831 Vienna) and draftsman and painter Josef Redl/Redel (*1774 Vienna †1836 Vienna) were responsible for the reliefs in the library; and Andreas Schroth (*1791 †1865) the columns at the entrance. Sisa 2016: 214-217; Szerdahelyi 2009.

[17] Mária Adela Ziči (*1788 Bratislava †1839 Vienna) was a daughter of Karol Ziči (*1753 Bratislava †1826 Vienna), 'k. & k.' Minister of War (1809) and Minister of the Interior (1813-1814) and Anna Mária von Khevenhüller-Metsch (*1759 Lisbon †1809 Vienna), Mozart's pupil. Mária Adela married on 12 November 1805; she had no children. She was a cousin



Figure 1. Château Topoľčianky – Neo-Classical wing (Pichl) and Glass House (Nobile) built by Count Ján Nepomuk Keglević. A lithograph from the 1840s by an unknown artist (© Ernest Zmeták Gallery, Nové Zámky, Inv. No. G 1237).

there the château library, one of the most valuable in Slovakia. He had transported here many books and busts of scholars, as well as one of the Emperor Francis I, from his Viennese palace.[18] The library has been unavailable for many years and is known only from old catalogues, which reveal Ottoman, Arabic and Chinese works, various travelogues, and part of (an unresearched) travel diary of Ján Nepomuk Keglević.[19]

of Edmund Ziči (*1811 Pest †1894 Vienna), the founder of the Oriental Museum in Vienna. Their fathers, Karol and František, were brothers. For more, see Östör 1938.

[18] Between 1811–1841, Ján Nepomuk Keglević owned the *Palais Schönburg*, at that time the *Palais Starhemberg*, in Vienna-Wieden, at Rainergasse 11. Its library was public, and its picture collection valuable. In this palace lived Ahmed Fethi Paşa (*1801 Rhodes †1858 Constantinople), the Ottoman ambassador in Austria 1834-1836, and Miloš Obrenović I (*1780 Gornja Dobrinja †1860 Belgrad), *knez* (prince) of Serbia, when he visited Vienna. The next owner of the palace was Fürst Schönburg-Hartenstein.

[19] Podhorný 1989; Sisa 2006; Juríková 2016: 69.

After the death of his first wife, Ján Nepomuk Keglević married Victoria Eugenie Folliot *de Crenneville*.[20] They had two sons, but only the first, Štefan Keglević, lived to adulthood and became the sole descendant and the last Keglević owner of Topoľčianky. When Štefan was five, his father bought for him an old manor house in Veľké Uherce, 25 km north of Topoľčianky, and he started its reconstruction in the Romantic spirit. After the projects in Vienna and Topoľčianky this was another costly (re-)construction, which got in over his head. When Štefan was sixteen Ján Nepomuk Keglević died of tuberculosis. His estate was mired in debt. Turňa County sent to Topoľčianky a trustee administrator, the historian Teodor Botka *de Széplak.* After his arrival Štefan left for *Ludoviceum*, the military school for cadets in Pest, from which he was expelled after three years. Thus began his somewhat flamboyant life as politician, theatre lover, gambler, and entrepreneur.[21] His estates, including Topoľčianky, were put up for auction on 20th September 1890. Štefan's 'neighbour', the Count Viliam Migazzi *de Wall et Sonnenthurm*, who resided in Zlaté Moravce, knew that the Imperial court was looking for a new residence for the Archduke, Karl Ludwig, and thus arranged the purchase of the Château Topoľčianky for the 57-year-old brother of the Emperor Franz Joseph I.

The Keglević family left Topoľčianky after 148 years. Štefan reportedly sold the art collections of his ancestors. However, the appearance of the château built by

[20] Viktoria Eugenia Folliot *de Crenneville* (*1816 Vicenza †1900 Vienna) was daughter of count Ludwig Karl Folliot *de Crenneville* (*1765 Metz †1840 Vienna) and baroness Viktoria *de Poutet* (*1789 Semlin, Germany †1887 Vienna). She married on 3 Feb. 1840 and had two sons – the younger, František Serafín (*1843 †1844), died after few months.

[21] Štefan Keglević (*1840 Vienna †1905 Budapest), after reaching his majority in 1858, sold the family assets (brown coal mines) in Obyce. On 29 Sept. 1860, aged 20, in Bratislava, he married Angelika Esterházy of Galanta/*de Gálantha* (*1842 Réde †1921 Baranyasellye, nowadays Sellye). They had three sons: Imrich (*1862 †1895), Jozef (*1862 †1863) and Július (*1865 †1882 Topoľčianky). In the same year that he wed, he invited to Topoľčianky the French gardener and fruit specialist Georg/György Gillemot (*1813 Kassel †1892 Vámosgyörk). In 1861, aged 21, he became a member of the 'House of Magnats' in the Hungarian Parliament. In 1865 he lost his manor house at Veľké Uherce, which was obtained by the Thonet family. From 1880 he led the Economic Club of Tekov County. In 1882 he established the first firemen brigade in Topoľčianky; in the same year he invented a new recipe for vodka (produced in Italy, but now at Likérka Stock Plzeň-Božkov, under the brand *Keglevich Dry*). From 1884 he was deputy for Zlaté Moravce in the Hungarian Parliament, and then deputy of the Liberal Party (led by Kálmán Tisza). He was chief organiser of theatre life: between 1886-1887 and in 1898 he was an administrator of the National Theatre (*Nemzeti Színház*) and the Hungarian Royal Opera (*Magyar Állami Operaház*) in Budapest; in 1902, after conflicts with the actors, he left the theatre leadership. At that time his partner was the actress Ilka Lánczy (*1861 Borsec, Transylvania †1908 Budapest), with whom he had daughter Margit Lánczy (*1897 Bódvarakó †1965 Budapest); later she also became an actress. Štefan Keglević died in a duel with Károly Hentz, deputy of the Catholic People's Party. He was buried, as he had wished, in Bódvarákó, a village in Turňa County, in the local church built by his grandfather Karol Keglević (1803). Gerö *et al.* 1995: 262; Holec 2013; Prokopovych 2014: 207-208.

the family stayed the same, and a part of the family archive has been preserved as well.[22]

The Habsburg-Lorraines at Topoľčianky

The Archduke Karl Ludwig Habsburg-Lorraine[23] developed the courtyard into its current form – he had a small fountain made and greenery planted around.[24] Shortly after, he gifted it to his nephew, Joseph August, from the Hungarian branch of the family. As a grandson of the Hungarian Palatine, Joseph Anton, Joseph August had closer relations with the Hungarian Kingdom, where he was born and raised. It was he who enriched the château's interior with Oriental items. And not his uncle, Karl Ludwig, as he already did not possess the Château when he went on journey to the Orient. He visited Egypt unofficially, with his family, on 21 January 1896 to see his son, Franz Ferdinand, who was there recovering from tuberculosis. He stayed in Cairo for several weeks and it was there, on 28 February, that a family photograph was taken in the celebrated studio of J. Heymann (Figure 2).[25] The Archduke visited Luxor and Aswan, before continuing to Beirut and to desired Jerusalem, via Damascus. The pious Archduke was overcome by visiting the River Jordan, in which Christ was baptised. Remarkably, although warned against it, he

[22] The Family Keglević Fund is preserved in *Magyar Nemzeti Léveltár* in Budapest, I.C 210-211 NK 1 520 (and in microfilm in the Slovak National Archive in Bratislava).

[23] Archduke Karl Ludwig (*1833 Vienna-Schönbrunn †1896 Vienna), son of Franz Karl (*1802 †1878) and Sophie of Bayern (Wittelsbach) (*1805 †1872), was not interested either in politics or in a military career. He became governor of Tyrol, but as a staunch Catholic he did not agree with the Protestant Patent included into the new Constitution and quit his post in 1861. Sociable, he enjoyed exhibitions and events, marrying three times and fathering six children. He married on 4 Nov. 1856, in Dresden, the Princess Marketa of Saxony (*1840 †1858); his next spouse (21 October 1862), in Venice, was Princess Marie Annunciata of Bourbon-Two Sicilies (*1843 †1871), with whom he had three sons and one daughter: Franz Ferdinand (*1863 †1914), killed in Sarajevo, Otto (*1865 †1906), Ferdinand Karl (*1868 †1915), who gave up the Habsburg-Lorraine name and adopted the common name Burg, and Margarete Sophie (*1870 †1902). His third wife (23 June 1873, Kleinheubach, Bayern) was Maria Theresa of Portugal (Braganza) (*1855 †1944), with whom he had two daughters: Maria Annunciata 'Miana' (*1876 Reichenau, Low Austria †1961 Vaduz), later Abbess of the Theresian asylum for noblewomen, Hradčany, Prague, and Elisabeth Amalia (*1878 †1960), married to the Lichtenstein Prince, Alois; Elisabeth Amalia was the grandmother of the present Prince, Hans-Adam II (*1945 Zürich). See Gruber 1982.

[24] This can be seen in a postcard printed around 1895 in *Főváros Levéltára* in Budapest (Inv. No. HU.BFL.XV.19.d.1.12.097).

[25] J. Heymann was a German photographer who came to Egypt and established a studio for painting and photography. He is documented between 1860-1910, and he got the title 'Photographe de la Cour' (www.visualcultureheritage.org/Bilder/SH/index.htm; accessed 3 May 2018).



Figure 2. Archduke Karl Ludwig (owner of Chateau Topoľčianky from 1890), standing first from left, with his family in Cairo. Photo J. Heymann, Cairo, 28 February 1896. Alfred von Lindheim: *Erzherzog Carl Ludwig 1833 – 1896, Ein Lebensbild*. Wien 1897, p. 327.

drank from it. Typhus followed, and, weakened by the disease, he returned by ship quickly to Athens (Piraeus), and then on to Vienna, where he died on 19 May 1896, aged 63.

The Archduke Joseph August Habsburg-Lorrain,[26] as an 18-year-old, became the last aristocratic owner of Topoľčianky. (From 1923 it was a residence for

[26] Archduke Joseph August (*1872 Alcsút, near Budapest †1962 Straubing, Bayern) was a son of the Archduke Joseph Karl (*1833 Bratislava †1905 Rijeka) and Princess Clotilde of Saxe-Coburg and Gotha (*1846 Neuilly, France †1927 Alcsút), sister of the Bulgarian Tsar, Ferdinand. Joseph August's father was known as an admirer of Romani people, he learned their language and wrote down its grammar (*Czigány nyelvtan : románo csibákero sziklaribe*, Budapest, 1888); he was fascinated by their history, way of life, superstitions, folk poetry, music, speech and literature (*A cigányokról ...*, Budapest, 1894) (see Sóss 2000). This interest is sometimes mistakenly ascribed to his son Joseph August (Čepček 1983: 131). Joseph August studied at the Benedictine High School in Győr; he was pupil of the Benedictine and historian Flóris Rómer (*1815 Bratislava †1889 Oradea). At 21 he married, on 15 Nov. 1893, the Princess Auguste Marie of Bayern (Wittelsbach) (*1875 Munich †1964 Regensburg). The archduke studied law in Budapest before his military career. In 1902 he entered the Hungarian army, and as a field marshal fought in WWI. On 27 Oct. 1918 he was named Regent



Figure 3. Archduke Joseph August (owner of Chateau Topoľčianky from about 1891/1892) and his friend Adolf Libits in Tunisia. *Vasárnapi Ujság* 15 July 1900.

Czechoslovak presidents, out of them, Antonín Zápotocký, donated it on 25t September 1959 to the trade union to which it still belongs.) The Archduke, as well as hunting and travelling, enjoyed the comforts of the château, together with his wife Auguste Marie, the Emperor's granddaughter, and their six children.[27] In *Vasárnapi Ujság* (*The Sunday News*) of 15 July 1900, an article was published about one of his journeys to Africa. In it there is that he liked to spend time in his beloved Château Topoľčianky, but when the winter came, he preferred staying on the Kvarner Gulf (in Opatija-Volosko), or travelling through Africa. At the end of February, 1900, he left accordingly for Tunisia, with his wife and Adolf Libits (Libič),

of the Hungarian Kingdom by the Emperor Karl I. Between 1936-1944 he was President of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. He wrote several books, e.g. *In den Wildnissen Afrikas. Jagdschilderungen aus dem Sudan* (Neudamm 1908). Hamannová 1996: 189-190.

[27] Joseph Franz (*1895 †1957), Gisela Auguste (*1897 †1901), Sophie Clementine (*1899 †1978), Ladislaus Luitpold (*1901 †1946), Matyas Joseph (*1904 †1905), and Maria Magdalena (*1909 †2000).

his friend and keeper of his estates, and with an accompanying staff (Figure 3). On the evening of 22 February, they boarded a steamer at Fiume (Rijeka) for Ancona.[28] There they changed to a train for Naples, where they spent several days, toured local monuments, and even saw the smoking Vesuvius. They continued their journey by another steamer to Palermo. On the yacht *Marussia*, made in USA, they were expected there by the Archduke's sister, Marie Dorothea with her husband, Philippe of Orléans. The article mentions the magnificent Palace of Orléans there, with its extensive orange orchards, tumultuous streets with lots of foreigners, including wealthy families from France, England and America, who enjoyed the pleasant climate and luxurious hotels. The Archduke's party left Sicily after few days on an Italian steamer bound for Tunisia. They wanted to stay there for a week and then make a trip East to Tripoli (Libya), and later West to Algeria.[29] The article states that the Archduke and his wife already knew these regions and this time wanted to show them to Adolf Libits. They went to the salt marshes, where the Archduke remembered how dangerous it was when he was there hunting buffalos. They admired the birds and flowers and were interested in the methods of field cultivation; they walked along Tunisian streets full of Arabs, Moors, Ottomans, and Jews. They saw the fortress at Bardo, the Bey's palace in Moorish style, the Kasbah, and took a trip to the ruins of Carthage. When they spotted an interesting plant, they picked it to take back to the Archduke's much-loved father in Rijeka. They were invited by the consul to a sheik's banquet, and the newspaper article describes what they ate – meats, rice, foods prepared in rose oil. The guests sat on the ground around a large wooden bowl. The host then scooped the steaming meal with his hand and served it into wooden dishes, to be eaten without cutlery. Black servants brought and took away everything quickly. The stay in North Africa would have continued longer but Adolf Libits began to suffer the symptoms of malaria. They hurried to transfer him back to Palermo, where his life was in the balance for several weeks, although fortunately he pulled through and recovered.[30] The Archduke Joseph August apparently returned to Africa again, since stories about

[28] The steamer belonged to the shipping company *Impresa Fiume-Ancona e Fiume-Venezia*, owned by Leopold Schwarz and Girolamo Prister. The company was founded in 1884, until 1895 Schwarz was the sole owner, and it was named *Impresa Fiume-Venezia-Ancona di Leopold Schwarz*. In June 1901 it was bought by the *Ungaro-Croata Libera* company. It had four ships, made in England and Germany. *Croatian Shipping Companies*, Part 1, before 1918 (https://zeljko-heimer-fame.from.hr/descr/hr-ship1.html; accessed 14 June 2018).

[29] József Ágost főherczeg tuniszi utazása. *Vasárnapi Ujság*, Vol. 47 (15 July 1900), No. 28, title sheet: 457.

[30] József Ágost főherczeg tuniszi utazása. *Vasárnapi Ujság*, Vol. 47 (15 July 1900), No. 28, title sheet: 458

his hunting trip in the Sudan were published in a series of articles in *Vadász-Lap* (*Hunting Letters*), and then in a book form.[31]

The Archduke seemed to be in the habit of bringing home various 'souvenirs' from these trips, e.g. canopic jars and statuettes.[32] Undeniably, he liked to surround himself with paintings from which breathed the far away world. Over time most of these exotic items had to make room for furnishings of the Château hotel. They got into depositaries under the custody of preservationists in the ownership of the 'United Property Fund' (JMF) of 'The Confederation of Trade Union Organisations of the Slovak Republic'. They sunk beneath the dust over time, unattended and unpublished. I will introduce six of them;[33] all were created approximately around 1900, and their artists came from France and the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy – from today's Romania, Slovakia, and Austria.

Bou Saâda and *Béni Ounif* by Alphonse Birck

Three watercolours show views of two sites in French-colonised Algeria. Two capture the ancient town of Bou Saâda ('The Place of Happiness') that lies inland, 245 km from the capital Algiers (Figures 4, 5). This oasis, protected by the hills of the Saharan Atlas range, was inviting to travellers, with its flourishing trade in jewellery, textiles, carpets, and special *bou-saâda*-style knives. Multiple French artists arrived here, including Alphonse-Étienne Dinet, who had settled there, converted to Islam, and changed his name to Nasr'Eddine Dinet in 1913.[34] The

[31] The articles were published in Hungarian – *Afrika vadonjaiban. Vadászati jelentések Szudánból* (https://adtplus.arcanum.hu/hu/collection/VadaszLap/; accessed 16 June 2018). Camillo Morgan edited and published them in German – *Erzherzog Josef von Österreich : In den Wildnissen Afrikas: Jagdschilderungen aus dem Sudan.* Neudamm, 1908: 43, fig. 22.

[32] Hudec 1993; Hudec 2002.

[33] I thank for the possibility to research in Château Topoľčianky Ing. Peter Pokorný, Director of JMF; Dr Peter Jurkovič, Director of the Monuments Board of the Slovak Republic, Nitra Regional Centre, and staff, especially, Ing. Lenka Magušinová, Ms Marta Holá, and Ms Drahošová.

[34] One of the earliest views of Bou Saâda is an illustration made by Henri Valentin (*1820 Allarmont †1885 Strasbourg) and Le Breton and engravers of Best, Hoteli & Co., published in *L'Illustration, Journal Universel*, Vol. 11 (15 May 1852), No. 481. Painters connected with Bou Saâda are: [1] Gustave Achille Guillaumet (*1840 Puteaux, today Hauts-de-Seine †1887 Paris) who finished at L'École des Beaux-Arts and in 1862 moved to Algeria, and from there sent his pictures to Paris. He suffered from malaria and spent three months in the Military Hospital at Biskra. He liked to travel to the south and paint the people of the desert. His pictures are idealised and from time to time anecdotal. They were published between 1879-1884 in *La Nouvelle Revue*; in 1888, after his death, 128 of them were assembled for the book *Tableaux Algériens*. His son Gustave Guillaume (*1883), a linguist, used another name, allegedly because his father left him and his mother for his mistress. He is buried in the Montmartre Cemetery and on his grave is a beautiful statue of a young woman from Bou Saâda by Louis-Ernest



Figure 4. Alphonse Birck, *Bou Saâda* (I), after 1887, watercolour, Château Topoľčianky (© JMF, Inv. No. 1813; photo: A. Herucová).



Figure 5. Alphonse Birck, *Bou Saâda* (II), after 1887, watercolour, Château Topoľčianky (© JMF, Inv. No. 1815; photo: A. Herucová).

second depicted town of Béni Ounif lies on the border with Morocco, nearly 800 km south-west of the capital (Figure 6). To the present day the town is known for the quality of its dates, and some date palms are featured in the watercolour in Topoľčianky. The names of both towns are written on the reverse. All three watercolours are signed by Dinet's peer, French painter Alphonse Birck (1859-1942).[35] Born in Metz (Lorraine), the young artist studied in Paris before moving

Barrias. [2] Alphonse-Étienne Dinet (*1861 Paris †1929 Paris), who studied at L'Académie Julian and in Robert Fleury's Studio; in 1893 he established *La Société des Peintres Orientalistes Français*. He visited Bou Saâda first in 1884, with a group of entomologists. In 1885 he was awarded a state scholarship and travelled to Algeria again and painted his first Algerian pictures; he also visited Egypt. In 1903 he bought a house in Bou Saâda where he used to stay for three quarters of a year. In 1929, together with his wife, he undertook a pilgrimage to Mecca. His paintings are conservative and ethnographic. He published several books. [3] Maxime Noiré (*1861 Guinglange, Moselle †1927 Algiers), who was self-taught, went to Algeria in 1882 for health reasons, travelled around the country, and settled in Bou Saâda. Dinet became his friend. He is known for his 'burning' horizons. [4] Albert Gabriel Rigolot (*1862 Paris †1932 Paris) was a landscape painter inspired by Algeria, including Bou Saâda. [5] Edouard Verschaffelt (*1874 Gent †1955 Bou Saâda), a Belgian who studied in Antwerp and, together with his wife, went to Algeria in 1919 to avoid the German occupation. He was immediately enchanted by the country. He was against cheap colonial exoticism. Dinet became his friend in Bou Saâda. After his wife's death he married a woman from Ouled Sidi Brahim. [6] Georges-Charles Dufresne (*1876 Millemont †1938 La Seine-sur-Mer) who came from a naval family and studied at L'École des Beaux-Arts; he spent time in Italy and Great Britain and in 1910 won the *Abd-el-Tif* prize – awarded by a group of artists known as the Algerian School (*L'École d'Alger*) – he was in Algeria for two years, in Bou Saâda, too. After his return he opened a studio where he continued to produce Oriental paintings. He fought in WWI. From 1921 he collaborated with the Paris Opera, designing various things in Art Deco style. [7] Paul Elie Dubois (*1886 Colombier-Châtelot †1949 Colombier-Châtelot) who studied in L'Académie Julian and L'École des Beaux-Arts; he married after WWI. He won the *Prix Thirion* which enabled him to travel to Italy, Spain, Tunisia, and Morocco. Thanks to the *Abd-el-Tif* prize (1920) he was able to visit Algeria, which became his second home. He painted dramatic pictures full of light, influenced by Les Nabis and Symbolism. [8] Georges-André Klein (*1901 Paris †1992 Paris), who studied at L'Académie Julian and in the studio of Louis-François Biloul, participated in *L'Exposition coloniale* in Morocco in 1931 and subsequently returned there every winter. In 1936 he spent a year in Madagascar. When WWII broke out, he went to Algeria, where he stayed until the end of his life. [9] Henry Valensi (*1883 Algiers †1960 Bailly) painted sunny Algerian landscapes from an early age and in 1889 moved with the family to Paris. He studied at L'Académie Julian. His style developed from Impressionism to Abstractionism. Dinet enabled him to exhibit through *La Société des Peintres Orientalistes Français*. Valensi devoted himself to music and associated the painters-musicians. Elkaim (ed.) 1985; Lemaire 2010: 338, 340.

[35] Alphonse Birck (*25.5.1859 †1942): *Bou Saâda (I)*, after 1887, watercolour, 52 x 92; 33 x 72 cm, Château Topoľčianky, © United Property Fund of The Confederation of Trade Union Organisations of The Slovak Republic (JMF), Inv. No. 1813; Alphonse Birck: *Bou Saâda (II)*, after 1887, watercolour, 52 x 92; 33 x 72 cm, Château Topoľčianky, © JMF, Inv. No. 1815; Alphonse Birck: *Béni Ounif*, after 1887, watercolour, 52 x 92; 33 x 72 cm, Château Topoľčianky, © JMF, Inv. No. 1814.



Figure 6. Alphonse Birck, *Béni Ounif*, after 1887, watercolour, Château Topoľčianky (© JMF, Inv. No. 1814; photo: A. Herucová).

to Algeria in 1887, after his exhibition début. He also travelled to Egypt, Palestine, and Syria. Later he said 'if the Oriental painters would know Algeria better and get to know everything it offers, they would not look for inspiration in far-away lands, as Algeria itself embodies all that the Orient is.'[36] Birck lived in turns in Algeria and in Fontainebleau, where he died in 1942.[37] His watercolours in Topoľčianky show his skilful use of nuances in working with sand and sky-blue colour tones. He followed the principles of *pittoresque* watercolour landscapes, the roots of which were developed in Britain, reaching the French milieu only sporadically.

[36] 'Si tous les artistes orientalistes connaissaient mieux l'admirable champ d'étude que l'Algérie leur offre, peut-être n'iraient- ils pas chercher des sujets dans des contrées plus lointaines, car l'Algérie résume, à elle seule, tout l'Orient.' (www.expertisez.com/magazine/alphonse-birck-peintre-orientaliste; accessed 9 Sept. 2018).

[37] Bénézit (ed.) 1999: 332–333; Vidal-Bué 2000: 73, 118, 250; Cazenave 2001: 52, 164; Brasme 2002: 30-31; Vidal-Bué 2003: 19, 33, 99, 105.

Lion by Géza Vastagh

A fine painting of a lion's head comes from the easel of Géza Vastagh Jr (1866-1919).[38] His paternal grandfather was a sailor, his maternal grandmother was French, and his father, György Vastagh Sr, court painter to Archduke Joseph August's father, Joseph Karl, was Hungarian. He gained his artistic education in Munich, then he lived in Budapest. He made two study tours – France (1889) and Algeria and Tunisia (1896), where he lived for four months. He became fascinated by (Barbary) lions, which he sketched at every opportunity. His lion paintings gained fame at home as well as abroad. He later also painted other animals, which he studied in various zoos.[39]

Trumpeter (Man with Double-Horn) by Gyula Tornai

On a startling impressive painting a dark, wrinkled man with brown eyes looks directly at he viewer (Figure 7). He has trimmed, white moustache and beard, and high forehead. He is depicted to his chest, on a neutral, dark-grey and wall-like background; his head is covered with some form of headwear (similar to a *nemes*), and on both sides of his face hang strings with beads and metal trinkets. By his appearance he seems to be a Berber or maybe a Jew. He holds to his mouth with his thin fingers a musical instrument – a joined double-horn with a pipe. The instrument is related to an Egyptian *zummāra* (double clarinet) – a photograph from The Library of Congress Library suggests that such instruments were also to be found in Morocco.[40] This oil painting on panel is not signed, but on the reverse site of the frame's bottom left corner there is a stamp 'TORNAI GYULA/ KIALLITÁSA/1904'. It reveals that the author of the painting is Gyula Tornai (1861-1928), an underrated Oriental painter from the Hungarian Kingdom.[41] He was born in the territory of Slovakia, in Spiš County, into a Jewish family, as Julius Grossmann. He studied first in Vienna (under Karl Wurzinger, August Eisenmenger, Karl von Blaas and Christian Griepenkerl) from October 1878 to July 1882 (as Julius Tornai), where he became an admirer of Hans Makart. He went on to study in Munich, privately it seems as he is not mentioned in the registers of

[38] Géza Vastagh (*3.9.1866 Cluj-Napoca †5.11.1919 Budapest): *Lion's Head*, after 1896, oil, Château Topoľčianky, © JMF, Inv. No. I/9.
[39] Trapnell 1991: 94.
[40] www.wnycstudios.org/story/reviving-old-moroccan-soundscape/ (accessed 12 Sept. 2018).
[41] Gyula Tornai (Julius Grossmann) (*12.4.1861 Spišský Hrhov †24.11.1928 Budapest; buried in the Jewish cemetery in Kozmai utca): *Trumpeter/Man with Double Horn*, between 1884-1904, oil, panel, 58 x 87; 33.5 x 58.5 cm, Château Topoľčianky, © JMF, Inv. No. 2215 (catalogued as by an unknown artist: *Trumpeting Arab*).



Figure 7. Gyula Tornai, *Trompeter* (*Man with Double Horn*), between 1884-1904, oil, panel, Château Topoľčianky (© JMF, Inv. No. 2215; photo: A. Herucová).

the Academy, and then in Budapest – in the School of Julius Benczúr (as Gyula Tornai). Between the years 1884 and 1892 (not 1890 as is usually stated) he went on a study tour with friends to Italy, Spain, Algeria, and Morocco.[42] From this tour he organised an exhibition in Budapest in 1904 to sell his paintings (as well as items acquired from his travels). According to the catalogue preserved in the Museum of Fine Arts in Budapest there were 336 works exhibited in six rooms. The painting in Topoľčianky is obviously from this exhibition, where it seems to be listed on page 8 of the catalogue (No. 218) as *Trombitás* (= Trumpeter) exhibited in Room 2.[43] The titles of the paintings are mostly short and simple (*Arabs táska* = Arab bag; *Arabs hárfa* = Arab harp; *Pár női papucs* = Pair of female slippers; *Arabs*

[42] Tornai's study-tour is mentioned in his biographies as between 1884-1890 (*ÖBL 1815-1950*, Bd. 14: 410), although the dates on some of his paintings from Tangier in 1891 and 1892 contradict this; from 1891 originate *Travelling Musicians* (oil, canvas, 118.1 x 185.4 cm, Christie's, London 9 Dec. 2014) and *At the Slave Market* (oil, canvas, 74.9 x 45.1 cm, Christie's, London, 1 Feb. 2012), and from 1892 there is *The Connoisseurs* (oil, panel, 45.7 x 71.1 cm, Christie's, London, 17 June 1999).

[43] I thank Ágnes Mészáros for this information.

konyha = Arab kitchen, etc.). It seems Tornai paid little attention to his titles. His *Trumpeter* at Topoľčianky has an interesting, wooden and asymmetrically carved polychrome frame, which might have been a part of some furniture, but other paintings by him are also in similar frames (*Elromlott gitár* = Broken Guitar). From this exhibition in Budapest, Tornai made enough to finance other tours: he went to Japan, China, again to Morocco, and in 1907 to India. His Oriental paintings were exhibited in many metropolises – London, Paris, Bombay. Figures playing on some musical instrument reoccur in them quite often. Tornai was one of the few artists who did not shy away from giving cheerful accents to his works. For example, a scene painted in Tangier (Morocco, 1892) depicts several ordinary Arab men, who had been apparently models for an Oriental panting, as they timidly look at the resulting work and their likenesses. Tornai, somewhat humorously, has called the painting *Connoisseurs*. Yet the artist did not ignore difficult subject and the negative sides of colonisation, year before he painted a scene *In the Slave Market* (1891), also in Tangier. *Trumpeter/Man with Double Horn* is the second of Tornai's paintings known in Slovakia, up until now only his *Persian Market* (Danube Region Museum, Komárno) represented him. Painted in Budapest in 1897, it belongs to the category of 'Makart-like'[44] Oriental fantasies.[45]

Man with Fez signed 'E. v. Ransonnet'

The last Oriental painting from Topoľčianky that I will mention here, depicts a half figure of young man with black hair, big, dark eyes, and a black moustache curled up at the ends (Figure 8). He is dressed in a grey jacket, and in something like a vest with yellow stripes. Around his neck he has a white scarf with reddish stripes. On his head is a red fez (*ṭarbūsh*) with a black tassel, one of the symbols of Oriental identity. The background of the painting is light-neutral, like a wall, with shadows. On the reverse is written *Studienkopf* (*Study of a Head*), in the château's records the painting is entitled *Arab*, even though the ethnicity of the depicted man is not

[44] Painter Hans Makart (*1840 Salzburg †1884 Vienna) studied in the Munich Academy (under Karl von Piloty). He visited Rome, and from 1869 was in Vienna, thanks to the Emperor's invitation. The same year he married Amalie Franziska Roithmayr (*1846 Munich †1873 Munich). Widowed, he spent the winter of 1875/1876 together with Rudolf Huber and Carl Leopold Müller in Egypt, where he met Franz von Lenbach. From 1876 he taught painting in the Viennese Academy. In 1877 he visited Belgium and Holland, in 1877/1878 Spain and Morocco. His exclusive studio was an important place for social and cultural events. In 1881 he married the dancer Bertha 'Linda' Babitsch (*1850 Vienna †1928 Vienna). He created the 'Makart Style', with its rich and variously furnished interiors, especially designed bouquets featuring grasses, fashions, etc. His paintings are full of colour, sensuality, pathos and theatrical effects. For more, see Husslein-Arco (ed.) 2011.

[45] I have already published Tornai's painting from Komárno. Herucová 2004: 169.



Figure 8. E(lisa) von Ransonnet, *Study of a Head* (*Man with Fez*), oil, canvas, Château Topoľčianky/ Bratislava (© JMF, Inv. No. 2216; photo: A. Herucová).

certain; it might as easily be someone from the Balkans. The artist is not listed, but the painting is signed 'E. v. Ransonnet'.[46] It must have been painted by one of the siblings, either by Baron Eugen/Eugène, or his younger sister, the Baroness Elisa/ Elisabeth. They came from a family of French (and Netherlandish) immigrants, their parents being in the services of the Imperial court in Vienna.[47] Eugen von Ransonnet-Villez (1838-1926) graduated law at the University of Vienna in 1858, but he was already devoted to drawing, probably attending the Viennese Academy in some fashion before 1855. He was employed in the 'k. & k.' Ministry of the Interior and became a diplomat – albeit with a passion for natural sciences and adventure. From 1860 he travelled officially to Palestine, Egypt, India, and Japan. He achieved a certain fame thanks to his paintings and drawings (and lithographs), depicting

[46] E. v. Ransonnet (*7.6.1838 Vienna-Hietzing †28.6.1926 Nußdorf am Attersee): *Study of a Head (Man with Fez)*, oil, canvas, 72 x 58 cm, from Château Topoľčianky, now in Bratislava, © JMF, Inv. No. 2216.

[47] Their mother was Margarethe Bigot *de Saint-Quentin* (*1807 Neuburg an der Donau †1881 Vienna), daughter of Field Marshal François-Louis Bigot (*1774 Marmoutier, Alsace †1854 Mauer, near Vienna). Their father was Karl (Charles) Ransonnet *de Villez* (*1802 Vienna †1892), 'k. & k.' secret adviser, ministerial adviser and vice-president of the Superior Revenue Authority (*Obersten Rechnungshofes*). Durstmüller 1983: 417; *BLKÖ* 24 (1872): 349-350.

undersea the fauna and flora. These began with the sketches he made thanks to his invention of a diving bell, which allowed him to draw directly under the water. In 1870 he married,[48] wrote and illustrated some books,[49] thus, theoretically, he could have painted the character head of the man with fez. His sister Elisa von Ransonnet-Villez, also Ransonnet *de Villez* (1843-1899) was the muse of the composer Heinrich von Herzogenberg (Picot de Peccaduc), who dedicated six songs to her.[50] She is mentioned as a noble woman, who started painting only after her marriage to Transylvanian Count Nándor Nemes of Hăghig and Oltemi/*de Hídvég et Oltszem*,[51] i.e. after 19th June 1864,[52] as Elisa Nemes or Nemes Nándorné. She was introduced to painting by György Vastagh Sr in Budapest, and in Vienna by Franz von Lenbach and Henrik von Angeli. When in Vienna she stayed at Singerstrasse 3, near St Stephen's Cathedral,[53] otherwise she lived in the Hungarian countryside – in the puszta of Szenttamás near Kunszentmiklós, south of Budapest, where her husband had a manor house. She had no children. She engaged in painting portraits (of personalities). No travels and no Oriental subjects are mentioned in most of her biography entries, an exception is one article in *Vasárnapi Ujság* from 11 March 1900. The author Géza Pauer writes about her posthumous exhibition in Budapest and mentions the diversity of her colours in many studies, which reflect her travels in Egypt.[54] Nine of her studies of Egypt are preserved in the Hungarian National Gallery. These coloured drawings or watercolours are dated March and April 1896.[55] At that time she was already a widow and reportedly returned home from

[48] He had four children with his wife *Freiin* Agathe von Geymüller, the daughter of the Swiss Banker Johann Heinrich von Geymüller. The only heiress was Eugénie-Caroline (*1880 †1971), who remained single and on her death gave her assets to the Priest Seminary and Rest Home for Theologians in Linz. In 1892, Eugen von Ransonnet donated his single oil painting of an underwater scene, and more than 5000 fauna specimens, to the Natural History Museum in Vienna. Durstmüller 1983: 417.

[49] *Reise von Kairo nach Tor zu den Korallenbänken des Rothen Meeres* (Wien 1863), *Sketches of the inhabitants, animal life and vegetation in the lowlands and high mountains of Ceylon, as well as the submarine scenery near the coast, taken in a diving bell* (Wien 1867), *Skizzen aus Singapur und Djohor* (Braunschweig 1876), *Reisebilder aus Ostindien, Siam, China und Japan* (Graz 1912).

[50] Elisa von Ransonnet-Villez, also Ransonnet de Villez (*8.10.1843 Vienna †25.10.1899 Bressanone, South Tyrol) (http://digital.slub-dresden.de/werkansicht/dlf/209138/3/0/, accessed 17.9.2018).

[51] Nándor (Ferdinand) Nemes (*1835 †1894 Pusztaszenttamás) was the youngest child of János (Johann) Nemes (*1792 †1868 Cluj-Napoca), comes/župan of Alsó-Fehér County, and his second wife Marie Karoline Berchtold of Uherčice/*zu Ungarschitz* (*1791 Vienna †1870 Cluj-Napoca). He was deputy in the Hungarian Parliament from 1872-1881. Lobies (ed.) 2015: 738.

[52] https://de.wikisource.org/wiki/BLKÖ:Nemes,_die_Grafenfamilie,_Genealogie, accessed 15 Sept. 2018.

[53] According to *Jahrbuch des Oesterreichischen Alpen-Vereines 1868*: 461.

[54] 'Egyiptomi utazásáról több sikerűlt színvázlat tanúskodik.' Pauer 1900: 155.

[55] Mészáros 2018: fig. 62-70: [1] *Luxor*, 4 March1896, watercolour, paper, 21.6 x 29.6 cm, MNG, Inv. No. 1900-925; [2] *Medinet Habu*, 10 March1896, watercolour, paper, 35.4 x 25.3 cm, MNG,



Figure 9. Signatures from the paintings *Study of a Head* (*Man with Fez*) and *Portrait of Painter Friedrich Schilcher* (photo: A. Herucová; www.wilnitsky.com/pictures/villez6196e.jpg).

Egypt with fatal health problems, which she tried to cure in Bressanone (Brixen), where she died. It seems she is the painter of the *Man with Fez* on the basis of the similarity of signatures, above all the way how she writes the capital 'E', which I compared, among others, with the 'E' on the signature in the *Portrait of Painter Friedrich Schilcher* (1880), and also her habit of underlining the name from back to front (Figure 9).[56] In addition, the slant of her writing goes to the right, as it does

Inv. No. 1900-927; [3] *Philae*, 16 March 1896, watercolour, pencil, paper, 35.4 x 25.4 cm, MNG, Inv. No. 1900-928; [4] *Medinet Habu*, 18 March 1896, watercolour, pencil, paper; 35.4 x 25.2 cm, MNG, Inv. No. 1900-915; [5] *Egyiptomi falu Théba mellett (Aegypt Village near Thebes)*, 24 March 1896, watercolour, paper, 25.2 x 35.4 cm, MNG, Inv. No. 1900-926; [6] *Thotmesz temploma Medinet Habuban* (*Thutmose III Temple in Medinet Habu*), 24 March 1896, watercolour, paper, 25.2 x 35.4 cm, MNG, Inv. No. 1900-929; [7] *Kairói utca* (*Street in Cairo*), 10 April 1896, watercolour, paper, 35.4 x 25.2 cm, MNG, Inv. No. 1900-916; [8] *Kairó, al Talun mecset* (*Cairo, Mosque of Ibn Tulun*), 13 April 1896, watercolour, paper, 25.2 x 35.4 cm, MNG, Inv. No. 1900-931; [9] *Beduin tábor Ramleh közelében* (*Beduin Camp near Ramleh*), 26 April 1896, watercolour, pencil, paper, 25.2 x 35.4 cm, MNG, Inv. No. 1900-930. Many thanks to Ágnes Mészáros.

[56] Boris Wilnitsky Fine Art, item 6954.

in the painting from Topoľčianky, unlike her brother's writing, which slopes to the left, as can be seen in many of the illustrations in his books or in his oil *A Restless Sea* (1912).[57] If it really was painted by her, then it was done before her marriage, as it is signed 'Ransonnet', not 'Nemes'. Men with fez could have also been seen in her native Vienna, bearing in mind the strong enclaves of Balkan residents there, and other foreigners. It is, thus, an excellent painting from her early period, when she was not older than 21. It corresponds to her extraordinary talent, confirmed by the acquisition in 1878 by the Galleria degli Uffizi of her *Self-Portrait*.[58] She died, aged 56, and is buried alongside her husband in the crypt of the Piarist Church in Cluj-Napoca.[59] She left her property to young artists (through Július Benczúr) and for the construction of a hospital in Kunszentmiklós.

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[57] *Dorotheum* Vienna, 13 Dec. 2018, item 144.
[58] Fehér 2013: 92-99.
[59] Sas 1999.

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AEGYPTIACA AND AN EXHIBITION IN PRESBURG/ BRATISLAVA IN 1865

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Abstract: An exhibition of local goods, archaeology and art was held at a meeting of Hungarian physicians and natural scientists in Presburg/Bratislava on 27 August 1865. The catalogue listed more than sixty items of ancient Egyptian origin, belonging mainly to John Schiefner and George Ráth. The majority of the Egyptian artefacts displayed were divine statues and statuettes, in human and animal form and amulets. This contribution describes the context of the exhibition, lists the ancient Egyptian items, with comments and dimensions, and attempts to trace the items of Aegyptiaca in contemporary collections.

Keywords: Aegyptiaca, exhibition, Presburg/Bratislava, Schiefner, Ráth.

... die im Jahre 1865 in Preßburg stattgefundene Versammlung der ungarischen Ärzte und Naturforscher, die Allen, welche daran teilnahmen, durch die illustren Größen der Wissenschaft aus beiden Teilen der Monarchie und aus Deutschland, sowie durch die Gediegenheit der wissenschaftlichen Arbeiten, endlich auch durch die vielfachen sozialen Genüsse, in freundlichster Erinnerung bleiben und stets einen Glanzpunkt aller Wanderversammlungen dieses Vereins in unserem Vaterlande bilden wird. (Carl Kanka)[1]

In a book by Pavol Komora on a range of exhibitions held in the Hungarian Kingdom and Slovakia between 1842 and 1940,[2] launched at a commemoration of the 65th anniversary of *Pamiatky a múzeá* (a journal on monuments and museums) in December 2016, the author refers to an exhibition organised at a congress of Hungarian physicians and natural scientists in Presburg/Bratislava in 1865; among other exhibits, several ancient Egyptian artefacts were displayed.[3]

The congress was apparently a particularly significant event for the elites of Presburg/Bratislava (Figure 1); attending the 11th meeting in this royal city were 568 physicians and natural scientists from all over the country and beyond,

[1] Kanka 1884: 140.
[2] Komora 2016.
[3] Komora 2016: 80.

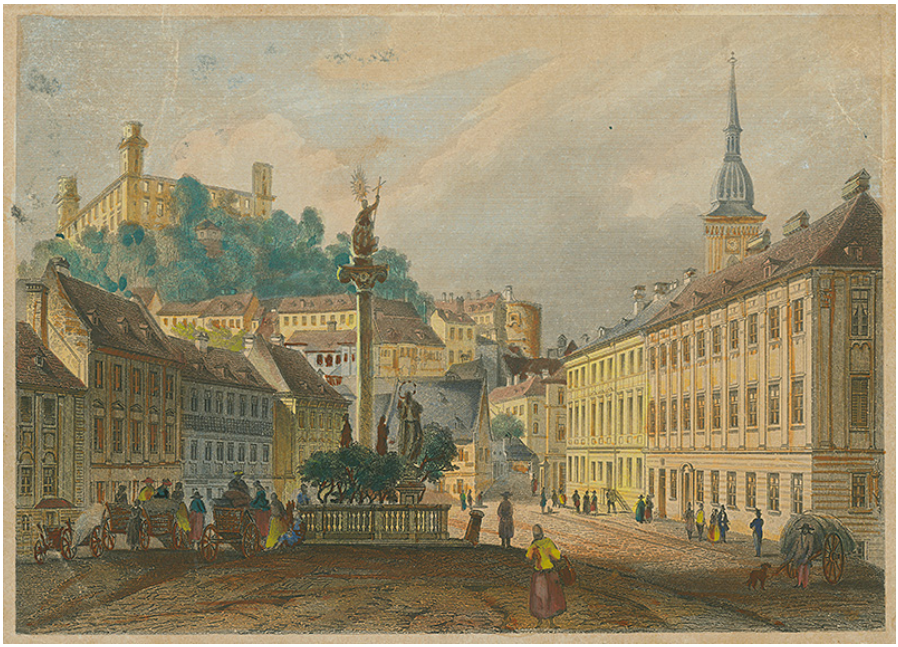


Figure 1. Presburg *c.* 1855
(Ludwig Rohbock – Johann Gabriel Friedrich Poppel, Oravská galéria; Reg. No. T 609).

travelling by land, rail, river and sea, often at discounted prices. Registration and the opening ceremony took place at the Primate's Palace, with the participants welcomed by the Presburg Choir from the front balcony; a torch procession and concert took place later that day.[4]

Next day, the General Assembly was inaugurated by its President, Charles III, Count Zichy (1785-1876) and by representative of the *judex* (Reeve) of Presburg, Mór Gottl (*c.* 1816-1892) in the City Hall. The secretaries of the meeting, local Presburg academicians Flóris Rómer (1815-1889) and Carl Kanka (1817-1901), read greeting letters from various academic institutions. The participants of the congress received a commemorative medal and several publications. The Presburg members published for the event a book – *Presburg and its surroundings*.[5] The physicians and natural scientists were also given the opportunity to visit the major sites nearby – Theben/Devín, Hainburg, and Bad Deutsch-Altenburg. A memorable exeat for the assembly was an excursion organised by the archaeological section

[4] Papp 2015.
[5] Presburg 1865.



Figure 2. Dr Flóris Ferencz/Floridus Franz Rómer, Oradea/Großwardein (Hungarian National Museum, picture collection: Történeti Fényképtár).

to the Presburg-Tyrnau/Nagyszombat/Trnava horse-drawn railway in Sankt Georgen/Szent György/Svätý Jur.[6]

Flóris Rómer[7] (Figure 2) was chairman of the archaeological section of the congress, and also one of the directors of the industrial, archaeological and art exhibition displayed at the Grassalkovich Palace (Figure 3). In the book just referred to he wrote a chapter on the archaeological sites of Presburg (*Presburg's archäologische Denkmale*) and also edited the archaeological chapters in the exhibition catalogue.[8]

The catalogue – *Névsorzata azon ipar, régészeti és mükiállitás-nak mely magyar orvosok és természet buvárok összejötte alkalmával Pozsonyban rendeztetett a kiállitás megnyittatik 1865. év Aug. 27-ikén*[9] – can be read in the Bratislava University Library

[6] Papp 2015.
[7] Szinnyei 1906.
[8] Papp 2015.
[9] 'A catalogue of Industrial and Archaeological Items and Works of Art, Organized for a Meeting of Hungarian Physicians and Natural Scientists at Poszony [Presburg/Bratislava]'. The exhibition was opened on 27 August 1865.



Figure 3. The venue of the exhibition, Grassalkovich Palace, today the official residence of the President of Slovakia (photo: Jozef Hudec).

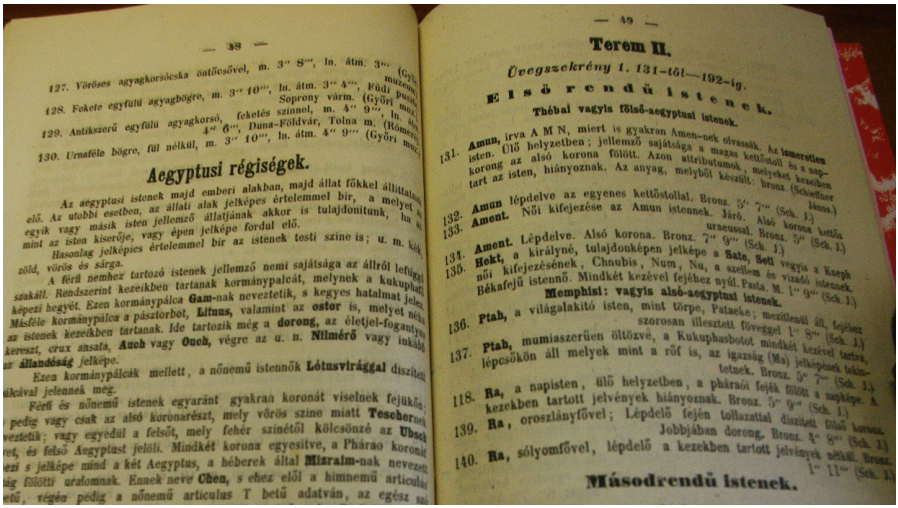
(ref. *XXI.E 5563*) and it provides on pages 48-52 much interesting data on the Aegyptiaca exhibited (Figure 4).

The ancient Egyptian artefacts were on display in the areas devoted to archaeology (*Régészeti osztály*) in Hall II of the exhibition, Cabinet 1, nos. 131-192. These 61 catalogue numbers comprised 72 items, with one catalogue number including a group of 12 scarabs.

Fourty nine of these exhibits (including 12 scarabs, altogether 60 items) from the total of 61 catalogued entries belonged to János/Johann Schiefner (under the acronym 'Sch. J.'). György/George Ráth was the other major contributor, with the second largest assemblage (nine artefacts) – his catalogue acronym was 'Rh. G.'. János/Johann Bakits and Ferdinand Steltzner exhibited a single artefact each. Bakits had more items in other sections of the exhibition, under the name 'B. J.' in the catalogue. Steltzner did not have an acronym. The owner of one exhibit was not listed (either omitted or concealed) in the catalogue.

In 1866, Flóris Rómer wrote[10] about Egyptian religion in Pannonia and Dacia. According to his interpretation, Egyptian items were quite often discovered in the

[10] Rómer 1866: 101.



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127. Vöröses agyagkorsócska üstöcsővel, m. 3″ 8‴, ln. átm. 3‴. (Győri múzeum.)

128. Fekete egyfülü agyagbögre, m. 3″ 10‴, ln. átm. 3″ 4‴. Földi gyűjt. Sopron vármegye.

129. Antikszerü egyfülü agyagkorsó, feketés szinnel, m. 4″ 9‴, ln. átm. 4″ 6‴. Duna-Földvár, Tolna m. (Rómer.)

130. Urnaféle bögre, fül nélkül, m. 3″ 10‴, ln. átm. 4″ 9‴ (Győri múz.)

Aegyptusi régiségek.

Az aegyptusi istenek majd emberi alakban, majd állat fökkel állíttatnak elő. Az utobbi esetben, az állati alak jelképes értelemmel bir, a melyet vagy egyik vagy másik isten jellemző állatjának akkor is tulajdonitunk, ha mint az isten kiserője, vagy épen jelképe fordul elő.

Hasonlag jelképies értelemmel bir az istenek testi szine is; u. m. kék, zöld, vörös és sárga.

A férfi nemhez tartozó istenek jellemző nemi sajátsága az állról lefüggő szakáll. Rendszerint kezeikben tartanak kormánypalcát, melynek a kukuphasthoz képezi hegyét. Ezen kormánypálca **Gam**-nak neveztetik, s kegyes hatalmat jelent. Másféle kormánypálca a pásztorbot, **Lituus**, valamint az **ostor** is, melyet néha az istenek kezeikben tartanak. Ide tartozik még a **dorong**, az életjel-fogantyús kereszt, crux ansata, **Auch** vagy **Ouch**, végre az u. n. **Nilmérő** vagy inkább az **állandóság** jelképe.

Ezen kormánypálcák mellett, a nőnemü istennők **Lótusvirággal** diszitett ülkével jelennek meg.

Férfi és nőnemü istenek egyaránt gyakran koronát viselnek fejükön, pedig vagy csak az alsó koronarészt, mely vörös szine miatt **Teschernet** neveztetik; vagy egyedül a felsőt, mely fehér színétől kölcsönzö az **Ubsch**-et, és felső Aegyptust jelöli. Mindkét korona egyesitve, a Pharao koronáját is jelképe mind a két Aegyptus, a héberek által **Mizraim**-nak nevezett világ fölötti uralomnak. Ennek neve **Chen**, s ehez elöl a himnemü articulus T betü adatván, az egész szó végén pedig a nőnemü articulus T betü adatván, az egész szó

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Terem II.

Üvegszekrény 1. 131-től—192-ig.

Elsö rendü istenek.

Thébai vagyis felsö-aegyptusi istenek.

131. **Amun,** irva A M N, miert is gyakran Amen-nek olvasták. Az ismeretlen isten. Ülö helyzetben; jellemző sajátsága a mazsolakeresztböl és a nagykorong az alsó korona fölött. Azon attributumok, melyeket kezében tart az isten, hiányoznak. Az anyag, melyből készült: bronz (Schieffner János.)

132. **Amun** lépdelve az egyenes kettőstollal. Bronz. 3″ 7‴ (Sch. J.)

133. **Ament.** Női kifejezése az Amun istennek. Járó. Alsó korona kettős uraeussal. Bronz. 5″ (Sch. J.)

134. **Ament.** Lépdelve. Alsó korona. Bronz. 7″ 9‴ (Sch. J.)

135. **Hekt,** a királyné, tulajdonképen jelképe a **Sate, Seti** vagyis a Kneph női kifejezésének, Chnubis, Num, No, a szellem és vizadó istenek. Békafejü istennő. Mindkét kezével fejéhez nyül. Pasta. M. 1″ 9‴ (Sch. J.)

Memphisi: vagyis alsó-aegyptusi istenek.

136. **Ptah,** a világalakitó isten, mint törpe, Patacke; mezitlenül ül, fejhez szorosan illeszteti fövegnel 1″ 8‴ (Sch. J.)

137. **Ptah,** mumiaszerüen öltözve, a Kukuphasbotot mindkét kezével tartva, lépcsökön áll melyek mint a röf is, az igazság (Ma) jelképének tekintetnek. Bronz. 5″ 7‴ (Sch. J.)

118. **Ra,** a napisten, ülö helyzetben, a pháraói fejék fölött a napkége. A kezekben tartott jelvények hiányoznak. Bronz. 5″ 9‴ (Sch. J.)

139. **Ra,** oroszlányfővel; Lépdelö fején tollazattal diszitett fölö korona. Jobbjában dorong. Bronz. 3″ 9‴ (Sch. J.)

140. **Ra,** sólyomfővel, lépdelö a kezekben tartott jelvények nélkül. Bronz. 1″ 11‴ (Sch. J.)

Másodrendü istenek.

Figure 4. Two pages from the exhibition catalogue (after Névsorzata 1865: 48-49).

Hungarian Kingdom. He even suggested an Egyptian origin for yellow copper sets and multicoloured beads found in Varsány puszta (Pest County [?]) and around Nagy-Romhány (Nógrád/Neuburg or Neograd County), i.e. outside Pannonia. Statuettes of Egyptian gods, combined with Roman artefacts, were discovered inside Pannonia, at Steinamanger/Szombathely. He also mentions a unique *ibrik*[11] from Sopron/Ödenburg County and a hieroglyphic stele from Óbuda/Old Buda (Roman Aquincum), which was between 3229 and 2967 years old (i.e. New Kingdom), according to Prussian Egyptologist Karl Lepsius (1810-1884), and probably brought by Romans to Pannonia. According to Rómer, such items were distributed by Egyptian soldiers in honour of Isis and Osiris.

Rómer opined[12] that the most prominent public institutions housing historical artefacts in the Kingdom were the Hungarian National Museum, the Imperial Royal ('k. k.') Archive in Vienna, and the Transylvanian and Sibiu Museums. Other important archaeological collections he lists are: the Pannonhalma/Martinsberg Monastery; the Győr/Raab High-School; the Library of County Kesthell/Keszthely; Pápa/Poppa College, Vác/Waitzen Mercifuls;[13] the Hungarian Academy of Sciences; the Royal Hungarian University; Debrecen/Debreczin and

[11] Morris 2019: 33-35.

[12] Rómer 1866: 107-108.

[13] *Kegyesrendiek* in Hungarian. The Hospitaller Order of Saint John, in Hungarian *Irgalmasrend*, might match the term, although the Piarists would correspond more to collecting activities and history (invitation by Bishop Kollonich). Cf. Thiele 1833: 268.

Mármarossziget/Maramureschsigeth/Sighetu Marmației Reform Collegiums; the Presburg Franciscans; the Presburg Real School[14]; the Esztergom/Gran Seminary and Cathedral Canonry.

Several private collections are also referred to. Johann Schiefner (1828-1887) was the principal treasurer of the Austro-Hungarian Bank,[15] whose private collection was hailed as 'paramount in terms of the beauty and diversity of its artefacts among the collections in the capital [Buda]'.[16] Johann was the son of a merchant, also called Johann Schiefner (1788-1861) and his wife Magdalena, born Riffel. Johann Jr's wife was Francziska Modrzejewska (1819-1895). Not many details are known to the author about his collecting activities. In 1864, Rómer, who had contacts with him, mentioned that Schiefner had collected antiques over a long period. It seems that Schiefner even organised excavations himself (e.g. nearly 40 kg of bronze from Dunaföldvár, Tolna County) and bought antiquities from dealers in Pest (e.g. from Székesfehérvár/Stuhlweißenburg).[17]

According to Rómer, fine items were also in the collections of Ferencz Kubínyi, Ferencz, Count Bethlen, György Ráth, Ágoston Szalay, and János and Ferencz Bakits, all presumably residing in the capital. Rómer also refers to his own collection of old bricks. Outside the capital, other wealthy families also owned precious archaeological objects: József Várady from Páty (Pilis/Pilisch County); János Milkovics and Ferencz Eberhöch from Koronczó (Győr/Raab County); Móricz Ányos from Esztergály near Zircz (Veszprém/Wesprim County); Prepost Lajos Bitnicz from Szombathely (Vas/Eisenburg County); Gen. Albert, Count Waldstein from Pozsony/Presburg; Col. Berres from Szent György/Svätý Jur (Presburg County); János Kelecsényi from Család/Čeladice (Nitra/Neutra County); István Rakovszky from Lontó/Lontov (Hont County); and György Révész from Kun-Halason (Kiskun/Kleinkumanien County).[18]

The collector György/George Ráth (1828-1905)[19] studied law in Pest. In 1848 he became a clerk at the Pest Ministry of Finance and volunteered for the War of Independence. Later he returned to the Law,[20] becoming first a junior judge in the Hungarian division of the Vienna Supreme Court and then the Hungarian *Hofkanzlei* in Vienna. In 1860 he was appointed presidential secretary to the judge

[14] Borovszky 1904: 361-362.

[15] During negotiations for the 'Compromise' between Austria and Hungary of 1867, the central bank issue was set aside. After years of prolonged negotiations, in 1878, the central bank was successfully transformed into an institute in which Austria and Hungary had equal shares. The 'Austro-Hungarian Bank' became the central bank for both parts of the Empire. Cf. Oesterreichische Nationalbank.

[16] Rómer 1866: 107.

[17] Rómer 1864: 165.

[18] Rómer 1866: 108.

[19] 6 May 1828, Szeged – 7 July 1905, Budapest. Torda 2003; Benda 1983: 429; Szinnyei 1906.

[20] Ráth 1853; Ráth 1853-1854.

György/George, Count Apponyi in the *Iudex curiae*. From 1868 he was a senior judge, and at the top of his career (1872-1889) he was appointed chair of the Royal Court Table in Budapest. He retired in 1890, becoming in 1896 a life member of the Parliamentary Magnate House in Budapest.

Besides his juridical work, he also acted as manager (1880) and then general director (1886-1896) of the Museum of Art and Design in Budapest (then the third largest in the world). Before, in 1873, he directed the Hungarian art exhibition at the Vienna World Exhibition. His contribution overall was recognised at the 1900 Paris World Fair, where he was awarded the Cross of Honour.

From the 1860s he was also one of the largest collectors in the Hungarian Kingdom. His collecting passion brought together a broad range of art and books. In 1901 he moved with his wife and collections to a villa in Budapest – Városligeti fasor. In 1907 the Ráth Museum opened here, and his wife, Gizella Melcsiczky (the roots of the family name are in Melčice near Trenčín, Slovakia),[21] contributed more than a thousand artefacts to the museum.[22] The Aegyptiaca were finally transferred from the museum to the collections of the Museum of Fine Arts in Budapest in 1950.

Ferdinand Steltzner (1808-1882),[23] who lent his Egyptian glass and paste beads from Banat to the Presburg exhibition, was a natural historian and researcher. He was born into a family of wealthy merchants, but his father lost his fortune and was obliged to leave Vienna for Presburg around 1821. Steltzner graduated from the Benedictine Gymnasium in Presburg and then worked as a clerk at the Royal Salt Office in Raab/Győr, Pest and Gács (now Halič, Slovakia). He became interested in science, as well as in collecting specimens of natural history.

After the dissolution of the Royal Salt Offices, Steltzner worked in the offices of Count Anton Forgách from 1849. Later he moved to a governmental department in Kaschau/Košice. When in 1860 his office was closed down he retired as an auxiliary director. In 1864 he relocated from Košice to Presburg, where flourished the 'Association for Natural Sciences' (Verein für Naturkunde zu Presburg) and its museum, directed by G.A. Kornhuber (1824-1905).[24]

János/Johann Bakits (dates unknown), who donated to the Presburg exhibition his figure of a woman carrying a basket, was a lawyer in Pest.[25] He collected archaeological finds and items related to the applied arts.[26] His passion was probably shared with his relative (?) Francis/Ferencz, mentioned above by Rómer.

[21] *Hungaricana*.
[22] Alpár and Györgyi 1905: 189-192.
[23] 9 September 1808, Vienna – November 1882, Presburg. *Verhandlungen* 1882: 137-144.
[24] Wurzbach 1864: 466.
[25] Mezei Naptár 1848: 53; Rómer 1864: 164.
[26] Csécs 2013: 349-391.

Little seems to have been published on Bakits, other than he was in contact with Rómer, as was corroborated by the latter's diary in Paris.[27].

Aegyptiaca were not the only items of Egyptian origin on display at our exhibition. Contemporary, and somewhat ethnographic Egyptian exhibits were also on show in other sections of the event. A 'Dr Reinhardt' (probably the Presburg physician M. Franz Reinhard)[28] shared with the public his Egyptian six-piece black-and-brown tea service.[29]

Antal Charles, Count Eszterházy de Galántha (1820-1889)[30] loaned a *fellah* coat (*galabeya* or *kaftan*), a shawl,[31], a *burnus* (the traditional long-hooded cloak),[32] and two Nubian baskets with covers,[33] acquired from his many trips to Egypt.[34]

This exhibition of Aegyptiaca would seem to suggest that several archaeologists from the Hungarian Kingdom (at least Flóris Rómer) followed closely developments in world archaeology. It appears that the United Kingdom offered a good model for the Hungarian Kingdom in both politics[35] and science.[36] The Aegyptiaca on display at Presburg were arranged and described according to a British example – Vaux's *Handbook to the Antiquities in the British Museum*, published some 14 years earlier.[37]

The deities mentioned in the reference book were divided into three orders, according to the knowledge of the time. The most important gods were those of the first order. These divinities included Theban (Upper Egyptian) and Memphite (Lower Egyptian) gods. The second- and third-order gods did not have a special subdivision. Other categories in the Presburg catalogue were devoted to various gods and *signa panthea* (attributes of traditional gods), further subdivided into human figures and animals.

The terminology used in the descriptions of the Aegyptiaca corresponded to what was then current. The dimensions of the objects were given in inches. A unified dimensional and weight system was introduced into the Austrian Empire by Maria Theresia in 1756.[38] Some thirty years later (10 February 1786) the system was also extended to the Hungarian Kingdom by Joseph II.[39] Therefore it is reasonable to assume that the inch used in the Hungarian text is equal to *c.* 2.63 cm – for the

[27] Csécs 2013: 384.
[28] *Achter Jahresbericht* 1843: 17.
[29] Névsorzata 1865: 29, No. 132.
[30] 3 October 1820, Vienna – 16 July 1889, Cseklísz/Bernolákovo). Hudec 2018: 135-159.
[31] Névsorzata 1865: 42, No. 225.
[32] Névsorzata 1865: 42, No. 226.
[33] Névsorzata 1865: 43, No. 248.
[34] Blaschek 2010: 97-98.
[35] Fónagy 2016: 4.
[36] Henszlmann 1853.
[37] Vaux 1851: 348 ff.
[38] Ulbrich 1972: 17.
[39] Ulbrich 1972: 24.

purposes of this article, 1 inch is taken as exactly 2.63 cm. The inch of that time was further sub-divided into 12ths, with 1/12th here rounded up to 0.22 cm..

In the exhibition catalogue the chapter on Egyptian antiquities started with a brief introduction on Ancient Egyptian religion, gods and pharaohs, their iconography and attributes. A structured list of exhibits followed afterwards.

Our contribution here provides translation of descriptions, as well as brief commentaries on the items (if appropriate) and metric dimensions.

THE FIRST-ORDER GODS

Theban, i.e. Upper Egyptian, gods

'131. **Amun**, written AMN, often read Amen. The concealed god. In a sitting position: his characteristic feature are tall double-plumes and a sun-disc above the Lower [Egyptian] crown. The attributes that the god [usually] holds in his hands are missing. Material [of the statue): bronze. (Schieffner János)'.
Commentary: Based on the description, the god was more probably Amun-Ra. Dimensions: not provided.

'132. **Amun**, walking, with straight double-plumes (crown). Bronze, 3.7'' 7''' (Sch. J.)'.
Commentary: Dimensions (height): 9.4 cm.

'133. **Ament**, female expression of the god Amun. Walking. Lower [Egyptian] crown with dual *uraeus*. Bronze, 5'' (Sch. J.)'.
Commentary: There is also a possibility that the goddess is Neit rather than Amunet. Dimensions (height): 13.2 cm.

'134. **Ament**, walking. Lower (Egyptian) crown. Bronze, 7'' 9''' (Sch. J.)'.
Commentary: There is also a possibility that the goddess is Neit rather than Amunet. Dimensions (height): 20.4 cm.

'135. **Hekt**, the queen, is a symbol of Sate, Seti, i.e. the female expression of Kneph, Chnubis, Num, Nu, the air and water gods. Frog-headed goddess. She touches her head with both hands. Paste, height 1'' 9''' (Sch. J.)'.
Commentary: Probably an amulet of Heket or one of primordial Ogdoad deities of Hermopolis theology. It was made of Egyptian faience (frit). Colour not recorded; dimensions (height): 4.6 cm.

Memphite, i.e. Lower Egyptian, gods

'136. **Ptah**, the world-creator god, as a dwarf, Pataeke; standing naked, with a tight-fitting on his head. 1'' 8''' (Sch. J.)'.
Commentary: Pataikos made of an unidentified material; dimensions (height): 4.4 cm.

'137. **Ptah**, in a mummy dress, holding the *Kukuphas* stick with both hands, standing on a stand similar to an *ell*, the symbol of truth Ma. Bronze, 5'' 7''' (Sch. J.)'.
Commentary: The *Kukuphas* stick was Ptah's *was*-sceptre. The pedestal probably sloped to front, thus rather similar to the hieroglyph Aa 11 (platform), i.e. *Maᶜt*. Dimensions (height): 14.7 cm.

'138. **Ra**, sun god, sitting position, with a sun image above the pharaonic head. Without attributes in hands. Bronze, 5'' 9''' (Sch. J.)'.
Commentary: The statue might also represent the god Khonsu. Dimensions (height): 15.1 cm.

'139. **Ra**, with a lioness head; walking, on his head is the Upper (Egyptian) crown, decorated with feathers/plumes. Attribute/stick is in his right hand. Bronze. 4'' 8''' (Sch. J.)'.
Commentary: The statue might also represent the god Maahes, with *atef* (Upper Egyptian) crown. Dimensions (height): 12.3 cm.

'140. **Ra**, with a falcon head, walking, without attributes in hands. Bronze, 1'' 11''' (Sch. J.)'.
Commentary: Probably Re-Harakhty. Dimensions (height): 5.1 cm.

SECOND-ORDER GODS

'141. **Tet, Toth, Tauth**, god of priests, scholars and artists. Ibis-headed, walking, however, his back rests on a *stela*; without holding attributes in his hands. Paste, 3'' 5''' (Sch. J.)'.
Commentary: Statuette of the god Thowt, made of Egyptian faience (frit); colour unrecorded. Dimensions (height): 9 cm.

'142. **Tefnu**, Ra's lioness-headed daughter. The lion's head and the sun image of Ra visible above shows its sun-god origin. Bronze, 5'' 8''' (Sch. J.)'.
Commentary: Probably the standing goddess Tefnut. Dimensions (height): 14.9 cm.

‘143. **Tefnu**, with head of a lioness, in a sitting position. Paste, 2'' 3''' (Sch. J.)’.
Commentary: Probably an amulet of Sekhmet (?) made of Egyptian faience (frit); colour unrecorded. Dimensions (height): 5.9 cm.

‘144. **Imatep**, i.e. I-em-atep, “I am coming to sacrifice”, perhaps Aesculap, originally considered to be an educated priest. Sitting. He holds a roll with hieroglyphs in his hand. Ptah-shaped head and rich necklaces. Hieroglyphs on stool/throne. Bronze, 4'' 11''' (Sch. J.)’.
Commentary: The deified architect Imhotep (*Ii-em-hotep*; ‘the one who comes in peace’). Dimensions (height): 12.9 cm.

‘145. **Renpa**, Egyptian warlord, in a standing position, naked, with shield and sword, and with feather-headdress. Paste, 5'' 6''' (Sch. J.)’.
Commentary: Probably the god Bes, made of Egyptian faience (frit) or terracotta; colour unrecorded. Dimensions (height): 14.5 cm.

‘146. **Renpa**, without a sword and shield, standing, keeping hands on his thighs. His beard is different from usual Egyptian features of face. Paste, 5'' 8''' (Sch. J.)’.
Commentary: Probably the god Bes, made of Egyptian faience (frit) or terracotta; colour unrecorded. Dimensions (height): 14.9 cm.

‘147. **Renpa**, small, naked. Paste, 1'', Ráth György’.
Commentary: Probably an amulet of the god Bes, made of Egyptian faience (frit); colour unrecorded. Dimensions (height): 2.6 cm.

‘148. **Apt**, a goddess with hippo head and legs, with a female upper body, shape of Nupte (Rhea), the daughter of Ra, parent of gods, symbol of the Nile floods. Paste, 1'' 9''' (Sch. J.)’.
Commentary: Amulet of *Opet* or *Taweret* made probably of Egyptian faience (frit); colour unrecorded. Dimensions (height): 4.6 cm.

THIRD-ORDER GODS

‘149. **Osiris**, in a standing position, mummiform, wearing Upper (Egyptian) crown flanked by feathers on head, holding whip and hooked stick in hands. Hieroglyphs (Hesiri) on pedestal. Bronze, eyes with silver paste, 9'' 2''' (Sch. J.)’.
Commentary: Statue with a name of certain Hesire (*Blessed/favoured by Ra*) on pedestal. Probably from Late Period, as might be indicated also by the fashion to reprise an Old Kingdom name. Dimension (height) 24.1 cm.

‘150. **Osiris**, sitting, otherwise similar to the previous entry. Bronze, 7'' 6''' (Sch. J.)’.
Commentary: Dimensions (height): 19.7 cm.

‘151. **Osiris**, mummy-form, blue paste, 6'' 7''' (Sch. J.)’.
Commentary: Probably a ushabti made of Egyptian faience (frit) with blue glaze. Dimensions (height): 17.3 cm.

‘152. **Isis**, in a standing position, above the wig there is a cup, with sun-disc between cow horns on it. Dress tight to the body, down to the middle of the lower legs. Bronze, 9'' 6''' (Sch. J.)’.
Commentary: Dimensions (height): 25 cm.

‘153. **Isis**, sitting, holding Harpocrates on her lap. Otherwise similar to the previous entry. Bronze, eyes and crown with enamel, 9'' (Sch. J.)’.
Commentary: Dimensions (height): 23.7 cm.

‘154. **Isis**, sitting, similar to the previous entry. Hieroglyphs (Hes) on her stool (throne). Bronze, with silver eyes, 8'' 9''' (Sch. J.)’.
Commentary: The throne was probably decorated with *ḥs/ḥst* vase(s). Dimension (height): 23 cm.

‘155. **Isis**, standing, the sun-disk between the cow horns, with large wings from the back to the ground, like Pe, the goddess of heaven. Bronze, 5'' 7''' (Sch. J.)’.
Commentary: The goddess Isis with her wings extended in a pose of protection. Goddess Nut was probably indicated as the goddess of heaven. Dimensions (height): 14.7 cm.

‘156. **Anubis**, walking, with a jackal head. Attributes are not visible in his hands. Bronze, 4'' (Sch. J.)’.
Commentary: Dimensions (height): 10.5 cm.

‘157. **Anubis**, walking, with a jackal head. He holds a cylinder [?] in his right hand. An eye is applied on his back, which originally served to uphold the god. Bronze, 1'' 1''' (Sch. J.)’.
Commentary: Amulet. Dimensions (height): 2.9 cm.

‘158. **Her-pe-chruti**, (the young Horus) Harpocrates, young, naked, sucks his finger, walking. On the head he wears the double crown, with a single lock of hair. Bronze, 6'' 7''' (Sch. J.)’.
Commentary: The god Horpakhered with *pshent* crown. Dimensions (height): 17.3 cm.

‘159. **Her-pe-chruti**, similar to the previous entry, but without the lock of hair. Bronze, 7'' 6''' (Sch. J.)’.
Commentary: Horpakhered. Dimensions (height): 19.7 cm.

‘160. **Her-pe-chruti**, sitting, naked, with a pharaoh-like head, and above this are visible three vessels on ram horns, plummets and two *uraeus* snakes. Bronze, 7'' 9''' (Sch. J.)’.
Commentary: Probably Horpakhered – Sematawy/Somtus with *hemhemet* crown. Dimensions (height): 20.4 cm.

VARIOUS GODS, ATTRIBUTES OF TRADITIONAL GODS – SIGNA PANTHEA

‘161. **Her-pe-chruti**, as such characterised by lock of hair, walking in a costume, with horns and Upper [Egyptian] crown flanked by feathers. Bronze, 3'' (Sch. J.)’.
Commentary: Enlistment of the statuette or rather amulet in a different order should also have a different reason than just the dimensions (height: 7.9 cm). Probably the iconography of Horpakhered was not so unequivocal (lock of hair was used also with other occasions); the *atef* crown might represent the authority of Ra mediated through Thowt and/or Osiris.[40]

‘162. **Her-pe-chruti**, with sun-disc flanked by feathers. One lock of hair and Osiris-like lower part of body. Bronze, 3'' 8''' (Sch. J.)’.
Commentary: There are *ushabties* with the priestly side-lock of hair, however, they do not usually wear the sun attribute and are mainly made of Egyptian faience (frit). The statue could therefore rather represent a deity, in a kind of solar-Osirian unity.[41] Dimensions (height): 9.7 cm.

HUMAN FIGURES

‘163. **Praying King**, walking, Pharaoh, helmet on the head, with ribbon in front. Bronze, 3'' 10'''’.

[40] Richter 2016: 77-79.
[41] Darnell 2004.

Commentary: Pharaoh wearing *khepresh* (blue crown). Owner not recorded. Dimensions: (height) 10.1 cm.

‘164. Kneeling, praying king, holding a small chapel in his hands, but [naos] is missing. Bronze, 3'' 4''' (Sch. J.)’.
Commentary: *Naophoros* made of bronze. Dimensions (height): 8.8 cm.

‘165. **Kanephore**, Canephora, basket-bearing woman. Sycamore wood, 6'' 8''' (B. J.)’.
Commentary: Doubts possible about the type of wood; several wood species were commonly used to make such statuettes. Dimensions (height): 17.5 cm.

ANIMALS[42]

‘166. **Apis**, Hapi is the god of the Nile, a walking bull, with sun-disc between the horns, with a richly decorated covering. Hieroglyphs on the pedestal. Bronze, with gold eyes. Without old ground, 4'' high, 4'' 2''' long (Sch. J.)’.
Commentary: Apis and Hapi cannot be identified directly with each other.[43] In this case it is a statue of the bull Apis. Dimensions: height 11 cm, length 10.5 cm.

‘167. **Apis**, smaller than the previous entry. 3'' 5''' high, 3'' 2''' long (Rh. G.)’.
Commentary: Dimensions: height 9 cm, length 8.3 cm.

‘168. **Cat**, animal of Pecht or Pascht goddess, sitting, with necklace. Bronze, with silver eyes. 5'' 9''' long (Sch. J.)’.
Commentary: Originally an African wildcat, *Felis silvestris libyca*. Manifestation of the goddess Bastet. Dimensions (length): 15.1 cm.

‘169. **Cat**, smaller, sitting. Bronze, 5'' high (Rh. G.)’.
Commentary: Dimensions (height): 13.2 cm.

‘170. **Falcon**, the sun god. Standing. With double crown. Bronze, 3'' 9''' (Sch. J.)’.
Commentary: Horus was depicted as a falcon with *pshent* (double crown). Dimensions (height): 9.9 cm.

‘171. **Falcon**, small, but of higher artistic value. Bronze, 1'' 2''' (Rh. G.)’.
Commentary: Dimensions (height): 3.1 cm.

[42] Arnold 1995; Lesko 1999.
[43] Prell 2009: 220.

‘172. **Falcon**, sitting, sycamore wood, painted. 2'' 5'''high, 5'' 4''' long (Sch. J.)’.
Commentary: Possibly a Sokar falcon, might also be part of a Ptah-Sokar-Osiris statue.[44] Possible doubt about the type of wood. Dimensions: height 6.4 cm, length 14 cm.

‘173. **Ram**, walking, the god of sun and Khnum, with four horns. Bronze, 1'' 3''' high, 1'' 7''' long (Sch. J.)’.
Commentary: A ram identified as *Ovis platyura aegyptiaca* had forward-bending horns and thick fleece. *Ovis longipes palaeoaegyptiaca*, with long, horizontally spiralling horns, was originally a manifestation of Amun and Khnum. Here the amulet is probably a manifestation of Herishef. Another pair of horns might be a residuum from an *atef* crown (?). Dimensions: height 3.3 cm, length 4.2 cm.

‘174. **Lioness**, in a lying position, with a loop/eye on her back, a colossal view. Paste, 9'' high, 1'' 7''' long (Rh. G.)’.
Commentary: Amulet with representation of Sekhmet (?) made of Egyptian faience (frit). Dimensions: height 23.7 cm, length 4.2 cm. There might be an error with the height – probably ‘*3'''*, i.e. 7.9 cm.

‘175. **Ichneumon**, walking, with its tiny eyes it is reportedly blind, and therefore devoted to the mother of the gods, as Plutarch claimed, “darkness is older than light”. Bronze, the base made of similar material, 7''´ high, 2'' long (Rh. G.)’.
Commentary: The Egyptian mongoose (*Herpestes ichneumon*) appeared in several myths and was associated with various gods. Dimensions: height 1.5 cm, length 5.3 cm.

‘176. **Dog-headed monkey**, Kynokefalos, Teth or Toth (Mercur), moon-disc over the head. Bronze, 2'' 3''' (Sch. J.)’.
Commentary: Baboon (*Papio anubis* or *Papio hamadryas*) was usually a manifestation of the god Thowt. Dimensions (height): 5.9 cm.

‘177. **Jackal**, walking, the companion of Anubis. Bronze, 8''' high, 10''' long (Sch. J.)’.
Commentary: Probably rather a manifestation/amulet of the god *Wepwawet* (“Opener of the Ways”), portrayed as a standing/walking jackal (*Canis lupaster*). Dimensions: height 1.8 cm, length 2.2 cm.

‘178. **Rabbit**, (Un) in a lying position, with large feather-shaped ears. Paste, 7''' high, 11''' long (Rh. G.)’.

[44] Raven 1978-1979.

Commentary: The amuletic role of the desert hare (*Lepus capens*), *Wn*, is not known for certain. The amulet was probably made of Egyptian faience (frit), its colour was not registered (it might be blue?). Dimensions: height 1.5 cm, length 2.4 cm.

'179. ***Uraeus***, Basilisk, a royal snake. It is a symbol of power, and therefore is the attribute of gods and kings. They say that this animal makes itself quite stiff, and as if it were a rod, it can be lifted. Part of the body is raised on the example here. Bronze, inlaid with gold, 3'' 6''' (Rh. G.)'.
Commentary: Rearing cobras (*Naja haje* or *Naja nigricollis*) were symbols of protection, associated with several deities. Dimensions: 9.2 cm.

'180. ***Uraeus***, similar to the previous entry, but with undulated body. Bronze, 2'' 7''' (Sch. J.)'.
Commentary: Dimensions: 6.8 cm.

'181. ***Uraeus***, a part of a bigger animal. Bronze. Original gilding or enamelling worn, 2'' 5''' (Sch. J.)'.
Commentary: Dimensions (height): 6.4 cm.

'182. **Two/double *uraeus***, connected by side edges and heads, wearing two solar-discs overhead, forming snake clasps or fibulae. Bronze, 2'' 1''' high, 1'' 4''' wide (Sch. J.)'.
Commentary: Dimensions: height 5.5 cm, 3.5 cm width.

'183. **Scarab beetle**, (Ter), the symbol of the world (Thore), made by utter of Ptah. Hieroglyphs are mostly found on the lower/bottom part of the beetle. The piece shows the name of Thutmose III, one of the pharaohs of the 18th Dynasty. The royal table that was buried in his former palace is currently preserved in the Grand Library in Paris. Green paste, larger diameter 2'' 7''', smaller 1'' 11''' (Sch. J.)'.
Commentary: Ancient Egyptian *kheper* – a scarab (*Scarabaeus sacer*), with the throne name of Thutmose III *Men-kheper-re*,[45] made either of Egyptian faience (frit) with green glaze (?) or glazed steatite. Dimensions: larger diameter 6.8 cm and smaller diameter 5.1 cm; these larger than average, however, the item was probably not a heart scarab.

'184. **Serpentine scarab**, without hieroglyphs, 1'' 11''' and 1'' 5''' (Sch. J.)'.
Commentary: Non-epigraphic scarab's dimensions: 5.1 cm and 3.7 cm.

[45] Jaeger 1982.

‘185. **Twelve scarab**s, gold-plated, used like a chain/necklace. Made partly of stone, partly of paste. Their sizes vary (Sch. J.)’.
Commentary: Possibly an example of the ‘revival’ jewellery of Alessandro Castellani (1823-1883) and/or Giacinto Melillo (1846-1915),[46] but the very brief description makes this hard to confirm.

‘186. The so-called **Nilometer**, more a symbol of perseverance and Ptah. Paste, height 1'' 1''' (Sch. J.)’.
Commentary: An amulet made probably of Egyptian faience (frit). Dimensions (height): 2.9 cm.

‘187. Weeping eye (of Osiris). Paste, 1'' 7''' high, 2'' 2''' long (Sch. J.)’.
Commentary: Wedjat-eye amulet made probably of Egyptian faience (frit). Dimensions: height 4.2 cm, length 5.7 cm.

‘188. **Weeping eye**, embedded in a parallelogram. Paste, 1'' 6''' high, 1'' 9''' long (Sch. J.)’.
Commentary: Wedjat-eye plaque made probably of Egyptian faience (frit). Dimensions: height 4 cm, length 4.6 cm.

‘189. Variously coloured, **Egyptian glass and paste beads** on a thread. Diameters 3-4'''. They were found in a Roman grave in Banat (Steltzner Ferdinand)’.
Commentary: Dimensions 0.7 - 0.9 cm. Banat was an historical region, now divided between Romania, Serbia and Hungary.

‘190. **Urn-like** vase with two ‘ears’ on the edge of the opening. Bronze, 5'' high, max. diameter 2'' (Sch. J.)’.
Commentary: Dimensions: height 13.2 cm, max. diameter 5.3 cm.

Above the glass cabinet
‘191. Large Greek mixing pot, **Crater**, with four red Bacchus shapes on a black background. 10'' 6''' high. The diameter of the opening is 11'' 9''', the bottom 5'' 2''' (Rh. G.)’.
Commentary: Dimensions: height 27.6 cm, diam. 30.9 cm, base 13.6 cm.

The exhibition raises the logical question of where the exhibited objects might be found today. As the main collectors – Schiefner and Ráth – had ties to (later) Budapest, it might be expected that the Aegyptiaca could today be in Budapest’s museums. According to information on the website of the Budapest Museum of

[46] Victoria and Albert Museum, London; Walters Art Museum, Baltimore.

Fine Arts:[47] 'After World War II, the Museum of Fine Arts' Egyptian collection was enriched through donations, purchases, and finds from digs. It was during this period that several important legacies – for example, pieces from the Fejérváry-Pulszky collection [and] Egyptian artefacts from the collection of György Ráth... entered the collection'. It is therefore possible that the Aegyptiaca borrowed by G. Ráth to take to the Presburg meeting, i.e. the statues, amulets and vessels (nos. 147 - Bes; 167 - Apis bull; 169 - Cat; 171 - Falcon; 174 - Lioness; 175 - Ichneumon; 178 - Desert hare; 179 - *Uraeus*; and 191 - Greek crater) could be in the museum; however they cannot be identified in the available catalogue, edited by Kóthay and Liptay.[48]

As for the Museum of Fine Arts in Budapest,[49] the brevity of the descriptions, both in the 1865 catalogue and on the museum's website (and the black-and-white photographs), it is not always possible to match the Aegyptiaca from the catalogue with the website, as it was in the case of the Ráth's Aegyptiaca.

Moreover, comparisons are hampered by differences in dimensions that could be the result of a different measurement methodology, as well as possible wear-and-tear after some 150 years of storage (and various 'conservation' procedures that could also alter the dimensions).

The collection of J. Schiefner is not mentioned in the website of the Museum of Fine Arts, however this does not mean that the collection was not donated to a (the National) museum in the 19th century. Matching is not possible based on descriptions and images alone. Detailed analysis by the museum's staff would be required. Several items from the Schiefner collection that were displayed in Presburg seem to match objects from the museum's Egyptological collection, e.g.:

'No. 136. Pataikos' (height 4.4 cm), could correspond to Inv. No. 51.2557 (dimensions: 4.6 x 2.1 cm).

'No. 137. Ptah' (height 14.7 cm), could correspond (?) to Inv. No. 51.2315 (dimensions: 14 cm).

'No. 143. Tefnut/Sekhmet' (height 5.9 cm), could correspond to Inv. No. 51.2329 (dimensions: 5.8 x 3.4 cm).

'146. Bes' (height 14.9 cm), could correspond to Inv. No. 50.122 (height: 15.2 cm).

The exhibition in Presburg can be seen as a kind of model for the later 'Presburg Museum'[50] (opened in 1868), nowadays the City History Museum.[51] The exhibition

[47] *Museum of Fine Arts*.
[48] Kóthay and Liptay (eds) 2010.
[49] The author is indebted to Andrea Fullér for information on the museum's website (email 22 September 2018; https://www.szepmuveszeti.hu/lista_eng?person=&classification=&period=&departments=5&page=1&search_text=&only_pictures=&style=grid-text&search_inventory_number=&).
[50] Komora 2016: 80.
[51] City History Museum - Old Town Hall.

brought together one of the earliest displays of Aegyptiaca in the Hungarian Kingdom,[52] as well as perhaps firing Rómer's imagination for a larger future event. Two years after the exhibition in Presburg, the latter was a custodian of the archaeological exhibition of the Hungarian contribution at the World Exposition in Paris, between March and November 1867. Again, he prepared a catalogue and served as the exposition's 'VIP' guide.[53] He also used this opportunity to give a speech to the 2nd International Congress of Anthropology and Prehistoric Archaeology (17-30 August 1867).[54] Actually, the speech, printed in French, had several similarities with his *Műrégészeti kalauz* (1866). It seems Rómer's work on the exhibition in Presburg raised his awareness of private archaeological collections in the Kingdom.

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[52] The display of Egyptian artefacts in the Ethnographic Repository of the National Museum in the Industrial Hall in Budapest's City Park in 1912 (cf. *Museum of Fine Arts*) was probably not the first.

[53] Csécs 2013: 391.

[54] Congrès 1868: 321-336.

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EGYPTOLOGY IN THE VARAŽDIN AREA: THE CONTRIBUTION OF THE BOMBELLES FAMILY AND THE PASZHTORY – VARADY FAMILY

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Abstract: The author deals here with two families in the area of Varaždin County, whose contribution is more than significant when talking about the research and understanding of Egypt at the local level. They are the Bombelles family, a noble family of French origin, and the Paszthory family, who acquired possessions in the Varaždin area that were later to become the property of the Varady family. Their interests in Egyptian history and Egypt itself, though inexpert and amateur in today's terms, resulted in valuable materials that found their way into the collection of the City Museum, Varaždin. The topics covered in this paper are: the history of the families mentioned, their acquisitions, trips to Egypt, and, the most valuable legacy of the Paszthory-Varady family, the Egyptian collection presented to the Varaždin City Museum, containing seven items.

Keywords: Bombelles, Pasthory-Varady, Varaždin City Museum, Egyptology.

The Paszthory-Varady Family

Varaždin County is one of the oldest Croatian counties. It was mentioned for the first time in 1181, and its centre was always the royal and free city of Varaždin. The geographical area covered by this research is the northwestern part of Varaždin County. The Paszthory family is an old Hungarian family who lived in Sopron County and came into possession of the Križovljan and Maruševec castles in the 18th century. Castle Križovljan and its town was probably best known during the 18th century, when its then owner Karlo Paszthory,[1] according to several recorded anecdotes, was a famous prankster.[2]

Members of the Paszthory family were successful and well known: Aleksandar Paszthory was the secretary of the Royal Hungarian office. His son Karlo Eduard, mentioned above, was a judge in Varaždin. There were also Mirko Paszthory,

[1] Obad-Šćitaroci 2005: 232.
[2] Belošević 1926: 113-114.

deputy major of Varaždin in 1773, and Josip Paszthory, headmaster of the Varaždin gymnasium for over 40 years.

Today's family includes Maria and Šandor;[3] according to recent information Maria resides in Vienna and occasionally visits a house left to her as a symbolic possession after the agrarian reforms.[4] Information on the family members came from material in the possession of Francisca Varady in 1960,[5] which is now in the Varaždin archive.

The owners of Križovljan castle, the Paszthory family and previous incumbents, kept their documents in the attics, changing and adding material over the centuries, so that the material now covers activity from the 14th to the 20th century,[6] and now affords fascinating research opportunities, such as the subject of this article. Numerous portraits of the owners and family members are still to be seen, as well as many antiques and *objets d'art*, mainly collected by one member of the Varady family.[7]

The Bombelles Family

The next area of interest is the region of Vinica. The village was named after its connection with wine-making, a very old tradition. The main castle is Opeka, built in 1674 and now celebrated for its park. Count Marko Bombelles, the elder, became owner in 1852,[8] and from his travels often returned with different trees and shrubs, transforming the lands around his castle into a true arboretum, full of exotic plants.[9] Because of its exceptional value, the park has been protected since 1947 and has become a monument of garden architecture of the highest category.[10]

After the death of Marko, the elder (the first), control of the property was left to his son, Marko the younger (the second), who left a great legacy in Vinica from his work in cultural and public life, education, economy, banking and politics. As the count held high office in Vienna and in the Croatian Parliament, the great and the good often came to hunt in Zelendvor and Opeka. Among the many prominent personalities was his friend and best man, Franjo Ferdinand, heir to the Habsburg throne, who came in all seven times, as well as King Aleksandar Karađorđević and his wife Marija.[11]

[3] Levanić 2001: 10.
[4] Košić 2005: 59.
[5] Levanić 2001: 10.
[6] Levanić 2001: 10.
[7] Szabo 1939: 124.
[8] Košćak 2013: 334.
[9] Obad-Šćitaroci 2005: 200.
[10] Obad-Šćitaroci 2005: 200.
[11] Martić 2004: 18-21.

Of tangential interest, but nevertheless worth mentioning, is Marko's great passion for early motorcars. In 1898, the count brought the first car to Croatia, to Vinica, and on the 17 August 1899, the daily newspaper writes that Marko Bombelles Jr arrived by car in Zagreb the day before, covered 90 km in 3 hours and 45 minutes, and that this was the first car ever to appear on the streets of Zagreb, having first honoured Vinica.[12] However, the first car in Zagreb was not greeted with enthusiasm. Aside from being extremely loud, with people afraid of the noise, they called it a 'device of the devil'; those who objected were carriage drivers, horse-tram operators, police officers – as well as the citizenry in general.[13] When the wealthy began to buy their own vehicles the protests increased – resulting even in scuffles and court cases.[14]

Count Josip inherited seigniory and Opeka castle from his father, Count Marko Jr. Josip had no heir, and after his death the castle and manor were left without an owner and soon fell into ruin.

Returning to the main theme of this paper, we now come to the voyage the Bombelles family made to Egypt – Marko Bombelles Jr, his second wife, Mary, and his son. A family photograph of the three of them sitting on a camel is in the Varaždin City Museum, as well as postcards sent home from the same trip to their head gardener, Viktor Schendel; it would appear that the latter was treated almost as a member of the family.

Acquisitions

We have I. Bojničić, a Croatian historian and archivist, to thank for sparking interest in antiquities and finds in the Varaždin area; he brought to light some of the notes of Count Nikola Drašković, probably the first Croatian collector of numismatic antiques.[15] At that time, in the 17th century, the objects of study and collecting were mostly antique monuments, and then, in the 18th century, appeared the first prominent collectors of old coins and inscriptions, although development of these fields remained patchy, with occasional advances resulting from the activities of individuals.[16] Only in the 19th century, after the national revival, was there steady progress in the implementation of archaeological procedures, systematic listing of monuments, and their study and publication.[17]

[12] Košćak 2013: 339.
[13] Košćak 2013: 339.
[14] Košćak 2013: 339.
[15] Šimek 1999: 22.
[16] Šimek 1999: 22.
[17] Šimek 1999: 22.

Regarding acquisitions related to Egyptian antiquities in our region, some beginnings of interest can be seen in the 17th and 18th centuries, although not being recorded in historical sources it is difficult to determine the early collections of Egyptian antiquities before the middle of the 19th century.[18]

Accordingly, the Egyptian collection of the Paszthory-Varady family probably originated in the 19th century, when one of its members stayed in Egypt during his diplomatic service.[19] After his return to the country, the objects he came home with went to Križovljan castle, and in 1946 went to the Varaždin City Museum. We cannot claim with certainty for now who the family member is in question, but there are certain indications that this might be Aleksander (Šandor) Varady.

In any event, there are (among other antiquities) five artefacts of Egyptian origin that comprise the Egyptian Collection within the archaeological sections of the Varaždin City Museum, i.e. the four canopic jars and the funeral stele. Subsequently, two further objects have been acquired, making the Egyptian Collection, in total, four canopic jars, a funeral stele, a clay cup, and a scarab. This collection has been systematically processed and published several times.

Stele

The funeral stele (AO 5279) relates to one Mry Mry, dating to the 18th Egyptian Dynasty, the rule of Amenhotep III (*c.* 1390-1352 BC).[20] The dimensions are 54.6 x 38.7 cm. The stele is made of stone and decorated in relief; there are visible traces of colour. According to the inscription on the stele, Mry Mry was Amonhotep's clerk and craftsman's supervisor.[21] He was also overseer of the Pharaoh's daughter, Satamun.[22] The decorations on the stele are divided into three fields. Steles are very rare in other museum institutions in Croatia, and none similar to that of Mry Mry.[23]

Clay cup

The exact details concerning the arrival of the Egyptian clay cup into the museum collection is still debated. Earlier publications point to the fact that it came from

[18] Tomorad 2002: 545; Tomorad 2003: 71; Tomorad and Uranić 2006: 89; Tomorad 2016: 329.
[19] Szabo 1939: 124; Panić 1976: 1-10; Tomorad 2002: 547; Tomorad 2003: 71; Tomorad 2005: 20; Tomorad and Uranić 2006: 89-93; Tomorad 2015: 51-52, fig. 48; Tomorad 2016: 329, 339; Tomorad 2017a: 84, fig. 110.
[20] Tomorad 2002: 548; Tomorad 2003: 71; Tomorad and Uranić 2006: 89-93.
[21] Tomorad 2002: 548; Tomorad and Uranić 2006: 89-93.
[22] Tomorad 2002: 548; Tomorad and Uranić 2006: 89-93.
[23] Tomorad 2002: 549.

the Paszthory Varady family, at the same time as the canopic jars and the stele, but according to the document that confirms the canopic jars and stele came to the museum, the clay cup is not mentioned; it is therefore possible that the cup came later, or separately, than the other five objects. It is only known that it was in the museum at the beginning of the 20th century.

The clay cup (AO 6521) dates to the pre-Dynastic period of ancient Egyptian history, most likely to the Badari or Naqada I period (4400-3800 BC).[24] Its dimensions are: height 8.9 cm; opening section 6.8 cm; base 4.3 cm. It is handmade of well-purified clay and well preserved.[25] The inner surface is from grey-black to dark-brown; the outer surface is black at the upper part and reddish-brown lower down; the outer surface is smooth.

For comparison, the collections of the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb, and the museums in Dubrovnik and Mimara, contain several dishes, but not one cup.[26] This cup is the oldest ancient Egyptian artefact in any Croatian museum, thus making this collection of very real interest.[27]

Canopic jars

The set of four canopic jars in the Collection are all made of alabaster and date to the 21st Dynasty, the rule of Psametik I (664-610 BC).[28]

Canopic jar AO 5280: A canopic jar with a lid in the shape of a man's head (AO 5280) represents the god Imsety; it was used to hold the liver of the deceased. The dimensions are 33 x 17.4 cm; the lid is 9.3 x 12.4 cm. The surface is slightly damaged. On the front there is a hieroglyphic inscription in four columns (10.5 x 7.2 cm).

Canopic jar AO 5281: A canopic jar with a lid in the shape of a baboon's head (AO 5281), representing the god Hapy; it was used to store the lungs of the deceased. Its dimensions are 32 x 17.4 cm, and the lid 8 x 13.2 cm. Its surface is also slightly damaged. On the front there is a hieroglyphic inscription in four columns (11 x 7.5 cm).

Canopic jar AO 5282: A canopic jar with a lid in the shape of a jackal's head (AO 5282), representing the god Duamutef; it was used to store the stomach of the deceased. Its dimensions are 32 x 17.2 cm, and the lid 11.10 x 13.2 cm. It is completely preserved, but the lid was broken into two parts and later glued together.[29] On the front there is a hieroglyphic inscription in four columns (10.5 x 7.5 cm).

[24] Tomorad 2002: 550; Tomorad 2003: 71; Tomorad 2005: 20; Tomorad and Uranić 2006: 88-89; Tomorad 2009: 540-541; Tomorad 2015: 51; Tomorad 2016: 329, 339; Tomorad 2017a: 84.
[25] Tomorad 2002: 548; Tomorad and Uranić 2006: 88-89.
[26] Tomorad 2002: 551.
[27] Tomorad 2002: 548.
[28] Panić 1974: 15-31; Tomorad 2002: 549–550; Tomorad 2003: 71-72; Tomorad 2005: 20; Tomorad & Uranić 2006: 93-97; Tomorad 2015: 51; Tomorad 2016: 329, 339; Tomorad 2017a: 84.
[29] Tomorad 2002: 550; Tomorad and Uranić 2006: 96.

Canopic jar AO 5283: A canopic jar with a lid in the shape of a hawk's head (AO 5283), representing the god Kebhsenuf; it was used to store the entrails of the deceased. Its dimensions are 31.2 x 17.6 cm, and the lid 9 x 13 cm. It is completely preserved. On the front there is a hieroglyphic inscription in four columns (10.7 x 6.6 cm).

In Croatia, further canopic jars are only found in the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb, and the four examples mentioned here are among the most beautiful and well-preserved.[30]

Scarab

The last artefact in the Egyptian Collection of the Varaždin City Museum is an unpublished ancient Egyptian scarab (AO 43807). Its dimensions are 1.7 x 4.6 x 3.2cm. It was donated to the museum by Lukaček Vjekoslava, of Varaždin, at the beginning 2005. She had received it as a gift from Stjepan Vuković, a celebrated archaeologist and founder of the archaeological department of the Varaždin City Museum. It is not known how Vuković came into possession of the scarab.[31]

Conclusion

As a conclusion, I can say that, although small in number, the Egyptian artefacts in the Varaždin City Museum are among the most attractive and interesting of any Egyptian items held in Croatian museums, and they deserve to be much better known than they are. However, attempts thus far to popularise the collection well suggest that there is genuine interest in the objects among researchers, as well as from members of the general public.

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[30] Tomorad 2002: 550.
[31] Tomorad 2017b: 256.

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Figure 1. Coat of arms of Paszthory family (Source: Varaždin City Museum).

Figure 2. Križivljan castle (Source: photo by Anja Kovačić).





Figure 3. Bombelles family on the trip to Egypt (Source: Varaždin City Museum).



Figure 4. Postcard send to headgardner of Bombelles family from their trip to Egypt (Source: Varaždin City Museum).



Figure 5. Postcard send to headgardner of Bombelles family from their trip to Egypt (Source: Varaždin City Museum).



Figure 6. Funeral stele of Mry Mry
(Source: Varaždin City Museum).



Figure 7. A clay cup
(Source: Varaždin City Museum).



Figure 8. Canopic jar with a cover in the shape of man's head
(Source: Varaždin City Museum).



Figure 9. Canopic jar with a cover in the shape of baboon's head
(Source: Varaždin City Museum).



Figure 10. Canopic jar with a cover in the shape of jackal's head
(Source: Varaždin City Museum).



Figure 12. Canopic jar with a cover in the shape of a hawk's head
(Source: Varaždin City Museum)



Figure 13. Scarab
(Source: Varaždin City Museum)

THE EGYPTIAN COLLECTION OF THE MUSEUM OF SLAVONIA AND ITS DONORS

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Abstract: This paper will present the formation of the Egyptian Collection of the Museum of the Free and Royal City of Osijek, the present-day Museum of Slavonia in Osijek, established by the donation of an Egyptian artefact – a faience amulet of the God Shu – donated by Ludwig H. Fischer in 1893. Through the analysis of the data in the Museum's Entry and Inventory Books, as well as the documentary and archival material of the Historical Department of the Museum of Slavonia and the State Archives in Osijek, the author will present information about Egyptian artefacts and their donors. Donations of honoured citizens of the city of Osijek in the second half of the 19th century allowed the long-time curator of the Museum, Vjekoslav Celestin, to create a small collection and start exploring individual Egyptian artefacts.

Keywords: Egyptian Collection, Museum of Slavonia, donors, Egyptian artefacts, Archaeological Museum Osijek.

Introduction

The Museum of Slavonia was founded in February 1877 by the City Council as the Museum of the Free and Royal City of Osijek. To be specific, Franjo Sedlaković, a timber merchant from Osijek (4 April 1850 - 19 October 1910) donated his collection of art and antiquities to the Free and Royal City of Osijek on 17 January 1877. This collection consisted of 2700 artefacts, 2200 of which were numismatic items.[1] His only condition was that the entire collection be put on public display at the city museum. As there were no museums in the city at that time, the city council reached a decision and founded the Museum of the Free and Royal City of Osijek on 17 February 1877. This is why Sedlaković's collection is considered as the base of today's Museum of Slavonia.[2]

[1] Apart from numismatic items, the collection also included numismatic literature, various archaeological finds, weapons, Japanese and Chinese porcelain, birds and butterflies.
[2] Göricke-Lukić 1999: 91; Radić 1999: 105; Kovač 2017: 22.

During its initial years, the Museum mostly benefitted from donations by Osijek's citizens.[3] This is how the Egyptian Collection, which has a total of 16 exhibits, was created. Donations by honoured citizens of Osijek in the second half of the 19th century allowed the long-time curator of the Museum, Professor Vjekoslav Celestin,[4] to create a small collection and start exploring individual Egyptian artefacts.

Egyptian Collection

It is important to clarify that until 1 December 2017 the Egyptian Collection was part of the Museum of Slavonia in Osijek, and since then it has been an integral part of the newly founded Archaeological Museum Osijek. Given that the items from this collection were mostly donated to the Museum of Slavonia in the second half of the 19th century, we may refer to the Egyptian Collection as an integral part of the Museum of Slavonia because of the timeframe in question.

Based on the available data, research was carried out on those who donated the objects to the Museum of Slavonia. To find out more about them, the Entry and Inventory Books of the Museum of Slavonia were consulted as the primary source, and then this information was traced to the Documentary and Photography Collections of the Museum of Slavonia. After the Museum documentation, we investigated several collections of the State Archives in Osijek and consulted the relevant literature related to certain donors and the city of Osijek in that period.

A start can be made with those items we still know least about. Data is partially unknown for the following artefacts: a faience Toth amulet (AMO-AA-1342)[5] and a faience hare amulet (AMO-AA-1344)[6], for which only the origin data, as 'Egypt', is listed in Inventory Book I. There is no known data for the three faience scarab amulets (AMO-AA-1432, AMO-AA-1433, AMO-AA-1434)[7], and the sculpture of the god Osiris (AMO-194962)[8].[9] As the data is rudimentary, and there is no data about

[3] Radić 1999: 105-107; Kovač 2017: 22.

[4] Vjekoslav Celestin (13 June 1862 - 22 April 1936) was a classical philologist and teacher at the Great Royal Gymnasium (Classical Gymnasium). He started working as a curator at the Osijek City Museum on 27 October 1893, a position he held for 43 years. One of his key projects was curating the first permanent exhibition of the Museum, as well as establishing inventories of archaeological and numismatic items. Sršan 2009: 33-34; Kovač 2017: 26-27.

[5] *Inventarna knjiga I*, inv. nr. 1342. Kovač 2013: 32-33; Kovač 2015: 103-104.

[6] *Inventarna knjiga I*, inv. nr. 1344. Kovač 2013: 28-29; Kovač 2015: 104.

[7] *Inventarna knjiga I*, inv. nr. 1432, 1433-1434. Kovač 2013: 36-41; Kovač 2015: 102-103.

[8] *Muzejski informacijski sustav M++:* 194962. Kovač 2013: 46-47; Kovač 2015: 101-102.

[9] In previous publications, the inventory numbers for the whole Egyptian Collection were cited and published as: MSO (Museum of Slavonia). New inventory numbers are cited AMO (Archaeological Museum Osijek). All other data from previous publications remain the same.



Figure 1. a) faience Toth amulet (AMO-AA-1342); b) faience hare amulet (AMO-AA-1344); c) faience scarab amulet (AMO-AA-1432); d) faience scarab amulet (AMO-AA-1433); e) faience scarab amulet (AMO-AA-1434) and sculpture of god Osiris (AMO-194962) (photo: Maximilian Just 2013, © AMO).

the latter four items, it is impossible to reconstruct any picture as to how they arrived at the Museum (Fig. 1).

Before presenting the donors themselves, two items can be mentioned (Fig. 2) whose data in Inventory Book I was kept, but which did not come to the Museum as donations. These are:

- A faience ushabti (AMO-AA-6243)[10] found during infrastructure works on the Vukovarska Road in Osijek, in front of the Osijek OLT foundry in 1953.[11] On 27 October 1953, one of the carpenters from the Gradnja construction company,[12] Milan Plećaš, handed over the faience figurine to the Museum.[13]

- A sculpture of a man (AMO-AA-19469)[14] bought from Jaša Avdija from Osijek on 26 August 1987.[15] The Inventory Book states: 'Egypt – location find unknown – brought from Egypt in the late 19th century'.[16]

The entries from the Inventory Book that might provide more specific information about the donors refer to the following objects:

- The faience Shu amulet (AMO-AA-1343) is the earliest donated Egyptian object to the Museum of the Free Royal City of Osijek (Fig. 3). It was donated to the Museum in 1893 by Ludwig H. Fischer from Osijek, as stated in Inventory Book I. The location of the find is marked as 'unknown'.[17] After checking other museum documentation, no other mention of Ludwig H. Fischer was found, except for the aforementioned. This name, as well as any derivative of the name, does not appear in the lists of gymnasium students in Osijek, although a Ljudevit Fischer (the Croatian version of the name Ludwig) is listed in the 'Zavičajnici grada Osijeka 1901 – 1946' (Almanac of the City of Osijek 1901 – 1946). Born in Osijek in 1853, he worked as a locksmith in the Szeged ironworks, may possibly have been the donor of this amulet.[18]

- The sculpture of the god Osiris (AMO-AA-1340), and relief tile featuring the goddess Neftis (AMO-AA-1341), were donated to the Museum by Franjo Folk, on 4 December 1896 (Fig. 4).[19] His parents were Franjo Ksaver Folk (born 30 April 1828, Illocska), a steamship helmsman on the Danube and the Drava, and Elizabeta Schönenberger (26 November 1839, Bilje - 4 September 1907, Oršava).[20]

[10] *Inventarna knjiga I*, inv. nr. 6243. Kovač 2013: 22-23; Kovač 2015: 100.
[11] *Knjiga ulaska* 1, nr. 623. Pinterović 1954: 173.
[12] Who was in charge of the works on the street.
[13] Kovač 2013: 19-20.
[14] *Inventarna knjiga* V, inv. nr. 19469. Kovač 2013: 24-25; Kovač 2015: 100-101.
[15] *Knjiga ulaska* 8: nr. 15361.
[16] Kovač 2013: 20.
[17] *Inventarna knjiga* I, inv. nr. 1343. Kovač 2013: 30-31; Kovač 2015: 95.
[18] Sršan 2003: 211.
[19] *Inventarna knjiga* I, inv. nr. 1340-1341. Kovač 2013: 48-51; Kovač 2015: 96-98.
[20] Sršan 2003: 220; Trischler 2017: 330.



Figure 2: a) faience ushabti (AMO-AA-6243) and b) sculpture of a man (AMO-AA-19469) (photo: Maximilian Just 2013, © AMO).

Franjo Folk was an Imperial and Royal captain born on 30 September 1859[21] in Osijek's New Town, the oldest of six children, three of whom died young. From 1865/1866 he attended the Main Primary School for Boys and Girls, from which he graduated in 1869. He attended the Independent Real Gymnasium (later known as Boys Real Gymnasium) from 1870/1871, graduating in 1874/1875. After that, he

[21] On page 220 of *Zavičajnici grada Osijeka 1901 - 1946* it is stated, under the name of his father, that Franjo Folk was born on 30 Sept. 1859 in Osijek, but the entry with his own name gives the year as 1858. As Erwin Trischler states in his article about his cousin Franjo Folk, 'Franjo Folk - značajan donator Muzeja' (Franjo Folk - a major donor to the Museum of Slavonia), that his cousin was born on 30 Sept. 1859 - we will opt for this date. Moreover, the Family Chronicle states the year 1859 as the year of Franjo Folk's birth. Folk and Folk 1920s (?): 99, 176.



Figure 3: Faience Shu amulet (AMO-AA-1343) (photo: Maximilian Just 2013, © AMO).

enrolled in the Cadet School in the Osijek Citadel (first two grades), and continued his education in Budapest (last two grades).[22]

In 1880, as a cadet, he was posted to the 22nd Primorje Coastal Regiment[23] stationed in Dubrovnik. He also served as a cadet in Zadar from 1881 and was promoted to colonel on 1 May 1881. His military career progressed and on 1 November 1886 he was promoted to the rank of commander, and on 1 May 1893 he became a captain, first grade (Fig. 5). As captain, he served in the 26th Hungarian Regiment in Esztergom from 1897 until 1905. He was elected mayor on 1 November 1905, and served as commander of the 3rd battalion of the 6th Hungarian Regiment, stationed in Vienna and Budapest, from 1907. From 1 November 1909 he was promoted to the rank of lieutenant colonel, and in 1910 he was made deputy commander of the 6th Hungarian Regiment.[24]

He met his wife, Anna Schöffberger,[25] in Vienna and they were married on 4 April 1910. After retiring on 1 November 1909, he lived with his wife in Vienna.

[22] Folk and Folk 1920s (?): 99; Trischler 2017: 331.
[23] From 1881 known as the 22nd Dalmatian Coastal Regiment.
[24] Trischler 2017: 331-332.
[25] She was born in 1862 in Pottendorf, Lower Austria. Folk and Folk 1920s (?): 176; Sršan 2003: 221.



Figure 4: a) sculpture of god Osiris (AMO-AA-1340) and relief tile featuring the goddess Neftis (AMO-AA-1341) (photo: Maximilian Just 2013, © AMO).

In August 1918, he was ordered out of retirement and participated in the Serbian Campaign. On 1 March 1915, he was promoted to the rank of colonel.[26]

Franjo Folk's cousin, Dr Erwin Trischler from Munich, claims that his cousin bought two of the aforementioned Egyptian items when he was stationed on the Adriatic coast with the 22nd Dalmatian Coastal Regiment, in Dubrovnik or Zadar,[27] but there is no evidence to support this claim.

Colonel Franjo Folk died of lung cancer on 15 February 1917 in the Rennweg Military Hospital in Vienna. His wife Anna Folk died during the allied bombings

[26] Folk and Folk 1920s (?): 99; Trischler 2017: 332.
[27] Trischler 2017: 333.



Figure 5: Captain Franjo Folk in Dubrovnik (1896) (© Erwin Trischler, München).

of Vienna on 5 January 1945. Both are buried at the Zentralfriedhof Cemetery in Vienna.[28]

Two bone scarab amulets (AMO-AA-1605; AMO-AA-1606) were donated to the Museum by one of its greatest donors and founders, Carl Franz Nuber, in 1897 (Fig. 6).[29] Carl Franz, or Karlo Franjo, Nuber was born in Osijek on 4 October 1872 and appears in the register of births as Carolus Franciscus Nuber (Fig. 7).[30] He was the eldest son of a wealthy Osijek merchant of agricultural and other iron implements – Franciscus/Franjo Nuber – and his wife Barbara, born Schepper.[31]

He attended the Great Royal Gymnasium in Osijek where he is listed in the registers for the school years 1886/1887, 1887/1888, 1888/1889 and 1889/1890,

[28] Folk and Folk 1920s (?): 99-101, 177; Trischler 2017: 332.
[29] *Inventarna knjiga* I: inv. nr. 1605 and 1606; Kovač 2013: 42-45; Kovač 2015: 98.
[30] *Matična knjiga rođenih 1870-1884*, nr. 194.
[31] Göricke-Lukić 1999: 97; Sršan 2003: 579.

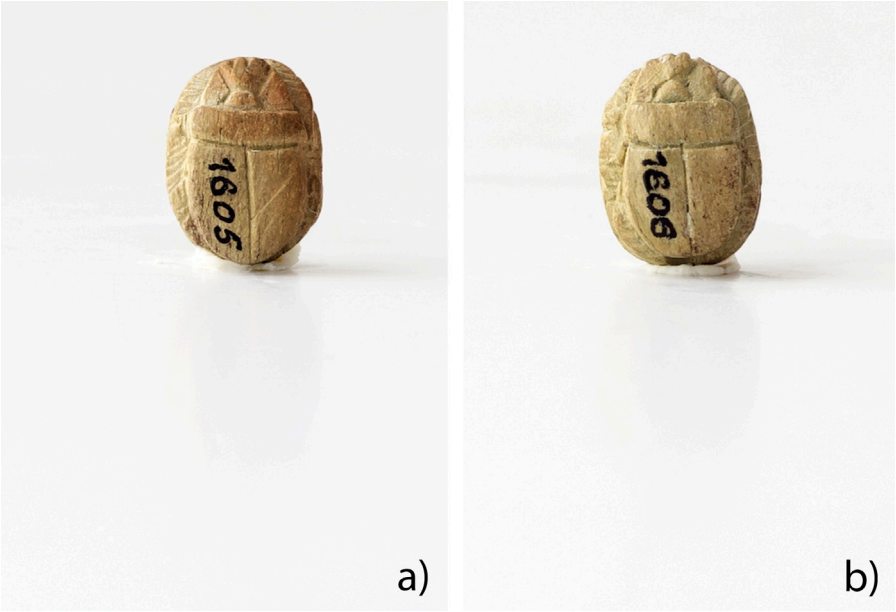


Figure 6: a) bone scarab amulet (AMO-AA-1605) and b) bone scarab amulet (AMO-AA-1606) (photo: Maximilian Just 2013, © AMO).

grades 1-4;[32] he subsequently studied at the Commercial Academy in Graz following his father's wishes.[33] His father intended to hand over to him his shop at Duga ulica 5 in Osijek, but Carl was more interested in Roman *Mursa* and its finds than trade. Even as an 18-year-old, he was intensely interested in numismatics and visited Josip Brunšmid in Vinkovci to see his collection. He remarked that donors of the Museum mostly gave foreign coins and medals, which made him specialise in collecting numismatic items from the *Mursa* area. His first major collection of Roman coins was donated to the Museum in May 1895 when he was only 22 years old.[34] In terms of his personal life, he married Marija Langfeit in Osijek and they had a son, Washington Nuber, in 1910, who grew up to be a lawyer and also a keen numismatist.[35]

Carl Franz Nuber had a reputation for being a distinctive character in his day. An example of this is that he would often change his name – calling himself Caius

[32] *Imenik za školsku godinu 1886/1887*, nr. 17; 1887/1888, nr. 18; 1888/1889, nr. 31 and 1889/1890, nr. 23.
[33] Krasnov 1980: 13; Göricke-Lukić 1999: 98.
[34] Krasnov 1980: 13; Göricke-Lukić 1999: 97-99.
[35] Göricke-Lukić 1999: 97-98.

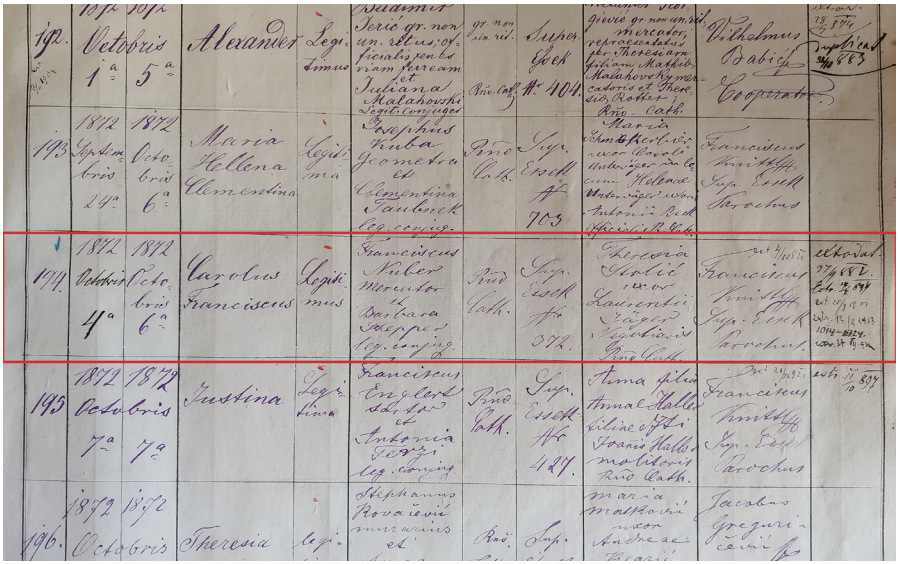


Figure 7: Carolus Franciscus Nuber (Carl Franz Nuber), register of births (1870-1884), nr. 194 (Matična knjiga rođenih 1870-1884, Osijek I (HR-DAOS-500, Zbirka matičnih knjiga), knj. 826, nr. 194) (photo: Marina Kovač 2018, © DAOS).

Flavius Nuber, Dragutin Number, and Fehim Kadija.[36] This peculiar habit can be seen in the *Zavičajnici grada Osijeka 1901-1946*, where, under the surname Nuber, his father, mother, brothers and son are registered, but instead of Carl Franz Nuber, there is an entry for Nuber Kadija Fehim formerly Dragutin, born in 1872 in Osijek of father Franjo and mother Barbara; he declares himself as a Muslim, formerly Roman Catholic.[37]

His numerous pseudonyms were documented by Nada Markušev, a Nuber on her mother's side, who wrote down that Nuber was engaged in spiritualism with his wife Marija, who acted as a medium. Through her, 'the beautiful Ela' spoke from the other side about Nuber's two previous lives, when he lived as Caius Flavius Nuber at the court of Nero, and as Fehim Kadija at the court of Sultan Suleiman the Magnificent. These daily sessions, it seems, negatively affected the health of Marija and she died in a mental hospital, aged 37. Carl Franz Nuber wore his hair long, grew a beard, and often swam in the Drava River, from Osijek to Aljmaš, a

[36] Göricke-Lukić 1999: 98.
[37] Sršan 2003: 579.

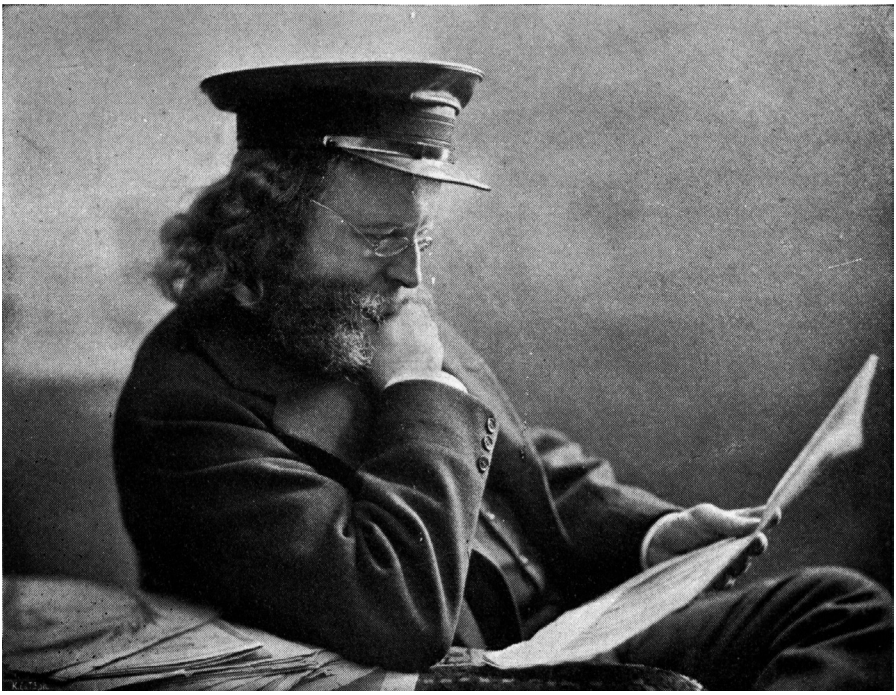


Figure 8: Carl Franz Nuber (1872-1935) (MSO-230018) (© MSO).

distance of some 25 km! People would often report him to the police as that 'crazy woman who is always swimming'.[38]

There is another anecdote involving the curator of the Museum, Vjekoslav Celestin, to whom Carl Franz frequently donated numismatic finds from the *Mursa* area. He once came to the Museum and asked for the return of a previously donated coin. Celestin refused as the item had already been included in the museum inventory. Nuber then said he only wanted to have a look at it, and while Celestin was distracted Nuber hid the coin in his long beard and replaced it with an almost identical one (Fig. 8). After a while, Nuber donated a new group of numismatic finds to the Museum, including the coin he had previously 'stolen' – 'the one he needed for comparison' – as he confessed to Celestin.[39]

Carl Franz Nuber is considered one of the founders of the Museum of the Free and Royal City of Osijek, along with early donors Franjo Sedlaković and Vjekoslav

[38] Göricke-Lukić 1999: 98.
[39] Göricke-Lukić 1999: 98.

Celestin.[40] From 1895 to 1910, Nuber was the most significant donor to the Museum, gifting Greek vases, prehistoric finds from the Osijek and Baranja areas, as well as medieval and modern-day finds. It is important to emphasise that his donations were largely numismatic artefacts and that thanks to him the Museum of Slavonia today has the largest collection of medieval Croatian coins.[41]

Carl Franz travelled a good deal on numismatic matters, visiting many European capitals, including Budapest, Vienna, Berlin, Copenhagen, and Athens. His longest stay was in Budapest, where he founded the Hungarian Numismatic Society on 14 May 1901.[42]

After the First World War he went to Bucharest to stay with his brother Gustav, who worked there as a lawyer. In that period he cut his ties with Osijek and there seems to be no trace of correspondence with Celestin in the Archives of the Museum of Slavonia. While investigating Carl Franz Nuber, our colleague Hermine Göricke Lukić wrote to the Romanian Numismatic Society in Bucharest in 1998 and found out that Carl Franz Nuber was never actually a registered member of their Society, but was a 'good adviser' and 'tutor' to Romanian numismatists and members of the Society. [43]

Carl Franz Nuber died in Bucharest on 23 November, 1935; significantly, his remains were never transferred to the family tomb at St Anne's Cemetery in Osijek.[44]

Moving now to the Pataikos dwarf amulet (AMO-AA-2665) and the dwarf god Bes amulet (AMO-AA-2670), these two items were donated to the Museum of Slavonia in 1898 by the Imperial and Royal military engineer-accountant Emerich Hild (Fig. 9).[45] There is no data on Emerich, Emerik, Imre or Mirko Hild in the *Zavičajnici grada Osijeka 1901-1946*, indicating that he did not enjoy the local law. The first piece of information on him was found in the Osijek State Archives, where Emerich Hild is recorded as Imre Hild, baptised on 25 September 1849, the son of Adam and Antonia Hild, born Vidaković (Fig. 10).[46] We may be certain that this is, indeed, our Emerich Hild, as the Obituary Collection of the Museum of Slavonia lists Antonia Hild[47] (who died at the age of 70), published on 27 May 1886 (MSO-179251); in this,

[40] Krasnov 1980: 13; Göricke-Lukić 1999: 96; Kovač 2017: 33.
[41] Krasnov 1980: 14; Göricke-Lukić 1999: 99-101; Bulat 2007: 514-517, Kovač 2017: 33;
[42] Krasnov 1980: 14; Göricke-Lukić 1999: 101.
[43] Göricke-Lukić 1999: 102; *Magyar Numizmatikai Társulat* s.v. History of the Hungarian Numismatic Society (http://cms.numizmatika.org/index.php/en/society; accessed 17 Aug. 2018).
[44] Göricke-Lukić 1999: 96, 98.
[45] *Inventarna knjiga* I: inv. nr. 2665 and 2670; Kovač 2013: 26-27, 34-35 and Kovač 2015: 99-100.
[46] *Matična knjiga krštenih* rkt. 1849-1951, nr. 39.
[47] *Osmrtnica Antonie Hild* 1886.



Figure 9: a) Pataikos dwarf amulet (AMO-AA-2665) and b) dwarf god Bes amulet (AMO-AA-2670) (photo: Maximilian Just 2013, © AMO).

Emerich Hild, Imperial and Royal military engineer-accountant is listed as one of the grieving family members.

The Osijek State Archives also hold the class registers of the Great Royal Gymnasium in Osijek, where the 1860/1861 lists include Emerich Hild, enrolled in the first grade, aged 11, but this time under the name Mirko (the Croatian version of the name Emerich and Imre).[48] We may be sure that this is Emerich Hild, as, under the headings 'Name, Social Class, Father or Guardian', we read 'Mother, Antonija, widow' and under 'Country, Birthplace, Residence' is noted 'Hungary, Bellye, Germany Street II – 369'. We find the same data in the 1861/1862 register.[49] There is no mention of Mirko/Emerich in the Great Royal Gymnasium school lists

[48] *Imenik za školsku godinu 1860/1861*, nr. 21.
[49] *Imenik za školsku godinu 1861/1862*, nr. 11.

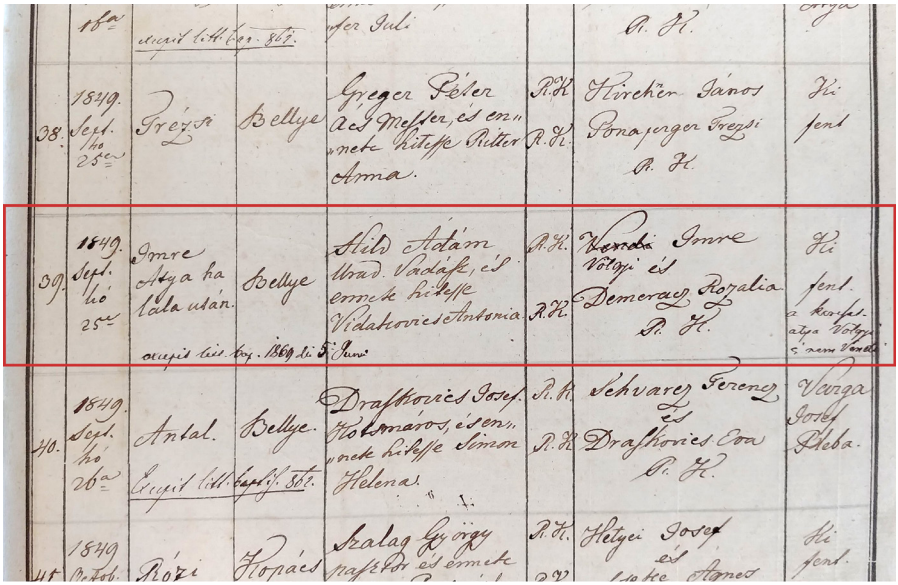


Figure 10: Emerich Hild recorded as Imre Hild in register of births (1849-1951), nr. 39 (Matična knjiga krštenih rkt. 1849-1951, Bilje, Tom III (HR-DAOS-500, Zbirka matičnih knjiga), nr. 39) (photo: Marina Kovač 2018, © DAOS).

after that, and no trace can be found of him at other Osijek gymnasiums at that time, suggesting that he moved out of the Osijek area after 2nd grade.

There is a lacuna for the following 35 years of his life in terms of the doings of Emerich Hild relating to the Osijek State Archives and the Museum. But on 29 December 1897 he reappears, writing to the 'Esteemed Management' of the Museum with the wish to donate a collection to his hometown museum. Over the years he had collected a valuable collection of ocean snails and shells, several corals, sponges, crabs, echinoderms, fish and other marine organisms – altogether 220 items that had previously processed at the Museum of Natural History in Vienna. Museum curator Vjekoslav Celestin replied and Emerich Hild sent his donation to Osijek, on 25 January 1898, in seven packages with a list of items.[50] This donation formed the founding collection of the Natural History Department of the Museum of Slavonia,[51] and the Mayor of Osijek, Konstantin Graff, thanked Hild in a letter dated 15 March 1898.[52]

[50] Vidović 2006: 111-114; Vidović 2008: 73-74.
[51] Vidović 2006: 111.
[52] *Zahvala gradonačelnika Konstantina Graffa Emeriku Hildu 1898.*



Figure 11: Pedi-Hor-pa-Khered votive stele (AMO-AA-2590) (photo: Maximilian Just 2013, © AMO).

At the time, as is evident from the letters sent by Hild to the Free and Royal City Museum, he was at the time living and working in Zadar as a military engineer. In 1898 he donated to the Museum the two above-mentioned ancient Egyptian artefacts – the Pataikos dwarf amulet (AMO-AA-2665) and the dwarf god Bes amulet (AMO-AA-2670). No documentary evidence as such has yet appeared, but the donations are recorded in Inventory Book I: 'Emerich Hild's donation from 1898'. In the following years (1898 and 1900) Hild also donated collections of African, Asian, and antique coins.[53]

In terms of other donations, the Krausz 'Pedi-Hor-pa-Khered' votive stele (AMO-AA-2590)[54] is perhaps the most interesting and most remarkable item in our Egyptian Collection (Fig. 11). Bettina Krausz, widow of the Osijek wholesaler and land owner, Ivan Krausz, donated the stele in March 1895, telling the curator of the Museum, Vjekoslav Celestin, that she had found it in a rotary washing machine, among other stones, and described as having 'engraved characters and an inscription'.

[53] *Dopis Emerika Hilda Gradskom muzeju u Osijeku 1898*; *Dopis Emerika Hilda Vjekoslavu Celestinu 1900*. Bulat 2007: 516.

[54] *Inventarna knjiga* I, inv. nr. 2590; Kovač 2013: 52-55; Kovač 2015: 95-96.

From the *Zavičajnici grada Osijeka 1901-1946*, we learn that Bettina Krausz was born in 1854 in Graz, Styria, her former husband was Ivan Krausz. Their children are listed as Srećko, Olga, Rihardo, Lonio, and Valerija Krausz.[55]

In June 1895, in *Narodne novine* 129, Celestin wrote about this serendipitous discovery[56] and how it arrived at the Museum. In the article he writes that he had tried to find out how the stele ended up in the rotary washing machine, adding that it might have been unearthed ten years earlier while the Krausz house was being built.[57]

While preparing for the exhibition *Ticket to the Afterlife. The Egyptian Collection of the Museum of Slavonia*, which opened on 5 December 2013, we tried to find information on the Krausz family and the exact location of the family house, as Celestin had not specified the exact location in his article, nor in the Inventory Book. Nothing could be found within the Documentary Collection of the Museum of Slavonia, so we further researched the data provided by Celestin and continued looking in the Osijek State Archives. While investigating the Cadastral Collection we found documentation regarding the purchase of a building plot from the Evangelical Church in 1884. According to the cadastre, land plot 1775/4 was located in today's Lorenz Jäger Street.[58] In 1885, Ivan Krausz applied to the Government of the Free and Royal City of Osijek for a building permit[59] to construct a house on that plot in the Upper Town, which agrees with Celestin's data on when the construction of the Krausz house began. As Bettina Krausz gave the stele to the Museum in 1895, with no clearly registered location and address indicated in the Inventory Books, we are led to assume that the stele was found in the rotary washing machine at the above-mentioned address in Upper Town, confirmation of which came from finding the project documentation for house alterations in Lorenz Jäger Street, requested by Bettina Krausz in 1906 (Fig. 12),[60] which means she evidently lived at the same location in 1895.[61]

Unfortunately, we have been unable to find more detailed data on the life of the widow Bettina Krausz, apart from those mentioned in the Osijek State Archives. *Zavičajnici grada Osijeka 1901-1946* does not mention the year of her death.

This stele is the only item donated to the Osijek Museum by Bettina Krausz. And of interest is the dedication Celestin demonstrated in researching it. Not

[55] Sršan 2003: 439.
[56] Vjekoslav Celestin, 'Egipatski kamen u osječkom gradskom muzeju' (Egyptian Stone in the Osijek City Museum) in *Narodne novine 129* (6 June 1895).
[57] Celestin 1895.
[58] *Dokument o kupoprodaji 1885.*
[59] *Zamolba Ivana Krausza Poglavarstvu Slobodnog i kraljevskog grada Osijeka za izdavanjem građevinske dozvole 1885.*
[60] *Projektna dokumentacija za adaptaciju kuće 1906.*
[61] Kovač 2013: 16; Kovač 2015: 93-94.

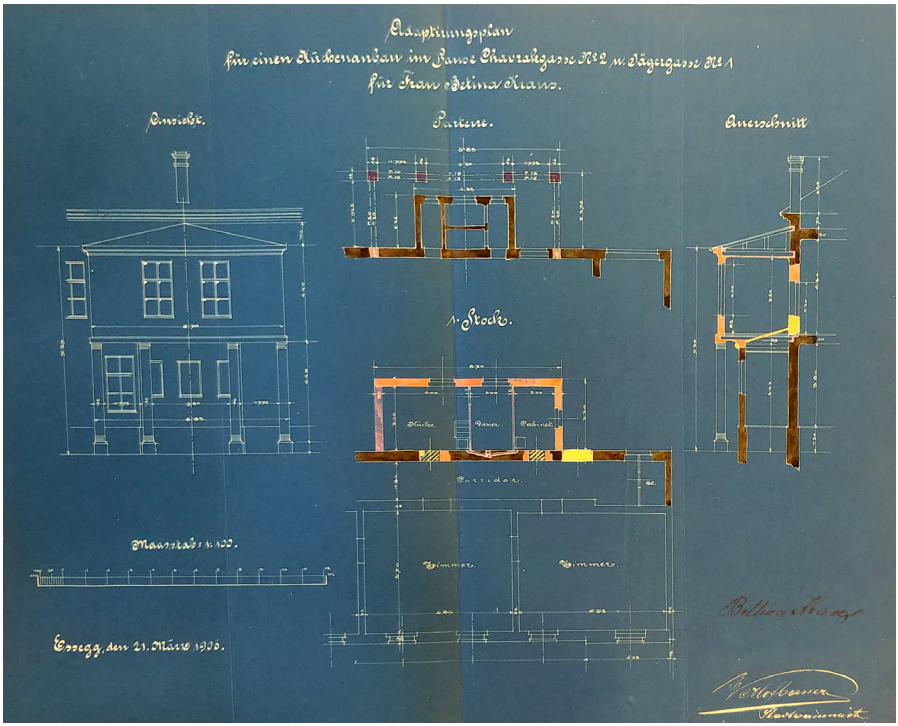


Figure 12: Project for house alteration/kitchen extension in Čavrakova and Lorenz Jäger Street for Bettina Krausz (1906) (HR-DAOS-10, Građevinski (Inžinirski) ured, Zbirka odobrenih građevinskih nacrta), 52. 1. 3 (© DAOS).

an Egyptologist, and without knowledge of hieroglyphics, Celestin, a classical philologist, wrote on 2 May 1895 to Dr Leo Reinisch,[62] a university professor and director of the Egyptian Seminar in Vienna (Fig. 13). Reinisch transposed and interpreted the text of the votive stele in a letter dated 6 May 1895 (Fig. 14).[63] It was already clear in the aforementioned *Narodne novine* article that Celestin was aware of the meaning of the Egyptian text, even though his primary concern was the location of the stele. It was his opinion that a Roman merchant, or soldier, might have brought it to *Mursa*, although he failed to confirm whether the stele was found in the Upper Town or had been moved there. Roman *Mursa* was located in the area of today's Lower Town, and Bettina Krausz reported finding the stele in her rotary washing machine in the Upper Town, so it is possible that the stele was brought

[62] *Pismo Vjekoslava Celestina dr. Leu Reinischu 1895.*
[63] *Pismo dr. Lea Reinischa Vjekoslavu Celestinu 1895.*

to the Upper Town area at some point, perhaps as a spolia or a stone for general use, such as the Krausz rotary washing machine in the late 19th century.[64] Celestin completed his article on the 'Egyptian stone', as he called, saying: 'Certainly the Egyptian holy stone in Osijek is something strange. However, there are many strange things in this world, so why not have a strange stone here as well'.

Conclusion

Donors – citizens, art and antique collectors – played an extremely important role in the establishment of the Museum of the Free and Royal City of Osijek, as is demonstrated by the artefacts in its Egyptian Collection. All the items were donated with a view to their value and need for preservation, and with a desire to share the objects with citizens and visitors to the museums alike. The donors to the Egyptian Collection included the wholesaler Carl Franz Nuber – the greatest donor also to the Museum of Slavonia. The importance of individual donors, not only in the establishment of the Egyptian Collection, but also in the formation of other museum collections and departments, such as Emerik Hild's malacological collection, which was the basis of the Natural History Department, is illustrated by the words of the former director Danica Pinterović: 'At the cradle of the Osijek Museum, we find donors...'[65]

Abbreviations

AMO = *Arheološki muzej Osijek* (*Archaeological Museum Osijek*)
DAOS = *Državni arhiv u Osijeku* (*State Archives in Osijek*)
MSO = *Muzej Slavonije* (*Museum of Slavonia*)

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[64] Kovač 2013: 17-18; Kovač 2015: 94.
[65] Pinterović 1958: 7.

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CARL RUDOLF HUBER AND THE TEMPTATION OF THE EAST

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Abstract: The Austrian artist Carl Rudolph Huber (1839-1896) was a renowned painter of animals, especially horses, horse racing, and sports. He was also a successful portraitist, mostly high-society personalities in Vienna. However, he also travelled four times to Egypt. His first trip occurred as early as 1857, long before L.C. Müller visited Cairo for the first time. Later, he was a member of that famous group of artists, with Müller, Makart, Lenbach, and others, who stayed at the Mussafirkhana Palace in Cairo. Huber produced his orientalist paintings mostly in Cairo during his, at least, four stays there, and he contributed many illustrations to Georg Ebers' book *Ägypten in Bild und Wort*, when Müller retired from the commission. This contribution will give an overview of Huber's orientalist paintings, including a picture unknown so far.

Keywords: Carl Rudolph Huber, Orientalist painting, *Ägypten in Bild und Wort*, photography in Egypt.

Carl Rudolf Huber (1839-1896) was for many years a highly appreciated and distinguished painter. Born in the simple village of Schleinz in Lower Austria, he studied painting at the Academy of Fine Arts in Vienna and later in Düsseldorf. He became an eminent painter of animals and hunting scenes, renowned among the Viennese Upper classes. Huber was often acclaimed to be the best animal-painter in the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy. In his later years he was also a much sought-after portraitist, especially for his portraits of subjects on horseback. In 1880, Huber became professor of animal painting at the Vienna Academy.

Today, however, Huber's fame has largely disappeared. Only a handful of his pictures are kept in public collections, and even those are hardly ever shown in permanent collections or exhibitions. Most of his paintings are still in private hands, the whereabouts of many pictures being unknown today. To get an overview of Huber's artistic output, it is therefore necessary to rely on historic publications and photographs; augmented today by the internet platforms that monitor the art market (e.g. *Artnet*) and facilitate access to many of Huber's paintings.

What follows is a short list of relatively easily accessible paintings by Huber, categorised by theme, which helps us gain an impression of his art, including the main subjects of his pictures.

1. Cattle: 'Hungarian Oxen' (Ungarischer Ochsenzug),[1] 1888;[2] 'Cow' (Semmelfarbene Kuh), 1889;[3] 'Heard of Cows by a Pond' (Kuhherde am Wasser), 1872;[4] 'Cattle at a Drinking Trough' (Vieh an der Tränke).[5]
2. Sheep: 'Shepherd with his Flock' (Der Schäfer mit seiner Herde), 1863;[6] 'Autumn' (Herbst), 1890;[7] 'The Little Goose Girl under Willows' (Die kleine Gänsehirtin unter Weiden), 1889.[8]
3. Horses and Hunting: 'Before Riding Out' (Vor dem Ausritt), 1866;[9] 'Crown Prince Rudolf Riding' (Reiterportrait von Kronprinz Rudolph), 1867;[10] 'Hunting' (Parforcejagd), 1880;[11] 'Race Day in the Freudenau' (Renntag in der Freudenau).[12]
4. For his great skills as a portrait painter, see e.g.: 'The Daughter of the Artist' (Mädchenportrait/Die Tochter des Künstlers), 1890;[13] 'Portrait of the Painter Josef Zürnich' (Brustbild des Malers Josef Zürnich), 1884.[14]
5. Occasionally, Huber also painted *genre*-scenes from daily life. Good examples are: 'Hungarian Peasants Cracking Nuts' (Bauern und Bäuerinnen bei der Arbeit/Die Nusspascher), 1889;[15] 'Slowak Peasant Girl' (Slowakisches Mädchen), 1884.[16]

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[1] The German title is, whenever possible, the original one, the English title being a translation.
[2] Ramberg 1902 (henceforth: Huber-Album), Blatt 10.
[3] *Belvedere* Vienna, Inv. No. 277.
[4] *Belvedere* Vienna, Inv. No. 276.
[5] http://www.artnet.de/künstler/carl-rudolph-huber/vieh-an-der-tränke-nJ05W45s9BpuKNoHdWgJQA2]
[6] http://www.artnet.de/künstler/carl-rudolph-huber/der-schäfer-mit-seiner-herde-vHsguZAcd644D4MzeglVZg2]
[7] Land Niederösterreich, Landessammlungen Niederösterreich.
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[12] http://www.artnet.de/künstler/carl-rudolph-huber/ein-renntag-in-der-freudenau-h3tNOjt6wNuaHx_NFMkWyA2
[13] Huber-Album, Blatt 19.
[14] Huber-Album, Blatt 20.
[15] [http://www.artnet.de/künstler/carl-rudolph-huber/bauern-und-bäuerinnen-bei-der-arbeit-KyEQyljPoiYdsToEmrwMaQ2].
[16] Huber-Album, Blatt 21.

6. Even more exceptional in the *oeuvre* of this eminent realistic painter are mythological or fantasy scenes, e.g. 'Faun with a Goat' (Faun mit Ziege), 1880;[17] and 'A Summer Night's Dream' (Ein Sommernachtstraum), 1885.[18] The latter was a commission from the Imperial court to decorate the bedchamber of the Empress Elisabeth with scenes from Shakespeare's play, a commission that Huber took over from Hans Makart after the sudden death of that highly esteemed master in 1884.

Looking at the themes and subjects above, it might come as somewhat of a surprise that Huber was also an Orientalist painter. He travelled for the first time to Egypt as early as 1857. A second trip followed in 1874. This time he was accompanied by Leopold Carl Müller, who, already 40 years old, stepped foot for the first time on the land that was to become his artistic destiny. In the spring of 1875, Huber undertook his third voyage to Egypt, again with Leopold Carl Müller. Then, in the winter season 1875/76, Huber became a member of the famous group of painters known as 'Die Künstlergesellschaft in Cairo' (Figure 13), initiated by Müller. The group spent a few months together working in and around Cairo and included Müller himself, Hans Makart, Franz Lenbach, Adolf Gnauth, Karl Gangolf Kayser (?), and – although not a painter himself – Count Karl Lanckoronski. The painters were invited by the Khedive Ismail Pasha to install their respective studios in the place of his birth, the Musfirkhana Palace. According to previous biographical sources (Ramberg 1902; Feuchtmüller 1955), Huber travelled to Egypt only three times, but Herbert Zemen, after analysis of Müller's correspondence, was able to demonstrate that Huber visited Egypt at least four times.[19] More trips, not mentioned in the currently available sources, are possible.

Gerhard Ramberg (1902) mentions that 'Huber tolerated the African climate the longest and always returned last to Europe. He never grew tired of painting and observing'. In his obituary of Huber, G. Ebers reminisces that 'Huber confessed that the 'Magic of the East' often appeared to him like a revelation'.[20]

It seems likely that Huber's Egyptian experience was a key factor in L.C. Müller's decision to travel to Egypt himself, as already pointed out by Herbert Zemen: 'There are no documents concerning Müller's motives for his first trip to

[17] Huber-Album, Blatt 23.

[18] Hermesvilla, Wien. A sketch for this painting can be found in Huber Album, Blatt 22; another version in a private collection in Slovakia came to my attention by courtesy of Marta Herucová, Bratislava.

[19] Zemen 2001: 120.

[20] Ebers 1897: 2: 'Auf jeden dieser Künstler hatte der *Zauber des Morgenlandes* verschieden gewirkt. Leopold Carl Müller schwelgte in dem ‚Farbengaudium des Orients', Makart und Lenbach ließen es tief auf sich wirken, *und Rudolf Huber bekannte uns, ihm oft wie einer Offenbarung gegenübergestanden zu haben.*' (All translations in this article are by Ernst Czerny).



Figure 1. 'Rest in the Desert' (Rast in der Wüste), 1867 (*Huber-Album* (Ramberg 1902), plate 5).

Egypt... A further cause may have been his contact with Huber, in whose studio in Vienna Müller worked after his return from Sicily in the second half of 1873. Huber had already been to Egypt (1857) and stayed in Cairo during Müller's first visit there.'[21] If one looks at Huber's early Orientalist paintings, it seems obvious that Huber's pictures strongly influenced Müller's way of seeing and painting Egypt (Figs. 1 and 2).

It is nearly impossible to estimate the size of Huber's Orientalist oeuvre. We only know of those relatively few pictures that Huber either painted in Vienna after his stays in Egypt, or brought back from Cairo. However, according to Feuchtmüller, Huber sold numerous pictures he painted in Cairo to English or American tourists. ('In Egypt, he painted a great number of various types of natives, of local animals, street scenes, landscapes, etc., which were mostly sold to British and Americans.').[22] Ramberg also states: 'Numerous oriental pictures were bought in Egypt ... by British and Americans'.[23]

[21] Zemen 2001: 181, doc. 103.
[22] Feuchtmüller 1955: 16.
[23] Ramberg 1902: 10.



Figure 2. 'Camel Rider' (Kamelreiter), 1875 (*Dorotheum* Vienna, auction catalogue).

In spring 1875, Müller wrote in a letter to his sisters that he and Huber planned to exhibit in Cairo the next autumn.[24] Another letter by Müller to Rudolph Swoboda (15 July 1877) proves that Huber indeed painted and sold pictures in Cairo: 'I [Müller] continued to work on my serious paintings, but when money was running short, I quickly painted some small *kitsch* things. Thus, I could stay for 6 months in Cairo, had a carriage of my own, a donkey, and finally three servants, and spent 10000 Franks. Huber, when he came to Cairo last time, had only the travel fare and arrived without a penny. He lived like a prince the whole winter long through some sketches. Makart earned in Cairo 10000 Florins ...'[25]

It is therefore likely that many Orientalist paintings by Huber are still kept in private collections outside Austria and remain unknown to the public and Art History up to now. The majority of Huber's Orientalist paintings seems to have been created in Egypt and locally sold. However, the Orientalist pictures of Huber,

[24] Zemen 2001: 210, doc. 130 (4 April 1875): 'Im Herbste will ich hier in Cairo auch einige Bilder ausstellen. ... Auch Huber wird hier ausstellen'.
[25] Zemen 2001: 314, doc. 233.

which are actually known, were probably all painted after his return in his studio in Vienna, or possibly brought back from Egypt having failed to sell there. Being not numerous, they clearly form a group apart in his oeuvre. Orientalist painting was not very popular in Austria at that time, and even Müller sold most of his pictures in London, not in Vienna. Rudolph von Eitelberger, in a letter to Müller, stated that 'Makart's oriental pictures, as well as Huber's oriental pictures, are absolutely impossible [to sell] in Vienna', and recommended Müller to refrain from Orientalist subjects.[26] In Austria, where Huber had an excellent reputation as an animal painter, people had grown used to cows and horses from the artist, not Oriental paintings. Thus it is probably not too implausible to think about Huber living an artistic 'double life'. At home, he produced traditional scenes of animals and hunting, while in Egypt he had a second career as an Orientalist painter, independent from his artistry in Austria.

So far, only a few of Huber's original Oriental paintings can be traced: 'Camel Rider' (Kamelreiter), 1875;[27] 'Camels in the Desert' (Kamele in der Wüste), 1876;[28] 'Statues of Sakhmet at Karnak' (Sachmetstatuen im Tempel von Karnak) = 'Cat Cemetery near Luxor' (Die Katzengräber bei Luxor/), *c.* 1880-90?;[29] 'Bedouin Boy with Cattle' (Beduinenjunge mit Rind);[30] 'Meal in the Desert' (Mahlzeit in der Wüste), 1888;[31] the latter is based on the xylograph 'Before the Walls of Masr el-Kahira' (Vor den Mauern Masr el-Kahira's), which was published in Ebers, *Ägypten in Bild und Wort*, volume I, page 346 (Figure 9).[32] For one more, recently discovered painting ('Tourists Pestered in an Oriental Town'), see below.

When Gerhard Ramberg published his *Huber-Album* in 1902, a collection of 24 photographs of Huber pictures, he did not include the 'Meal in the Desert', but commented on that picture, comparing it with another painting showing sheep: 'The sheep's vulnerability and gentle nature are expressed no less clearly than the terrible predatory cravings of the vultures and hyenas in Huber's 'Meal in the Desert', who tear

[26] Zemen 2001: 310, doc. 219 (29 June 1877).
[27] Auctioned 2 July 2013, 'Dorotheum', Vienna: https://www.dorotheum.com/auktionen/aktuelle-auktionen/kataloge/list-lots-detail/kuenstler/carl-rudolf-huber/auktion/9842-olgemalde-und-aquarelle-des-19-jahrhunderts/lotID/152/lot/1441877-carl-rudolf-huber.html?source=Kuenstler
[28] Haja and Wimmer 2000: 267; Auctioned 2001: http://www.artnet.de/künstler/carl-rudolph-huber/kamele-in-der-wüste-NZztu30VNS2KMYSUzLUfUA2
[29] KHM Vienna, Inv. No. 9831.
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[32] Ebers 1879/1880.



Figure 3. 'A Bedouin's Death' (Tod des Beduinen), 1890 (*Huber-Album* (Ramberg 1902), plate 4).

at the carcass of a camel. In deference to modern sensibilities, we thought we should abstain from showing this picture, which, despite all its beauty, is horrific'.[33]

Apart from these few original paintings, several more pictures are known from historic photographs. The previously mentioned *Huber-Album* (Ramberg 1902) contains three Orientalist paintings: 'A Bedouin's Death' (Tod des Beduinen), 1890 (Figure 3);[34] 'A Rest in the Desert' (Rast in der Wüste), 1867;[35] 'Excursion of a Lady from a Harim' (Ausfahrt einer Haremsdame), 1889 (Figs. 4, 4a),[36] based on a xylograph

[33] Ramberg 1902: 18: 'Harmlosigkeit und Gutmüthigkeit (= der Schafe) werden hier nicht minder klar ausgedrückt wie in Huber's ‚Wüstenmahlzeit' die grässlichen Raubthiergelüste der Aasgeier und Hyänen, die den Cadaver eines verendeten Kamels verzehren. Mit Rücksicht auf die moderne Schwachnervigkeit glaubten wir, auf die Wiedergabe dieses bei aller Schönheit grauenvollen Bildes verzichten zu sollen.'

[34] Huber-Album, Blatt 4.

[35] Huber-Album, Blatt 5.

[36] Huber-Album, Blatt 6.



Figure 4. 'Excursion of a Lady from a Harim' (Ausfahrt einer Haremsdame), 1889 (*Huber-Album* (Ramberg 1902), Plate 6).

from Ebers' *Ägypten*, 'A Lady of Rank Driving out after Sunset'.[37] Additionally, the *Huber-Album* reproduced three xylographs from Ebers' *Ägypten:* 'The Jump of the Mameluk' (Mamelukensprung);[38] 'The Money-changer' (Geldwechsler),[39] 'The Trespasser Punished'.[40]

In 1955, the only and last personal exhibition to date of the work of Huber took place where he was born, Schloss Schleinz in Lower Austria. The exhibition book by Rupert Feuchtmüller[41] does include a *catalogue raisonné*, but the author states that this must be provisional, as many of Huber's pictures are still not known to us. So far, Feuchtmüller's list has remained the most comprehensive study of Huber's works. The catalogue contains much useful information, since several pictures coming to Feuchtmüller's attention have since disappeared. It is especially noteworthy that Feuchtmüller was in touch with members of the

[37] Ebers 1879/1880 II: 121.
[38] Huber-Album, Blatt 7, after Ebers 1879/1880 II: 9.
[39] Huber-Album, Blatt 8, after Ebers 1879/1880 II: 160.
[40] Huber-Album, Blatt 9, after Ebers 1879/1880 II: 32.
[41] Feuchtmüller 1955.



Figure 4a. Ausfahrt einer vornehmen Dame nach Sonnenuntergang (Ebers1879/80 II: 121).

families of Huber's descendants, especially one 'W. Holzhammer-Huber, Wien XIII'. Among the many paintings from the collection of this family member were also several featuring Orientalist subjects. Furthermore, the family also kept drawings and sketches from Egypt, including a whole sketchbook.[42] Despite many attempts to trace the whereabouts of these important materials, I was, alas, unable to locate either the family or their collection of Huber paintings, drawings and sketches.

Unfortunately, in the Feuchtmüller catalogue there are only two illustrations of Orientalist pictures: 'A Bedouin's Death' (Tod des Beduinen), which is also reproduced in the *Huber-Album* (Ramberg 1902), Blatt 4, and 'Portrait of an Arab' (Bildnis eines Arabers. Naturstudie), 1876 (Figure 5).[43]

Huber's seemingly disconnected work, in terms of his Egyptian and Austrian outputs, was melded somewhat when he agreed in 1878 to contribute to the magnificent and richly illustrated volumes of Georg Ebers' *Ägypten in Bild und Wort: dargestellt von unseren ersten Künstlern* (2 volumes), Stuttgart, Leipzig, 1879/1880;

[42] Feuchtmüller 1955: 18f., nos. 57, 65, 66, 71.
[43] Feuchtmüller 1955 (no pagination).



Figure 5. 'Portrait of an Arab' (Bildnis eines Arabers. Naturstudie), 1876 (Feuchtmüller 1955 (no pagination)).

(English edition: *Picturesque Egypt*, London 1885). The story began on 29 April 1876, when L.C. Müller received a letter in Cairo from Georg Ebers, who invited him to contribute illustrations to his planned publication. Müller agreed, and then produced many pen-and-ink drawings (occasionally also watercolours, pencil drawings, etc.) that were included as 47 xylographs. However, when, in April 1878, Müller took up his chair at the Academy of Fine Arts in Vienna he was obliged to stop working on the Ebers project. However, he recommended that Huber should replace him, an artist he considered 'his natural substitute' ('...wies er mich auf denjenigen Künstler, den er als seinen natürlichen Stellvertreter ansah, auf Rudolf Huber'), according to Ebers himself.[44]

After some hesitation, Huber finally agreed to contribute.[45] One of the first drawings he made was 'The Ascent of the Great Pyramid', a subject already planned by Müller. In a letter to Ebers (26 April 1878) Müller writes: 'Die Photographien (Pyramidenbesteigung) habe ich dem Huber gegeben, der sich bereit erklärt hat, diese Illustartion zu machen' (I gave the photographs (Ascent to the Pyramid) to Huber, who has agreed to make this illustration).[46] These photographs seem now

[44] For more details, see: Zemen 2001: 258f.
[45] Ebers 1897: 10ff.
[46] Zemen 2001: 372 (doc. 282).

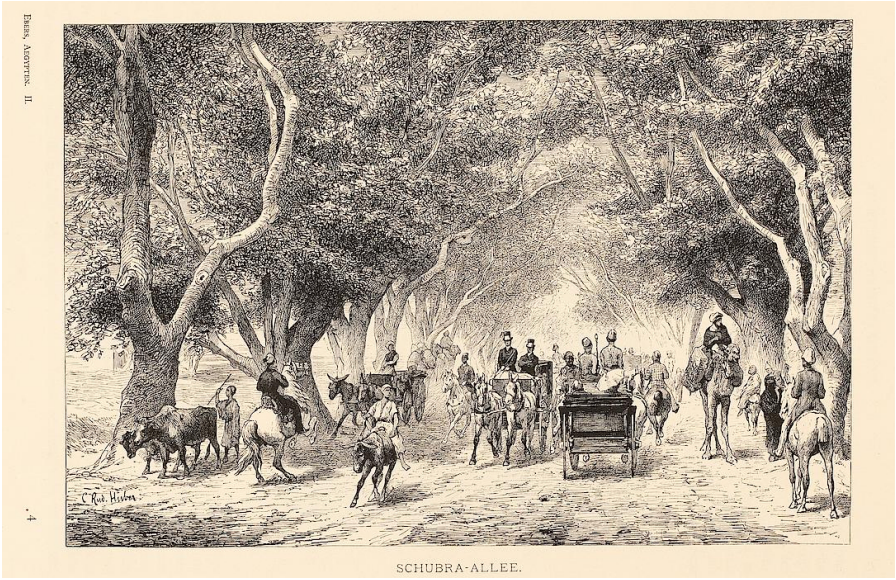


Figure 6. Schubra-Allee (Ebers 1879/80 II: 13).

to be lost, but there is a sketch-drawing by Müller that matches the final Huber xylograph perfectly.[47]

When the Ebers volumes finally appeared (vol II: 1880), there were no less than 44 illustrations by Huber. The first appears on page 149 of volume I, 'Ascent to the Great Pyramid' (Besteigung der Pyramiden). Altogether there are nine pictures in volume I, the other 36 reproduced in volume II - all xylographs based on pen-and ink-drawings. Although most of the illustrations one way or another feature animals or hunting (Huber's favoured subjects), a wide range of themes is covered; they can be grouped as follows:

– Traffic in public spaces in Cairo: 'Driving through the Town' (Fahrt durch die Stadt),[48] 'The Avenue at Shoobra' (Schubra-Alle) (Figure 6);[49] 'The Khedive Ismail's Country Drive' (Die Ausfahrt des Chediw) (Figure 7).[50] It is remarkable that Huber in these scenes highlights the modern, cosmopolitan character of Cairo. The carriages transport both foreigners and natives. The exuberantly shaded Shoobra-Alley is crowded, the characters are poor and rich, elegant and ragged, and dressed

[47] Albertina, Wien, Inv. No. 35696r. https://sammlungenonline.albertina.at/#/query/d8415be9-c7bb-4db6-8953-7d657422c104.
[48] Ebers 1879/1880 I: 202.
[49] Ebers 1879/1880 II: 13.
[50] Ebers 1879/1880 II: 39.



Figure 7. Die Ausfahrt des Chediw (Ebers 1879/80 II: 39).

in both Oriental and European outfits. Especially arresting is the picture showing Ismail's progress. The Viceroy sits in his landau in a manner distinctly unroyal, seated for comfort, not for decorum, and wearing the Turkish *tarboosh*. The two coachmen are dressed in the English style, wearing top hats. Ahead are two officers on horseback in Hussar-like uniforms, while close to the carriage there is a horseman in a picturesque Arabian costume. The image is an eclectic blend of Oriental and European elements, somewhat typical of Ismael's time.

– Other pictures emphasise traditional 'ethnographic' aspects of the Egyptian high society. In 'An Arab of Rank' (Edler Araber),[51] a figure, who closely resembles the Arab horseman just mentioned above, is seen riding in the desert, accompanied only by his groom. The rider is more 'Alhambra-tale' hero than late 19th-century Egyptian. Equally anachronistic is 'The Spouse of the Sultan on her Way to the Country Residence' (Gattin des Sultans auf dem Wege zum Landhause), especially considering that there had been no 'Sultan' as such in Egypt since the Mameluk government was defeated in the early 16th century.

[51] Ebers 1879/1880 I: 341.



Figure 8. Dromedar Wettrennen bei der Abbasije (Ebers 1879/80 I: 208).

– Sport and hunting: 'Dromedary Race' (Dromedar Wettrennen bei der Abbasije (Figure 8),[52] 'Black and White Jockeys' (Weißer und schwarzer Jockey),[53] 'Horse Race' (Wettrennen),[54] 'Heron Hawking' (Reiherbeize).[55]

– Animals: 'Arabian Horse' (Arabisches Ross),[56] 'Before the Walls of Masr el-Kahira' (Vor den Mauern Masr el-Kahiras) (showing vultures), (Figure 9),[57] 'Crocodiles' (Krokodile),[58] 'Village Dogs' (Dorfhunde),[59] 'Dog at Erment' (Hund von Erment),[60] 'Egyptian Wolf' (Aegyptischer Wolf),[61] 'The Trespasser Punished' (Der bestrafte Verbrecher) (donkey),[62] 'Family of Gazelles' (Gazellenfamilie).[63] In 1883,

[52] Ebers 1879/1880 I: 208.
[53] Ebers 1879/1880 I: 207.
[54] Ebers 1879/1880 I: 303.
[55] Ebers 1879/1880 I: 304.
[56] Ebers 1879/1880 I: 61.
[57] Ebers 1879/1880 I: 346; early version of the 1888 oil mentioned above – 'The Meal in the Desert'.
[58] Ebers 1879/1880 II: 197.
[59] Ebers 1879/1880 II: 267.
[60] Ebers 1879/1880 II: 339.
[61] Ebers 1879/1880 II: 205.
[62] Ebers 1879/1880 II: 32.
[63] Ebers 1879/1880 II: 239.

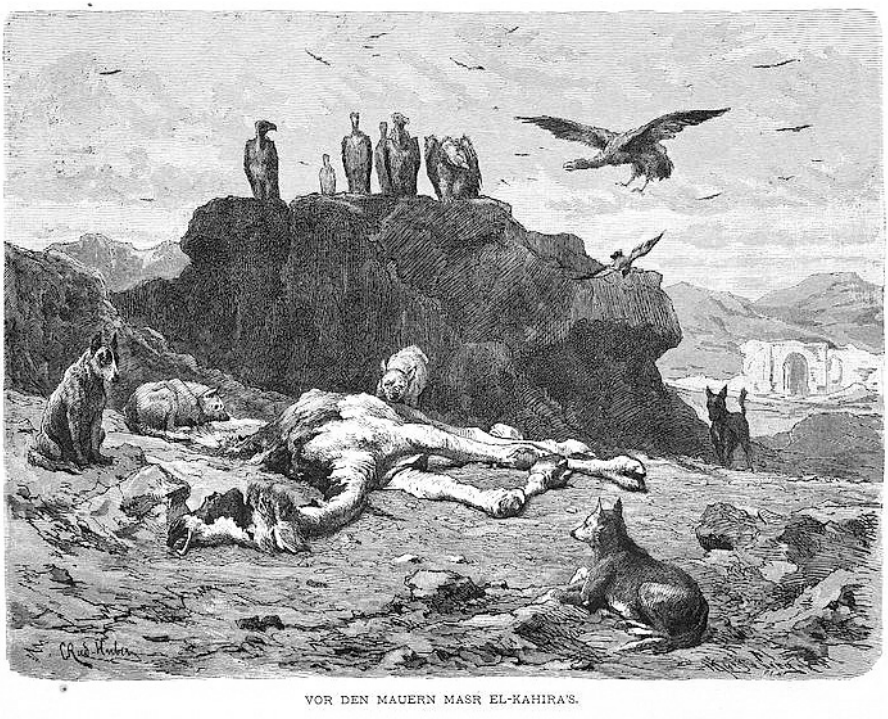


Figure 9. Vor den Mauern Masr el-Kahira's (Ebers 1879/80 I: 346).

Huber painted a group of gazelles in oil that was obviously based on the drawing for the Ebers illustration (auctioned 1996).[64]

– *Genre*, handicraft, work: 'Cairene Milkman' (Kairener Milchmann),[65] 'Windmill near Cairo' (Windmühle bei Kairo),[66] 'Corn-Barge' (Kornschiff),[67] 'Transporting Stone' (Stein-Transport),[68] 'Public Letter-Writer' (Öffentlicher Schreiber),[69] 'Cobbler' (Flickschuster),[70] 'Money-Changer' (Geldwechsler).[71]

[64] http://www.artnet.de/künstler/carl-rudolph-huber/gazellen-R1nb9x6Q0Cb6N6l8ODpvvQ2
[65] Ebers 1879/1880 II: 154.
[66] Ebers 1879/1880 II: 164.
[67] Ebers 1879/1880 II: 362.
[68] Ebers 1879/1880 II: 262.
[69] Ebers 1879/1880 II: 72.
[70] Ebers 1879/1880 II: 195.
[71] Ebers 1879/1880 II: 160; also in *Huber-Album* (Ramberg 1902), Blatt 8.

– Agriculture and daily life: 'Fellahs Riding to the Market' (Zu Markte reitende Fellachen),[72] 'Young Fellah Woman' (Junge Fellahfrau),[73] 'A Fellah Ploughing' (Pflügender Fellah),[74] 'Fellaheen at Meals' (Fellachenmahlzeit),[75] 'Nubian Swimming on a Bundle of Reeds' (Auf Rohrbündeln schwimmender Nubier),[76] 'Fellah Ferry Between Keneh and Denderah' (Fellah-Fähre zwischen Kene und Dendera),[77] 'Landed Proprietor Returning from a Pilgrimage' (Von der Pilgerfahrt heimkehrender Grundherr).[78] This last picture, showing the Fellaheen from a rich estate kissing the hand of their master in welcome, is an interesting document of its time, a snapshot of traditional, feudal rural society in pre-revolutionary Egypt.

– Religious practices: 'Bending Zikr' (Zikr mit Neigungen),[79] 'Whirling Zikr' (Zikr mit Schwingungen),[80] 'The Dawsah or Treading' (Dosa oder Überreitung),[81] 'Bow of Supplicants' (Reihe von Betern),[82] 'Beggar Derwish' (Bettelnder Derwisch).[83] A pencil sketch of 'Bending Zikr' exists in the Victoria & Albert Museum, London.[84]

– Historical legends: 'The Mameluke's Leap' (Der Mamelukensprung) (Figure 10)[85] is noteworthy. It relates to the anecdote of a Mameluke rider who is said to have escaped Mohammed Ali's 1811 massacre by jumping the citadel wall; the story is a curious mix of popular anecdote and historical fact. Ebers gives an interesting account of the picture: the feat of the rider had already been illustrated by a 'renowned artist', but Ebers doubted whether the depiction was accurate. He showed it to Huber, who 'burst out laughing' and explained that the form of the horse in the air was impossible. He then undertook to illustrate the event in a more realistic way, and it is this image that appeared in Ebers' book.[86]

– Tourists and tourism. With a touch of gentle mockery, Huber produced several illustrations depicting tourists: some are clearly caricatures while others are more realistic renderings. To the second group belong: 'Ascent of the Great Pyramid' (Besteigung der Pyramiden),[87] and 'Village Dancers' (Dorftänzerinnen),[88]

[72] Ebers 1879/1880 II: 243.
[73] Ebers 1879/1880 II: 211.
[74] Ebers 1879/1880 II: 181.
[75] Ebers 1879/1880 II: 352.
[76] Ebers 1879/1880 II: 399.
[77] Ebers 1879/1880 II: 246.
[78] Ebers 1879/1880 II: 247.
[79] Ebers 1879/1880 II: 126.
[80] Ebers 1879/1880 II: 127.
[81] Ebers 1879/1880 II: 131.
[82] Ebers 1879/1880 II: 238.
[83] Ebers 1879/1880 II: 323.
[84] 'Bending Zikr', *c.* 1878, by Rudolf Carl Huber. V&A Museum, SD.514.
[85] Ebers 1879/1880 II: 9.
[86] Ebers 1897: 11-13.
[87] Ebers 1879/1880 I: 149.
[88] Ebers 1879/1880 II: 344.



Figure 10. Der Mamelukensprung (Ebers 1879/80 II: 9).

showing two girls dancing in a poor village, watched by two Western tourists. The more humorous pictures include: 'A First Ride on a Camel' (Erster Kamelritt),[89] 'Tourists' (Sogenannte Touristen),[90] and 'Donkey-Boys and Foreigners' (Eseljungen und Fremde) (Figure 11).[91] The latter picture is mentioned by Ebers: 'Wie gut ist die stürmische Aufdringlichkeit der Eseljungen beobachtet, und wie glaubhaft schildert er den entsetzten englischen Blaustrumpf und die abwehrenden Boxerbewegungen seines Gemahls oder Bruders.' (How well is the stormy importunity of the donkey boys rendered, and how convincingly is the horrified English bluestocking depicted as well as the defensive boxing movements of her husband or brother).[92]

Later in life, Huber began an oil based on this xylograph in Ebers, or rather the original underlying drawing, as he had done several times previously (e.g. 'Drive

[89] Ebers 1879/1880 II: 161.
[90] Ebers 1879/1880 II: 269.
[91] Ebers 1879/1880 II: 31.
[92] Ebers 1897: 14.



Figure 11. Eseljungen und Fremde (Ebers 1879/80 II: 31).

of a Lady of Rank' and 'Meal in the Desert', see above). The painting was found unfinished in Huber's studio on his death in 1897. The respected Mithke Gallery organised an auction of Huber's works at the Wiener Künstlerhaus on February 3rd and 4th, 1897. The auction catalogue[93] starts with several excerpts from various obituaries taken from the newspapers, including notices by such prominent art critics as Ludwig Hevesi and Felix Salten. Of the dozen obituaries, however, only one anonymously published article, from *Wiener Sonn- und Montagszeitung* (11 January 1897), mentions that Huber also painted Orientalist subjects. The auction exhibition at the Künstlerhaus showed 135 oils, nine of which were Orientalistic:

Nos. 15: 'Nocturnal Excursion of a Lady of the Harem at Cairo' (Nächtliche Ausfahrt einer Haremsdame in Kairo, 1889); 17: 'A victim of the Desert' (Ein Opfer der Wüste, n.d.), 18: 'Portrait of an Egyptian Girl' (Bildnis eines ägyptischen Mädchens, 1857); 24: 'Desert Meal' (Mahlzeit in der Wüste, 1888), 44: 'Portrait of an Egyptian' (Bildnis eines Ägypters, n.d.); 47: 'An Arab' (Brustbild eines Arabers,

[93] Galerie Miethke 1897.

n.d.); 49: 'Portrait of an Arab Sheikh' (Bildnis eines arabischen Scheichs, 1876); 50: 'A Young Coptic Woman (Brustbild einer jungen Koptin, n.d.); 58: 'Portrait of an Egyptian Boy' (Bildnis eines ägyptischen Knaben, n.d.).

Most of these pictures are unknown today, with the noteworthy exceptions of the 'Nocturnal Excursion of a Lady of the Harem at Cairo' (Nächtliche Ausfahrt einer Haremsdame in Kairo) (no. 15), known from photographic renderings, and 'Desert Meal' (Mahlzeit in der Wüste) (no. 24), now in the Sammlung der Universität für angewandte Kunst in Vienna. As well as the Huber oils, a number of watercolours, pen and pencil drawings, and even photographs were included in the auction. Among these were seven pen-and-ink drawings that were probably the originals for xylographs in the Ebers' book: 'The Khediv's Country-Drive' (Ausfahrt des Chedive) (no. 137), 'Corn Barge' (Nilbarke mit Korn beladen) (no. 139), 'Crocodiles on a Sandbank' (Krokodile auf einer Sandbank) (no. 140), 'A Swimming Nubian' (Ein schwimmender Nubier) (no. 141), 'Meal of the Fellaheen' (Mahlzeit der Fellachen) (no. 142), 'Fellah Ferry Boat' (Fellachen-Fähre) (143), and 'Family of Gazelles' (Gazellenfamilie) (no. 144). Unfortunately, at present none of these original drawings is traceable.

The auction also included three paintings by different artists: 'Young Arab' (Junger Araber) by L.C. Müller (no. 133), a picture by Pettenkofen (no. 134), and a picture labelled as 'Copy after L.C. Müller: Street-Scene in Cairo. Unfinished' (no. 135).[94] Feuchtmüller (1955) had no doubt that this unfinished painting was familiar to him from a private collection, which was clearly modelled after 'Donkey boys and foreigners' (Eseljungen und Fremde) in the Ebers book. He included the picture in the *catalogue raisonné* in the '1880-90' section, titled as 'Street Scene in Cairo' (Straßenszene in Cairo)'.[95] Feuchtmüller writes on the painting as follows: 'Eine Dame und ihr Begleiter werden von Eseltreibern und ihren Tieren bedrängt. Unvollendet. Wurde im NK [= Galerie Miethke 1897]. No. 135, irrtümlich als Kopie nach Leopold C. Müller angeführt, ist aber nachweisbar von C. Rud. Huber. Dasselbe als Zeichnung in "Ägypten" von G. Ebers (S. 31). Leinw. 37 x 59 cm.' (A lady and her companion are pestered by donkey-drivers. Unfinished. Was in NK [= Galerie Miethke 1897], no. 135, erroneously labelled as a copy after Leopold C. Müller, but is demonstrably by C. Rud. Huber. The same subject as a drawing in 'Picturesque Egypt' by G. Ebers (p. 31.) Oil on canvas, 37 x 59 cm.). It seems certain that the painting sold recently at the gallery Dorotheum Wien[96] under the title 'Tourists Pestered in an Oriental Town' (Bedrängte Touristen in einer Orientalischen Stadt), ascribed to an unknown Austrian artist, can be identified with this Huber painting,

[94] 'Copie nach Leopold C. Müller: Straßenscene in Cairo. Unvollendet'.

[95] Feuchtmüller 1955: 15.

[96] Offered for auction on 9 January 2018. Unsold at the auction but sold subsequently. https://www.dorotheum.com/dailyauction/lot-detail/auktion/12953-bilder/lotID/7905/lot/2329345-osterreichischer-kunstler-um-1900.html?currentPage=3&img=0



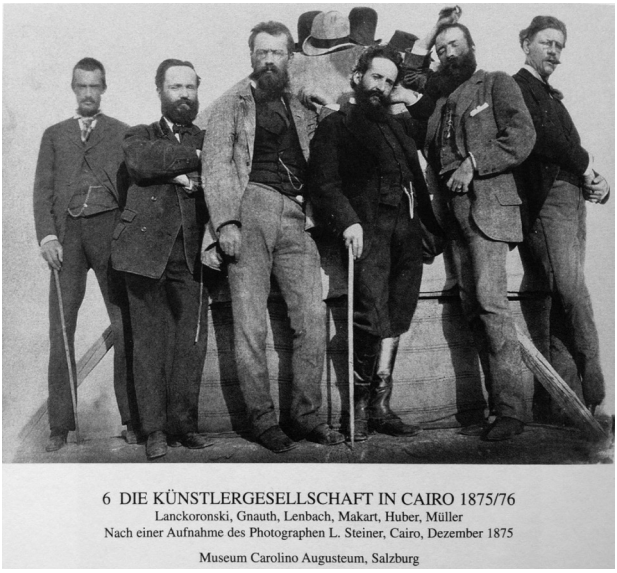
Figure 12. Straßenszene in Cairo/Bedrängte Touristen in einer Orientalischen Stadt (private collection, Vienna).

and thus can be added to our brief list of known Orientalist paintings by Carl Rudolph Huber (Figure 12).

The (re-)discovery of this painting considerably expands the range of subjects of Orientalist painting in Austria. Although foreigners and tourists to Egypt occasionally occur in illustrations for books or newspapers, they do not usually appear in 'fine art' paintings. L.C. Müller, to this author's knowledge, never painted tourists, since the shunning of modern life and Western influence in Egypt was central to his art and that of his followers. Only for the next generation, around the turn of the century, with artists such as Johann Victor Krämer, did visiting tourists start to appear in pictures. The decision by Huber to transform his half-real, half-humorous drawing/xylograph from 1879 into a representative oil painting was therefore something unconventional, even daring. The fact that the painting remained unfinished might suggest that Huber himself doubted how well the subject might be received.

Although not within the scope of the present contribution, it can be briefly mentioned that in recent years Huber has awakened some interest among historians of photography. A collection of remarkable photographs, many of which were found within the bequest of Franz von Lenbach,[97] and which were obviously

[97] See Rosel Gollek in *Catalogue Lenbachhaus* 1987: 133f.



6 DIE KÜNSTLERGESELLSCHAFT IN CAIRO 1875/76
Lanckoronski, Gnauth, Lenbach, Makart, Huber, Müller
Nach einer Aufnahme des Photographen L. Steiner, Cairo, Dezember 1875
Museum Carolino Augusteum, Salzburg

Figure 13. Ludwig Steiner, Die Künstlergesellschaft in Kairo 1875/76 (after Zemen 2011: fig. 6).

taken during the time of the stay of the 'artist group' in Cairo in 1875/6, show the artists in very relaxed manner, along with naked or scantily dressed Egyptian girls. Despite much recent research, it remains unclear who took those photographs. Some of the more 'formal' ones are the work of Ludwig Steiner, an Austrian commercial photographer based in Cairo (Figure 13), but it is not clear whether he also took the more 'informal' ones just described. Müller, Lenbach and Huber are reported to have been keen amateur photographers.[98] A German journalist, who visited the artists in Cairo and published on them ('Makart in Kairo'), states only that: 'Die photographische Machine wurde fortwährend gebraucht – es wurden die tollsten Posituren abconterfeit, Posituren, von welchen die minder unanständigen nicht zu schildern sind'[99] (The photographic apparatus was in constant use – very imaginative poses were taken, even the most 'modest' of which cannot really be described). Unfortunately, the reporter fails to record who was taking the photographs. Most researchers have tended to ascribe these shots to Huber, who surprisingly gained a late reputation as a photographer, even more than as a painter (Figure 14).[100]

[98] Monika Faber, in *Catalogue Belvedere 2016*: 90; Gollek in *Catalogue Lenbachhaus 1987*, 133.
[99] *Allgemeine Zeitung*, Beilage, 27 September 1876: 4136.
[100] See, e.g., E. Mayer-Oehring in *Catalogue Salzburg 1997*: 242-245 (ad. Cat. nos. 64-67); E. Mayer-Oehring in *Catalogue Wien Museum 2003*, Cat. nos. 119-122; Monika Faber, in *Catalogue*



Figure 14. Ludwig Steiner or Carl Rudolph Huber (?), 'Two Egyptian Girls at Mussafirkhana Palace (Paris, Millon-Drouot auction house catalogue).

After this short survey of the Orientalist pictures by Huber that are currently known as originals or from photographs and publications, those works known only by their titles may be found in the following sources, most of which have already been mentioned above:

– *Catalogue Künstlerhaus Wien 1897*. Huber died on 29 August 1896. On 5 January 1897, the Künstlerhaus, of which Huber had been a member from 1868 to 1875, and again from 1878 until his death, put on a memorial exhibition, featuring 116 oil paintings. From 31 January 1897, the exhibition was modified and enlarged to display paintings, watercolours, drawings, photographs, and other works from the Huber bequest, that were to be auctioned on February the 4th and 5th 1897. The

Belvedere 2016: 90ff. Whereas Erika Mayer-Oehring seems to have no doubts that Huber was the photographer (following Dewitz 1988 and others), Monika Faber is inclined to ascribe the photographs to Ludwig Steiner, as does Rosl Gollek in *Cataloge Lenbachhaus 1987*: 134.

auction was conducted by the Miethke Gallery, who published their own catalogue (see the following).

– *Catalogue Galerie Miethke* 1897. Although this overlaps to a degree with the *Catalogue Künstlerhaus Wien 1897*, the publications are not entirely identical.

– Rupert Feuchtmüller, *C. Rudolf Huber. Niederösterreichs Tiermaler der Makartzeit. Persönlichkeit und Werk*, Vienna 1955. Feuchtmüller assembled all the information on Huber's work available at the time. He was in contact with the artist's descendants and seems to have had access to many pictures in Austrian private collections. No work has ever since surpassed this study. The various exhibition catalogues concerned with 'Orientalist' painting, which have since been published in Austria (Salzburg Residenzgalerie 1997, Wien Museum 2003, Belvedere 2012), as well as the monograph by M. Haja and G. Wimmer on German and Austrian Orientalist painting (2000), do not concern themselves with Huber to any great extent. Feuchtmüller's first attempt to create a *catalogue raisonné* has thus remained the most complete study available.

For complementary information, the following sources may be useful:

– Gerhard Ramberg, Huber-Album, Wien 1902.

– Österreichisches Biographisches Lexikon, 1815-1950, Bd. 2 (Lfg. 10, 1959), S. 443f.

– F. Boetticher, Malerwerke des 19. Jahrhunderts.

– Auctions (via Artnet: http://www.artnet.de/k%C3%BCnstler/carl-rudolph-huber/).

In Feuchtmüller's catalogue, 31 paintings with 'Orientalist' titles are listed. Additionally, he lists several drawings and a sketchbook from Egypt. However, only one unknown (at the time) Orientalist painting is shown (Bildnis eines Arabers, 1876); in Ramberg 1902 (the *Huber-Album*) three paintings are reproduced. The whereabouts of all these paintings are unknown. About 20 more paintings are known by their titles only.

A few paintings, whose titles may be found in Feuchtmüller's *catalogue raisonné*, but had not so far been illustrated, have become known to us by more recent publications or on the Internet, e.g. 'Camels in the Desert' (Kamele in der Wüste) (Catalogue Salzburg 1997, 161, Cat. no. 17), 'Gazelles' (Artnet); Wüstenmahlzeit (Catalogue Salzburg 1997, 163, Cat. no. 18 = Catalogue Wien 2003, 149, Cat. no. 11), 'Cairo Street Scene' (Straßenszene in Cairo), (Bedrängte Orienttouristen, Dorotheum 2018, labelled Österreichischer Künstler, um 1900 (not recognised as Huber)), and 'Young Bedouin with Buffalo' (Beduinenjunge mit Rind) (Im Kinsky Auktionshaus 2008).

When the information provided by the different sources is compiled into a synoptic table (Table 1), it turns out that seven paintings are known currently as originals, four more through reproductions. It is difficult to establish how many more pictures are known by title only, since titles in the various sources may

change. In Feuchtmüller 1955, it is around 20, but Feuchtmüller states on several occasions that more 'Orientbilder' must have existed (p. 9).

Only one painting is known today that cannot be identified from Feuchtmüller's 1955 list: 'Camel Rider' (Kamelreiter), auctioned 7 February 2013 at Dorotheum Wien, lot 152. It should be noted that although the auction catalogue prints 'signiert, datiert C. Rud. Huber (18)71', the painting itself clearly shows the date as '75', not '71'.

For the around 20 paintings whose titles are provided by Feuchtmüller 1955, but which are not depicted in any publication (and cannot be traced on the Internet), see Table 1. Most of these were portraits of native Egyptians or Bedouins, or pictures of camels, cattle, and caravans.

Thus, it seems that the known pictures provide a good sample of Huber's range of subjects, except for portraits, which are not found among the presently paintings (but see 'Young fellaheen woman', in Ebers 1879/80 II: 211).

The Orientalist paintings of Carl Rudolph Huber cover the period from 1857 until his death in 1896, thus almost the entire second half of the 19th century. It seems his influence on Leopold Carl Müller prompted the latter to become an Orientalist painter himself. Huber's early Egyptian paintings provided templates as it were for Müller's own pictures. During his lifetime, only few of Huber's Orientalist paintings were known in his home city, Vienna, although those that were occasionally exhibited did not remain unnoticed: 'Besonderes Lob zollte der Monarch den egyptischen Bildern von Carl Rudolf Huber und Leopold Carl Müller...' (His majesty especially praised the Egyptian paintings of Carl Rudolph Huber and Leopold Carl Müller...).[101] The situation has not changed much since. Only through his illustrations for Ebers' *Ägypten in Bild und Wort*, has Huber's 'Orientalistic' side became apparent to a wider public (Table 2). If the information is correct that Huber did sell many pictures in Egypt to American and British travellers, it may be expected that some of these pictures, probably now in private collections, will come to light in the future. Let us hope so!

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Table 1. C.R. Huber's orientalist paintings and drawings, overview (1/7)

Feuchtmüller Catalogue 1955	**Haja/ Wimmer, Les Orientalistes (2000), 264–267**	**Auction of the artist's estate Miethke (1898)**	**Ramberg, Huber-Album (1902)**	**ÖBL, 2/10, 1959, 443f.**	**Bötticher, Malwerke des 19. Jhs. I/2, 580f.**	**Künstlerhaus Memorial exhibition 1897**	**Currently known pictures (oils)**	**Pictures only known by reproduction**
Portrait eines blinden Arabers (**1857**)	Portrait eines blinden Arabers (**1857**)							
Bildnis eines ägyptischen Mädchens (**1857**)	Bildnis eines ägyptischen Mädchens (**1857**)	Bildnis eines ägyptischen Mädchens (**1857**) (18)				Aegyptisches Mädchen (77)		
Rast in der Wüste (**1867**)			Rast in der Wüste (**1867**) (Blatt 5)		Rast in der Wüste (**1867**)			Rast in der Wüste (**1867**) (Huber-Album, Blatt 5)
							Kamelreiter (**1875**) (Dorotheum Wien 2013)	
Kameltrieb durch die Wüste (**1876**)	Kamele in der Wüste (**1876**)			Kameltrieb durch die Wüste (**1876**)			Kamele in der Wüste (**1876**) (Catalogue Salzburg 1997, 161 (Cat.nr. 17); Auction 2001)	

Table 1. C.R. Huber's orientalist paintings and drawings, overview (2/7)

Feuchtmüller Catalogue 1955	**Haja/ Wimmer, Les Orientalistes (2000), 264–267**	**Auction of the artist's estate Miethke (1898)**	**Ramberg, Huber-Album (1902)**	**ÖBL, 2/10, 1959, 443f.**	**Bötticher, Malwerke des 19. Jhs. I/2, 580f.**	**Künstlerhaus Memorial exhibition 1897**	**Currently known pictures (oils)**	**Pictures only known by reproduction**
Studie eines Negerkopfes **(1876)**					Studie eines Negerkopfes			
Bildnis eines arabischen Scheichs. **(1876)**		Bildnis eines arabischen Scheichs. Halbfigur **(1876)** (49)						
Bildnis eines Arabers, Studie (um **1876)**								Bildnis eines Arabers **(1876)** (Feuchtmüller 1955)
Karavane in der Wüste **(1877)**					Karavane in der Wüste **(1877)**			
Orientbilder **(1879)**								
Arabischer Wechsler **(1881)**								
Gazellen **(1883)**					Gazellen		Gazellen (Auction 1996)	

Table 1. C.R. Huber's orientalist paintings and drawings, overview (3/7)

Feuchtmüller Catalogue 1955	**Haja/ Wimmer, Les Orientalistes (2000), 264–267**	**Auction of the artist's estate Miethke (1898)**	**Ramberg, Huber-Album (1902)**	**ÖBL, 2/10, 1959, 443f.**	**Bötticher, Malwerke des 19. Jhs. I/2, 580f.**	**Künstlerhaus Memorial exhibition 1897**	**Currently known pictures (oils)**	**Pictures only known by reproduction**
Mahlzeit in der Wüste **(1888)** (2 Fassungen)	Wüstenmahlzeit **(1888)**	Mahlzeit in der Wüste **(1888)** (24)	Wüstenmahlzeit (erwähnt p. 18)	Mahlzeit in der Wüste **(1888)**		Todtes Kameel in der Wüste (89)	Mahlzeit in der Wüste (Univ. f. Angewandte Kunst); 2. Fassung laut Feuchtmüller 1955 im NÖ Landesmuseum	
Ägypter mit totem Reiter **(1888)**								
Nächtliche Ausfahrt einer Haremsdame in Cairo **(1889)**		Nächtliche Ausfahrt einer Haremsdame **(1889)** (15)	Ausfahrt einer Haremsdame **(1889)** (Blatt 6)	Ausfahrt einer Haremsdame in Cairo **(1889)**	Nächtliche Ausfahrt einer Haremsdame in Kairo	Nächtliche Ausfahrt einer Haremsdame (37)		Ausfahrt einer Haremsdame (1889) (Huber-Album, Blatt 6)
Die Katzengräber bei Luxor **(1880-90)**	Statuen im Mut-Tempel **(1880-90)**					Katzengräber bei Luxor (68)	Sachmetstatuen in Karnak. KHM Inv. Nr. 9831	

Table 1. C.R. Huber's orientalist paintings and drawings, overview (4/7)

Feuchtmüller Catalogue 1955	**Haja/ Wimmer, Les Orientalistes (2000), 264–267**	**Auction of the artist's estate Miethke (1898)**	**Ramberg, Huber-Album (1902)**	**ÖBL, 2/10, 1959, 443f.**	**Bötticher, Malwerke des 19. Jhs. I/2, 580f.**	**Künstlerhaus Memorial exhibition 1897**	**Currently known pictures (oils)**	**Pictures only known by reproduction**
Katzengräber bei Luxor. Bleistiftstudien (o.J.)								
Rast in der Wüste (**1880-90**)					In der Wüste	In der Wüste (24)		
Büffel (**1880-90**)								
Straßenszene in Cairo (**1880-90**)							Bedrängte Touristen in einer Orientalischen Stadt (Dorotheum Wien 2018)	
Beduine (**1890**)= Tod des Beduinen? Skizze erwähnt			Der Tod des Beduinen (**1890**). (Blatt 4). (Skizze dazu erwänt p. 14)	Beduine (**1890**)		Tod des Beduinen (109)		Der Tod des Beduinen (1890). (Huber-Album, Blatt 4)

Table 1. C.R. Huber's orientalist paintings and drawings, overview (5/7)

Feuchtmüller Catalogue 1955	**Haja/ Wimmer, Les Orientalistes (2000), 264–267**	**Auction of the artist's estate Miethke (1898)**	**Ramberg, Huber-Album (1902)**	**ÖBL, 2/10, 1959, 443f.**	**Böticher, Malwerke des 19. Jhs. I/2, 580f.**	**Künstlerhaus Memorial exhibition 1897**	**Currently known pictures (oils)**	**Pictures only known by reproduction**
Ein Opfer der Wüste (**1890**)		Ein Opfer der Wüste (17)				In der Wüste (108)		
Büffel mit einem Araber (**1892**)								
Büffel und arabischer Knabe (o.J.)							Beduinenjunge mit Rind (Im Kinsky 2008)	
Araber-Stallmeister-Kopf (o.J.)								
Ägyptisches Mädchen (o.J.)						Egyptisches Mädchen (80)		
Durstleidende Karavane (o.J.)						Durstleidende Karawane (98)		
Kamele in der Wüste (o.J.)						Kameele in der Wüste (105)		

Table 1. C.R. Huber's orientalist paintings and drawings, overview (6/7)

Feuchtmüller Catalogue 1955	Haja/ Wimmer, Les Orientalistes (2000), 264–267	Auction of the artist's estate Miethke (1898)	Ramberg, Huber-Album (1902)	ÖBL, 2/10, 1959, 443f.	Bötticher, Malwerke des 19. Jhs. I/2, 580f.	Künstlerhaus Memorial exhibition 1897	Currently known pictures (oils)	Pictures only known by reproduction
Bildnis einer Koptin (Kopf) (o.J.)								
Bildnis eines Ägypters (o.J.)		Bildnis eines Ägypters (o.J.) (44)						
Brustbild eines Arabers in rothem Burnus (o.J.)		Brustbild eines Arabers in rothem Burnus (o.J.) (47)						
Brustbild einer jungen Koptin (o.J.)	Junge Koptin (o.J.)	Brustbild einer jungen Koptin (o.J.) (50)						
Bildnis eines ägyptischen Knaben (o.J.)		Brustbild eines ägyptischen Knaben (o.J.) (58)						

Table 1. C.R. Huber's orientalist paintings and drawings, overview (7/7)

Feuchtmüller Catalogue 1955	**Haja/ Wimmer, Les Orientalistes (2000), 264–267**	**Auction of the artist's estate Miethke (1898)**	**Ramberg, Huber-Album (1902)**	**ÖBL, 2/10, 1959, 443f.**	**Bötticher, Malwerke des 19. Jhs. I/2, 580f.**	**Künstlerhaus Memorial exhibition 1897**	**Currently known pictures (oils)**	**Pictures only known by reproduction**
Verendetes Kamel in der Wüste (Bleistift) (o.J.)								
Studienblatt aus Ägypten, Segelboote an der Küste (Bleistift) (o.J.)								
Skizzenbuch von der Ägyptenreise (o.J.)								
						Egyptische Studie (72)		

Table 2. Xylographs for Ebers 1879/80 and related materials. (1/4)

	Georg Ebers, Ägypten in Bild und Wort (1879/80)	**Auction of the artist's estate Miethke (1898)**	**Huber-Album (1902)**	**Feuchtmüller 1955**	**Other**
1	Besteigung der Pyramiden (I-149)				
2	Fahrt durch die Stadt (I-202)				
3	Weißer und schwarzer Jockey (I-207)				
4	Dromedar Wettrennen bei der Abbasije (I-208)				
5	Reihe von Betern (I-238)				
6	Arabisches Ross (I-241)				
7	Wettrennen (I-303)				
8	Reiherbeize (I-304)				
9	Gattin des Sultans auf dem Wege zum Landhause (I-327)				
10	Edler Araber (I-341)				
11	Vor den Mauern Masr el-Kahira's (I-346)			Wüstenmahlzeit (Öl; 1888)	
12	Mamlukensprung (II-9)		Mamelukensprung (nach Ebers)		
13	Schubra-Allee (II-13)				

Table 2. Xylographs for Ebers 1879/80 and related materials. (2/4)

	Georg Ebers, Ägypten in Bild und Wort (1879/80)	**Auction of the artist's estate Miethke (1898)**	**Huber-Album (1902)**	**Feuchtmüller 1955**	**Other**
14	Eseljungen und Fremde (II-31)			Straßenszene in Cairo (Öl)	
15	Der bestrafte Verbrecher (II-32)		Der bestrafte Verbrecher (nach Ebers)		
16	Ausfahrt des Chediw (II-39)	Ausfahrt des Khedive. Tuschzeichnung (137)			
17	Öffentlicher Schreiber (II-72)				
18	Elephant über einer Hausthüre (II-93)				
19	Ausfahrt einer vornehmen Dame nach Sonnenuntergang (II-121)			Nächtliche Ausfahrt einer Haremsdame (Öl; 1889)	
20	Zikr mit Neigungen (II-126)				Zikr With Inclinations', about 1878, by Rudolf Carl Huber. V&A Museum, SD.514. Pencil drawing
21	Zikr mit Schwingungen (II-127)				
22	Dósa oder Überreitung (II-131)				
23	Kairener Milchmann (II-154)				

Table 2. Xylographs for Ebers 1879/80 and related materials. (3/4)

	Georg Ebers, Ägypten in Bild und Wort (1879/80)	**Auction of the artist's estate Miethke (1898)**	**Huber-Album (1902)**	**Feuchtmüller 1955**	**Other**
24	Flickschuster (II-159)				
25	Jüdischer Wechsler (II-160)		Geldwechsler (nach Ebers)	Arabischer Wechsler (Öl; 1881)	
26	Erster Kamelritt (II-161)				
27	Windmühle bei Kairo (II-164)				
28	Pflügender Fellach (II-181)				
29	Siesta der Krokodile (II-197)	Krokodile auf einer Sandbank. Federzeichnung (140)			
30	Ägyptischer Wolf (Dib) (II-205)				
31	Nóreg oder Dreschschlitten (II-208)				
32	Junge Fellahfrau (II-211)				
33	Gazellenfamilie (II-239)	Gazellenfamilie. Federzeichnung (144)		Gazellen (1883; Öl)	
34	Zu Markte reitende Fellahchen (II-243)				
35	Fellahfähre zwischen Kene und Dendera (II-246)	Fellachenfähre. Feder/Tuschzeichnung (143)			

Table 2. Xylographs for Ebers 1879/80 and related materials. (4/4)

	Georg Ebers, Ägypten in Bild und Wort (1879/80)	**Auction of the artist's estate Miethke (1898)**	**Huber-Album (1902)**	**Feuchtmüller 1955**	**Other**
36	Von der Pilgerfahrt heimkehrender Grundherr (II-247)				
37	Dorfhunde (II-267)				
38	Steintransport (II-272)				
39	Bettelnder Derwisch (II-323)				
40	Hund von Erment (II-339)				
41	Dorftänzerinnen (II-344)				
42	Fellachenmahlzeit (II-352)	Mahlzeit der Fellachen. Feder/ Tuschzeichnung (142)			
43	Kornschiff (II-363)	Nilbarke, mit Korn beladen. Federzeichnung (139)			
44	Auf Rohrbündeln schwimmender Nubier (II-399)	Ein schwimmender Nubier. Federzeichnung (141)			
					Künstlerhaus 1897, Nrs. 44–60: Zeichnungen zu dem Werke ‚Egypten' von Georg Ebers

ADOLF LOOS'S PURCHASE IN 1914: THE STORY OF IVAN NAPOTNIK AND HIS *EGYPTIAN WOMAN*[1]

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Abstract: At the Viennese exhibition in Künstlerhaus in 1914, Adolf Loos – one of the pioneers of modern architecture at the turning-point between the 19th and 20th centuries – acquired a gypsum model of a statue entitled *Egyptian Woman* by a young Slovene sculptor, Ivan Napotnik (1888-1960). Napotnik's statuary activity dates back to his academic years in Vienna when he was presenting his first works on academy artistic performances and at exhibitions in Ljubljana. Those works were partly still under the influence of the school, but partly they were already showing the first buds of his independent artistic modelling. Like so many born sculptors, Napotnik was above all interested in the human body, into which he poured all his love and creative amazement at the endless miracles originating from Nature. *Egyptian Woman* depicts the rare subject of a female figure standing on turtles. The subject itself shows the spirit of the *Secession* movement and its capricious imaginings. In this paper I will argue that Loos played a pivotal role in Napotnik's later professional career, as his patron and supporter, acquiring many of Napotnik's subsequent works and becoming his close acquaintance, and emphatically persuading him to devote himself completely to sculpture.

Key words: Adolf Loos, Ivan Napotnik, sculpture.

Creativity in the area of plastic arts at the turning-point between the 19th and 20th centuries in today's Slovenia underwent an important transformation thanks to a group of major artists returning to their native land after their studies abroad, especially from Vienna. Supported by lively public interest, these artists influenced the evaluation of new conditions in Slovenia in the field of artistic expression. National identity was emphasised more in painting than in sculpture, a fact probably related to sculptural technique: expensive materials (stone, bronze) thwarted extensive production, and the number of commissions received was also smaller.[2]

[1] I would like to thank dr. Johanna Holaubek and Tomislav Kajfež, mag. for the encouragement to continue with this research.

[2] Jenko 2006: 30.

The Slovene sculptor Ivan Napotnik (1888-1960), who came from the provincial village of Zavodnje, near Šoštanj, was first introduced to the Ljubljana public in 1912 to the Viennese in 1914. Although he worked in relative seclusion and led a rather reclusive existence, he nevertheless aroused considerable interest and controversy in artistic circles. His work was removed from the centre of activities in Ljubljana but he continued to participate in almost every exhibition. His work displayed many of the prevalent modern trends, modelling himself on Rodin, as well as elements of the *Secession* movement.[3] He was especially influenced by Viennese artists and the artistic trends that were developing there. Vienna, as the capital of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, found itself a hub between the artistic trends and aesthetic theories taking root in England and western Europe at the time, and was establishing innovative and distinctive art institutions of its own. In this great city, many of the most prominent central European artists, architects, and designers trained and worked. And it was in this environment that Napotnik tried to find his own expression in the statuette, relief, figural compositions and portraits, as well as in memorial, sepulchral and architectural sculpture. Relatively frequent exhibitions enabled him to promote his statuary work.

Already as a child, Napotnik showed great talent for statuary art by imitating self-taught, peasant carvers. He later moved for a short time to a carving workshop in Ljubljana and then to the Artistic Trade School, where he enrolled in the classes for sculpture and carving. In 1906 he went to Vienna to take attend the sculpture workshop of Franz Zelezny, where he dedicated himself to sculpture in wood. He was among the first Slovene sculptors educated in Vienna;[4] between 1908 and 1912 he was one of only eight students studying at the Viennese Academy of Fine Arts, followed by four years (1912-1915) at the exclusive sculpture school headed by Professor Edmund von Hellmer.[5] Napotnik lived extremely modestly in Vienna, trying to find his own form and style – something common to all artists of that time.[6] Rudolf von Alt describes this struggle in 1900: 'The Vienna artist spends his life hitting his head against a great grey wall, onto which is stuck a heart shaped from blotting paper; the wall is Viennese indolence and the blotting paper heart is the Viennese heart of gold'.[7]

Having finished his post-graduate studies with Professor Hellmer, and during the first year of World War I, Napotnik went to Budapest to the studio of the

[3] Jenko 2006: 30.

[4] Other Slovene artists studying in Vienna at that time included Lojze Dolinar (1910/11) and France Kralj (1913).

[5] Dobida 1959: 4-5; Jenko 2006: 31.

[6] From this period we have one interesting episode invloving Napotnik, when he protested with other students on the Ring at the decision not to promote the Slovene architect Jože Plečnik as a rector of the Vienna Academy (Dobida 1959: 5).

[7] https://stpaulst.aut.ac.nz/all-exhibitions/accommodate (accessed 16 Jan. 2019).

Hungarian sculptor János Horvay, who had also been Hellmer's student. Horvay exerted influence on him with his expressionistic tendencies. Seeking to develop his overview of sculptural design, Napotnik encountered other personalities who left their mark on his creativity; he worked for renowned sculptors for very little, and very much in the background, and his self-esteem suffered in due course from not being able to work on his own ideas. Yet he did manage to realise a few of his works, which were stylistically still tied to Viennese academism, *Secession*, and the influences of his professors.

Napotnik, like most born sculptors, was above all interested in the human body.[8] The statue on display in this contribution, the *Egyptian Woman* (1912), now in the National Gallery, Ljubljana, is a daring theme, very much in the direction of the new solutions Napotnik was striving for – with the aim of becoming independent, different, original. He was strongly inclined to abandon superfluous pathos, but needed critical approval to become more assured in his search. He was baffled by the neoclassical handling of sculpture, such as that practised by Ivan Meštrović (1883-1962), then one of the leading masters in statuary art, as well as being an outstanding personality of his time: his stature, it seems, unconsciously affected Napotnik, both attracting his attention and repelling him creatively.[9]

In 1914 Napotnik exhibited at the Viennese exhibition at the Künstlerhaus. From this point on we can see how artistic, as well as private networks and connections were to influence him. At this point Adolf Loos comes into the picture; he was one of the city's major architects, and went on to play a pivotal role in Napotnik's professional career as a sculptor. Vienna, of course, in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, was the centre of a great and rich (but declining) empire that was witnessing a remarkable flowering of creativity in all the arts, with much interconnectedness between them. Both Napotnik and Loos were caught up in this excitement.

Adolf Loos, born in Brno in 1870, comes over, above all, as an enigmatic and contradictory figure, whose field of critical thought encompassed the whole of Viennese daily life. At the first Viennese Exposition of Arts held in Vienna, Loos acquired *Guerrier*, an extremely controversial work by the young expressionist Oscar Kokoschka, who became a loyal friend and created some remarkable portraits of the architect.[10] In the years that followed, Loos acquired a reputation as a critic of functional objects and, above all, as a designer of interiors. Two of Napotnik's works attracted Loos – *Egyptian Woman* and *Boy on a Tortoise* – both of which aroused lively interest when exhibited at the Künstlerhaus.[11] Loos bought

[8] Jenko 2006: 31-32.
[9] Jenko 2006: 32.
[10] For more on Loos, see, e.g., Masheck 2013; Gravagnuolo 1995.
[11] Most unfortunately, *Boy on a Tortoise* is now lost and we have only a black-and-white photograph of the statue.

them both. The artist and collector became close acquaintances, and it was Loos who persuaded Napotnik to devote himself completely to sculpture.[12] This was a significant boost for Napotnik, as Vienna had many excellent sculptors who were also exhibiting at that time.

The story behind Napotnik's statue of the Egyptian woman is an interesting one. While the sculptor was living in Vienna he saw children playing in front of the City Hall, including on roller skates; in particular, he noticed the form and balance of one girl. He recounted this episode in a letter to his close friend, the director of the National Gallery in Ljubljana, Karel Dobida.[13]

The young sculptor, exploring ways to express himself, designed a woman standing on two turtles in a wide, bold step, stretching her arms beside her body, and directing her head away from from the flow of the motion. The woman's body is sheathed in a translucent veil, which, around the head and neck, creates a frame of loose folds. The stronger, completely vertical direction of movement is formed through the axis of her body. The Egyptian's pose is rigid, the body lean and muscular; the head is emphasised in a classical sense of dysfunction, expressing primalness and self-confidence. The *Egyptian Woman* undoubtedly emerges as a sort of silent, sculptural confrontation with the Croatian artist Ivan Mestrović, who at that time dominated the tastes of Viennese artistic circles. The female statue echoes the classical tradition of depicting the Egyptian female form. In Napotnik's new expression, we see a turn in the hips. Napotnik lived in an environment where a fascination with the art of ancient Egypt was everywhere, seeming to transcend generation, gender, and the degrees of exposure to art and art history. Indeed, the fact that pyramids and mummies had become iconic images of popular culture apparently did not diminish, but rather heightened the public's desire to see original works of Egyptian art: Napotnik took his opportunity, observing the statues in the Egyptian collection of the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna.

The turtles provide a rather unusual adjunct, as stepping stones; here they represent mankind – human and cosmic – with the shell, shaped like the dome of the sky, linking it to the heavenly sphere, while the underneath is horizontal as the land, and altogether a symbol identifying the universe. In addition, the turtle's stubborn bulk, with the idea of force, driven by its four short and powerful legs,

[12] Loos bought the *Egyptian Woman* for 100 kron, as Napotnik wrote in his memoirs (Fond D National Gallery, Ivan Napotnik Varia).

[13] Jenko 2006: 33. A very important role in the sculptor's life was played by Karel Dobida, who was for many years a committee member of the National Gallery Association and later director of the National Gallery in Ljubljana. From the sculptor's rather abrupt reputation with the wider world, it can be concluded that he was a rather reserved and mistrusting individual, consequently his preserved correspondence with Dobida can serve as an interesting basis for research. Their friendship probably began around 1920; the first letter was written in Budapest, where Napotnik lived and worked.

reminiscent of temple columns, gives the creature its significance as 'Cosmophore' – bearer of the world.[14] It seems that when creating this work, the sculptor was inspired both by the current *Secession* movement and his exceptionally dry wit. More concretely, he found inspiration in *Secession* architecture, especially the new building notoriously referred to as the 'Golden Cabbage'. Opened in 1898, the Vienna Secession had its new home in the building designed by Josef Maria Olbrich.[15] There is little surprise therefore that Napotnik was inspired by one of the most significant examples of the style.

Almost at the same time as Napotnik created the *Egyptian Woman* he also created the *Boy on a Tortoise*. Within his personal archive there is a photograph with an inscription saying that the statue itself belonged to Loos.[16] Regarding the design, Napotnik closely followed the inspiration he found for his *Egyptian Woman*. The major difference, however, is in the modelling: here the body of the animal is connected closely to the child, integrated within the whole piece. The sculptor has succeeded in representing the contrast between the slow animal, which moves with slow precision, and the playfulness of the boy's shape.[17] This sculpture is even closer to the *Secession* ideal of clean form – no wonder Loos liked both statues so much.

The turtle motif was also used in fashion and clothing design. Almost from the start, the designers at Wiener Werkstätte perceived an aesthetic conflict between their carefully coordinated interiors and the totally uncoordinated outfits worn by those who moved among those interiors. It took the most prominent architects and designers hardly no time to try and change this and they soon came up with several new dress designs; for example Josef Hoffmann designed a dress with a pattern based on the turtle's shell.

Despite the sculptor's fragile health, in both 1958 and 1959 Napotnik prepared two exhibitions in Šoštanj and Ljubljana. Both were organised by Napotnik's friend and devoted supporter, in all his difficulties, Karel Dobida, the then director of the National Gallery in Ljubljana, helped by the curator France Zupan and the sculptor's wife Ela Napotnik. Dobida wrote for these events: 'The creative *oeuvre* of Ivan Napotnik will live on for centuries as indestructible evidence of a huge, if rarely harmonious, and very original individual'.[18]

Dobida continued: 'Napotnik's art is always real, in spite of its fantastic origins, and closely connected with nature. It is a pure, direct language of form, without unnecessary theorisation or experimentation. The music and poetry in his works are obvious, appearing as a single hymn of beauty. They are full of inner

[14] Chevalier and Gheerbrant 1995: 717-718.
[15] Borsi and Godoli 1986: 46; Skrypzak 2003: 19-20.
[16] Fond D National Gallery, Ivan Napotnik Varia.
[17] Later in his career, Napotnik designed another similar statue – *Boy on a Tortoise*, 1937, wood.
[18] Jenko 2006: 37.

harmony and rhythm, a show of health and vitality. They are truly sculptures that can be enjoyed from all sides, revealing new and interesting forms.'[19]

Ivan Napotnik died on 19 June 1960, exhausted after a prolonged illness. The *Egyptian Woman* is the only statue in his *oeuvre* with Egyptianised elements. Later in his career his focus was mainly on religious subjects, mostly in wood.

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[19] Jenko 2006: 37; *Kiparska zbirka Ivana Napotnika* (http://vila-mayer.si/zbirke-2/kiparska-zbirka-ivana-napotnika/; accessed 4 Oct. 2018).



Figure 1. Ivan Napotnik, *The Egyptian Woman*, 1912, National gallery, Ljubljana (© National Gallery, Ljubljana).



Figure 2. Josef Maria Olbrich, the *Secession* Building, Vienna (photo: Vesna Kamin Kajfež).



Figure 3. Josef Maria Olbrich, the *Secession* Building, Vienna, detail (photo: Vesna Kamin Kajfež).

FRAN GUNDRUM ORIOVČANIN'S VOYAGE FROM KRIŽEVCI TO ALEXANDRIA

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Abstract: In November 1902, Fran Srećko Gundrum Oriovčanin travelled to Egypt to participate in the First Egyptian Medical Congress in Cairo, which took place 19th - 24th December 1902. In his unpublished manuscript *Moje putovanje po Egiptu*, Gundrum gives detailed descriptions of his voyage and this contribution narrates the leg from Križevci to Alexandria (18th - 25th November 1902), specifically his voyage on the Austrian Lloyd steamer *Habsburg*. In his manuscript Gundrum notes his thoughts and observations of his fellow passengers, their interactions and events, problems with seasickness, etc., as well as his first impressions of the port of Alexandria.

Keywords: Fran Gundrum Oriovčanin, the steamer *Habsburg*, manuscript, Alexandria.

The life and work of Fran Gundrum Oriovčanin

Fran Oriovčanin was born on 9th October 1856 in Oriovac, a small village in Slavonia. He finished primary school in Oriovac and in 1875 graduated from the gymnasium at Požega.[1] He started his medical education at the Faculty of Medicine in Vienna, qualifying as a doctor in 1882.[2] He practised for seven years in Brod on Sava, and then in Romania for five. From 1894 until his death in 1919 he lived and worked in Križevci.[3] Fran Gundrum was a promoter of a healthy lifestyle and warned against the use of alcohol and tobacco.[4] In addition to being a doctor, he was also a scholar, traveller, antique collector, historian, archaeologist, and writer.[5]

In 1902, Gundrum learned about the First Egyptian Medical Congress to be held in Cairo from 19th - 24th December, and applied to take part 'as the only

[1] Tomorad 2018: 313.
[2] Tomorad 2018: 313.
[3] Tomorad 2018: 313.
[4] Tomorad 2018: 314; *Hrvatska enciklopedija*, s.v. 'Gundrum-Oriovčanin, Fran' (http://www.enciklopedija.hr/Natuknica.aspx?ID=23789).
[5] Tomorad 2018: 314-316.

representative of the Croatian medical community'.[6] Detailed descriptions of the voyage itself, Gundrum's observations, comments, as well as the occasional piece of medical advice, were given in his unpublished manuscript *Iz Križevaca u Kairo – Iz Kaira u Gornji Egipat* (*From Križevci to Cairo – From Cairo to Upper Egypt*). The manuscript is in two parts: *Iz Križevaca u Kairo* (*From Križevci to Cairo*) and *Iz Kaira u Gornji Egipat* (*From Cairo to Upper Egypt*).[7]

This present article will focus on the first part: *From Križevci to Cairo*.

Voyage from Križevci to Trieste

On 18th November 1902, Fran Gundrum began his voyage by train from Križevci to Zagreb and then from Zagreb to Trieste. It was snowing and he observes: 'the weather does not encourage one to take an overseas trip'.[8] The next morning, around 8.30, he reaches Trieste, 'this memorable, merchant capital of the Austrian empire'.[9] Shortly after his arrival he decides to take a walk around Trieste, calling in on a local hospital and post office. He includes some banal information about this important hub: 'Trieste has around 170,000 inhabitants, the houses are quite uniform, there are no monuments to amaze the stranger...'[10] That same day he went with his friend, whom he only records as 'F.K.',[11] to see their intended ship, the Austrian Lloyd *Habsburg*, concluding that is 'spacious and very well built, one of the greatest'.[12] Gundrum bought a first-class cabin ticket for 130 forints.[13]

The Austrian Lloyd *Habsburg*

The next day, 20th November at 10 am, the *Habsburg* steamed out the port of Trieste.[14] Gundrum mentions that the journey should take 105 hours – first to Brindisi in 34 hours, the only stop on the way to Alexandria, and from there a further 71 hours to Alexandria.[15] Embarking, he notices his fellow passengers from different social classes, religions, nationalities and professions, 'they can be

[6] Tomorad 2018: 329-330.
[7] Tomorad 2018: 316-317.
[8] Gundrum-Oriovčanin 1902: 1.
[9] Gundrum-Oriovčanin 1902: 2.
[10] Gundrum-Oriovčanin 1902: 4.
[11] Fran Gundrum does not state the name of this friend, only initials 'F. K.'
[12] Gundrum-Oriovčanin 1902: 5.
[13] Gundrum-Oriovčanin 1902: 21.
[14] Gundrum-Oriovčanin 1902: 6.
[15] Gundrum-Oriovčanin 1902: 6.

distinguished by their manners and fashions', he writes,[16] with men in tailcoats, 'and as for women, they feel the need to put on their most luxurious dresses so as not to be confused with the lower social classes'.[17] Among his fellow passengers, he informs us, are sponsors of the Aswan dam project.[18]

Musing, his thoughts are interrupted as he realises he now far from the port of Trieste and begins to feel homesick, wondering if will he ever see Istria again or will 'mighty Poseidon claim him'.[19] The vessel rolls in big seas, wind and rain, and our traveller soon notices in himself the first symptoms of seasickness; he is quick to give us some medical advice: 'Sit out on deck and enjoy the fresh air, away from cigar smoke.'[20] Or if this does not do the trick: 'Those who cannot sit should take to their cabin beds, putting towels soaked in hot water on the forehead until they feel better. During this, one must not drink, eat, or, God forbid, smoke! After two hours eat anything you like, but drinking alcohol is not recommended!'[21]

By the end of the day the passengers start to make approaches to each other, offering cigars and asking questions guardedly.[22] Gundrum observes them: 'This seems spontaneous, but it is not, it is very well calculated and measured. You can see in the eyes of the passengers that they want their interlocutors to know their social status, to introduce themselves. The objective is to determine whether they belong to the same social class, or, at least, if they share a profession.'[23] To illustrate this, Gundrum records part of a conversation he overhears between passengers: '"The weather is not on our side, pity!", begins one of the smokers. "Indeed", says the other, "This is the ninth time I travel to Egypt, and almost always at the same time of year, the sea is always rough, or even worse. You know, sir, I am a contractor, so I do my main business in Egypt in winter." "Ah, you are a contractor!", says the other, "So, so... well, at least you do not have to worry as much as I do, I am a banker..."'[24]

[16] Gundrum-Oriovčanin 1902: 6.
[17] Gundrum-Oriovčanin 1902: 7.
[18] Gundrum-Oriovčanin 1902: 6.
[19] Gundrum-Oriovčanin 1902: 7.
[20] Gundrum-Oriovčanin 1902: 12.
[21] Gundrum-Oriovčanin 1902: 12.
[22] Gundrum-Oriovčanin 1902: 13.
[23] Gundrum-Oriovčanin 1902: 13.
[24] Gundrum-Oriovčanin 1902: 14-15.

Brindisi

On 21st November at 3 p.m. the steamer reaches Brindisi.[25] Gundrum diligently records that the city has 17,000 residents[26] and explains the origin of the important port's name – 'The ancient Greeks called it Βρεντέσιον and the Romans *Brindisium*, meaning a deer's head, because the port has that shape, it encompasses the city in that way'.[27] Further on he provides some historical facts: 'Brindisi is the place where the *Via Appia* terminates and the poet Vergil died here. It was mentioned by Horace in one of his journeys in 37 BC. Also, most of the city was destroyed by an earthquake in 1458'.[28]

The *Habsburg* docks in Brindisi for two hours, giving Gundrum time for a walk. He is shocked by the conditions he encounters – 'There was noise and screaming everywhere, and so much pestering by beggars. Women looked for lice in their children's hair. In the streets the children collected the droppings of horses and donkeys. Sadly, these poor, dirty children earn money this way!'.[29]

As for the city's landmarks, Fran Gundrum mentions only the Cathedral, where Fredrick II married in 1225. He provides no further description.[30] Back onboard, he is surprised by the music of a blind choir, who come with two nuns to collect for the alms house. His interest is piqued by the number of blind people who came with the nuns and notes: 'The blind, says one of the nuns to me, are numerous in Brindisi, like poor beasts, many are debilitated and unable to work due to the surrounding swamp and disease'.[31] As the vessel leaves port, Gundrum, moved by the music, writes: 'That was my last greeting from Europe. The last goodbye!'.[32]

Regarding life onboard, Gundrum is clearly fascinated by the variety of his fellow passengers.[33] He notices that most are English, observing that the non-English seemed displeased as a result, remembering very vividly their involvement in the Second Boer war.[34] He writes that, although the English are 'very intelligent, kind and polite', he is wary, as 'I could not believe that a nation so ruthless could also be so polite'.[35] On the other hand, he does admit that they are interesting, especially the women, who were very keen to hear his medical advice. They

[25] It is not clear where Gundrum got that information, as he never explains it. Gundrum-Oriovčanin 1902: 16.
[26] Gundrum-Oriovčanin 1902: 16.
[27] Gundrum-Oriovčanin 1902: 16.
[28] Gundrum-Oriovčanin 1902: 16-17.
[29] Gundrum-Oriovčanin 1902: 17-18.
[30] Gundrum-Oriovčanin 1902: 18.
[31] Gundrum-Oriovčanin 1902: 18.
[32] Gundrum-Oriovčanin 1902: 18.
[33] Gundrum-Oriovčanin 1902: 19.
[34] Gundrum-Oriovčanin 1902: 19.
[35] Gundrum-Oriovčanin 1902: 20.

watched him 'pityingly, when I closed my eyes, or covered them with my hand, so I do not see them bouncing and leaning over, because I was very uncomfortable.'[36]

Further, Gundrum writes that time was passing quickly, that most of the day was spent on meals, which were 'abundant and varied',[37] and waiters were serving passengers assiduously, which is 'only fair, as the price is extraordinarily high'.[38]

As the journey continues, we hear of the islands they pass – one of them is Lefkada.[39] Fran Gundrum is moved by the images he saw that night, describing them almost poetically: 'The moon, shining golden, came out over the sea, kissing the cold water, leading all the way to the ship. The waves surrounded us like tame lions, purring gently, as if they wanted to send us to sleep. This was all a dream; my impressions are strange and countless'.[40]

On 23rd November they met up with another Austrian Lloyd ship, the *Elektra*, which was bringing mail; they found out that, on the day before, there were three cases of cholera at Alexandria.[41]

Arriving at Alexandria

'On 24th November, in the early morning, everybody was awake. We were close to our goal – on the threshold of the East and Egypt – Alexandria. We were all very excited. It is Africa!'[42]

Gundrum gives us a breathless introduction to the place: '332 BC the city was established, and it is booming, developing, even today. This majestic creation of the great Macedonian! As if Alexander the Great knew that this city would be his favourite...'[43] Not hiding his enthusiasm, he continues: 'There it is, arrogant Alexandria, centre of world trade, and in which the inexhaustible wealth of beautiful Egypt reflects itself.'[44] As they arrive, Gundrum wonders at the size of the port, with what seems like '2000 steamers from many different nations'.[45]

He also give us his first impressions of the locals: 'They are dressed in some fabric, like a long shirt. Almost all of them are barefoot. They shout, make noise... their faces are lined, like ploughed fields. The lower parts of their faces

[36] Gundrum-Oriovčanin 1902: 20.
[37] Gundrum-Oriovčanin 1902: 20.
[38] Gundrum-Oriovčanin 1902: 21.
[39] Passing Cape Lefkada, Gundrum refers to the legend that it was here that Sappho leapt to her death. Gundrum-Oriovčanin 1902: 21.
[40] Gundrum-Oriovčanin 1902: 22-23.
[41] Gundrum-Oriovčanin 1902: 23.
[42] Gundrum-Oriovčanin 1902: 24.
[43] Gundrum-Oriovčanin 1902: 24.
[44] Gundrum-Oriovčanin 1902: 24.
[45] Gundrum-Oriovčanin 1902: 25.

are disproportionately more developed than the upper part, suggesting that the animal in these people prevails. They take your luggage very fast. My luggage was taken by some servant from a local inn. Then one of my companions from the ship and I took a ride to the customs office, where they will check our luggage.'[46]

Conclusion

This section of Gundrum's manuscript not only provides an insight into the route of his voyage to Egypt, specifically Alexandria, but it also includes some medical details, as one might expect from a practising doctor. He also describes the society of his era, including habits and customs on arrival at Alexandria; describing the locals, as can be seen above, he also sheds light on some of the prejudices present at the time. Everything described in his manuscript is portrayed vividly, in some detail, and throughout we are aware of Gundrum's broad knowledge and experience.

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[46] Gundrum-Oriovčanin 1902: 26.

FRAN SREĆKO GUNDRUM ORIOVČANIN IN LUXOR (4TH-7TH DECEMBER 1902): THE SEARCH FOR KEY COMPARATIVE NARRATIVES IN HIS DIARY

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Abstract: From 25th November until the 26th December 1902, Fran Srećko Gundrum Oriovčanin travelled around Egypt. In a previous paper (*Egypt and Austria XI*, Vienna 2016) the author gave a very brief description of his voyage and how he participated in the First Egyptian Medical congress in Cairo. In his 453-page unpublished manuscript, Gundrum observed and described a considerable number of the archaeological sites in the Nile valley that he visited from Alexandria, the Cairo region, and his voyages on three steamboats from Cairo to Aswan and back to Luxor. In this paper, the author describes his voyage in the Upper Egypt region around the city of Luxor, from the 4th to the 7th December 1902. The main focus is his sightseeing around the archaeological sites and monuments in the Luxor area: the Luxor temple, the Karnak temple, the tombs in the Valley of the Kings, the ruins of the temple of Seti I, the Deir el-Bahri temples and tombs, the Ramesseum, the Memnon Colossi, the valley of Deir el-Medina, the temple in Medinet Habu, and the necropolis in Sheikh Abdel-Quma. Gundrum's diary contains very detailed archaeological and historical data about each site, with various details of the preservation of these monuments at the beginning of the 20th century. They are an amazing source of knowledge about the archaeology and history of Ancient Egypt. According to the data in this manuscript, Gundrum may be considered one of the first Croatian amateur scholars to focus on Egyptian history, archaeology, and culture. But what sources did he use for his writings? We cannot be sure, but we may make suggestions about what was available to him at the time. In his description of the Thebes area we may also be able to shed light on Gundrum's possible sources for his historical and archaeological narrative. It seems that he made considerable use of Baedeker's guide to Egypt and Sudan in his descriptions of various sites. For his trips around the Thebes area it is clear that he completely adhered to Baedeker's suggestions, but for many other parts of his diary his sources remain unconfirmed.

Keywords: Fran Gundrum Oriovčanin, archaeological sites, the Luxor region, comparative analysis of the text, Baedeker's guide, Murray's guide, ancient writers.

Introduction

From 25th November until the 15th December 1902, Fran Srećko Gundrum Oriovčanin travelled around the Nile valley from Alexandria to Aswan, and then back to Cairo, where he stayed until 26th December.[1] The main purpose of the first part of his travel was sightseeing (from 25th November to 18th December),[2] and then (from 19th to 24th December 1902) to participate in the First Egyptian Medical congress taking place in Cairo.[3]

Fran Gundrum is one of the rare Croatian scholars who wrote a diary about his voyage to Egypt and which has survived, in unpublished form (453 hand written pages) and offering a very detailed account of a great number of topics of interest to us future scholars. In it, Gundrum observes the major archaeological sites he encounters along the Nile – in Alexandria, the Cairo region, and during on his voyages, on the three different steamboats, from Cairo to Aswan and back to Luxor. His writings are an amazing source of knowledge about the archaeology and history of ancient Egypt, and from this data Gundrum can be ranked among the first Croatian amateur Egyptologists.[4]

The next sections will describe that part of his voyage in the Upper Egypt region around the city of Luxor between the 4th to the 7th December 1902.[5] The main reason for this choice – his stay in Luxor – is the great number of archaeological sites that can help us discover the potential sources referred to by Gundrum when writing his diary. According to the narrative of the diary, it seems that Gundrum preferred to write up his impressions and descriptions of the day in his room in the evenings. He did not drink, smoke, or look for other kinds of evening entertainment. It seems that each night he spent several hours writing his diary, which he probably planned to publish after his return to Croatia. We can be fairly sure of this for several main reasons. One is that today two versions of this manuscript survive: the original, of 453 pages and probably written in Egypt, which is the version used for this research, and a slightly different, shortened and edited version, written sometime later in Križevci). A second reason is that Gundrum published a small overview of his travels to Egypt in the spring of 1903,[6] and at the end of the same year he used this for his public lectures on the subject. It is more than likely that he planned to publish a substantial book before 1905,[7] but,

[1] Gundrum 1903a; 1903b; 1903c; Tomorad 2018: 317-335.
[2] Gundrum 1903a; 1903b; 1903c; Tomorad 2018: 317-329.
[3] Gundrum 1903d; Tomorad 2018: 329-330.
[4] Tomorad 2018: 316-317.
[5] Gundrum 1902: fol. 298-362; Tomorad 2018: 326-327.
[6] Gundrum 1903a; 1903b; 1903c; 1903d.
[7] Gundrum 1905.

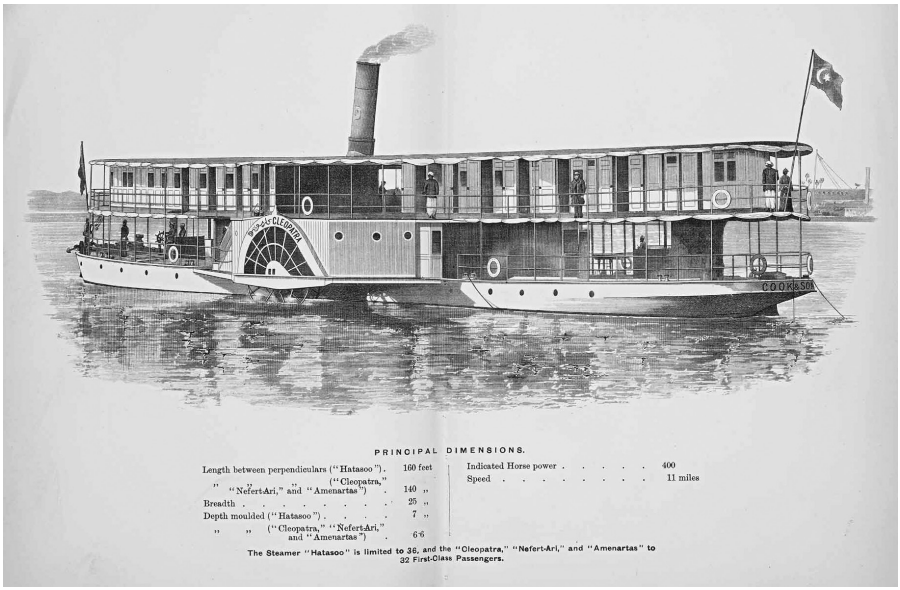


Figure 1. Thomas Cook & Sons Steamer 'Cleopatra', the same type as express steamer 'Nefert-Ari'.

in the end, he managed to publish only a short version. We cannot be sure why, but we may presume that he could not find publisher for it.

Fran Gundrum Oriovčanin in Luxor (4th-7th December 1902) – a short overview

Fran Gundrum Oriovčanin arrived in Luxor at 8 o'clock on the morning of 4th December on the 'express' steamer *Nefert-Ari*.[8] He left the vessel with some sadness, in that he had to leave his English travelling companions, who continued their trip to Aswan.[9] By 10 o'clock he had arrived at the Hotel Luxor near Manshya Street,[10] where he stayed until 7th December.

[8] Gundrum 1902: fol. 297; 1903: 86; 2003: 30-31.

[9] Gundrum 1902: fol. 298.

[10] The Hotel Luxor was one of the oldest tourist hotels in the Luxor region. It was built in late 1877 (probably October or November) in the surroundings of the Luxor temple and close to the pier of Thomas Cook & Sons. It is recommended in Baedeker's guide and was perfect for the tourists who came to Luxor for sightseeing. The hotel still exists, but has been completely renovated over the last twenty years or so.



Figure 2. Luxor Hotel, Luxor. Picture taken at the beginning of the 20th century.

Gundrum did not want to waste any time, so he immediately hired a dragoman recommended by the owner of the hotel.[11] This small man, a Christian Arab, spoke English, French and Italian perfectly, as well as Arabic, and he promptly showed our tourist the most important archaeological sites around Thebes.[12] Gundrum was already well prepared for his sightseeing: this is noticeable in his descriptions, in which he shows a great knowledge of the history of the area and its monuments. In the diary, which he, as mentioned above, probably wrote in the evenings, or while relaxing after lunch, Gundrum writes very detail information about ancient Thebes and the modern city of Luxor. We may classify his narrative, reviews and observations into groups: 1) historical references on the various names of Luxor from Antiquity to modern times; 2) the history of Thebes during the Pharaonic and Greco-Roman periods (various Egyptological sources, Herodotus, Strabo, etc.);[13] 3) data on archaeological sites and the most important monuments (temples, excavations, buildings, statues, etc.);[14] 4) various medical references;[15]

[11] Gundrum mentioned that the owner was German, but he did not write his name. Gundrum 1902: fol. 300.
[12] Gundrum 1902: fol. 300.
[13] Gundrum 1902: fol. 303-305. Gundrum texts is very similar to the description in Baedeker 1898: 227-231.
[14] Gundrum 1902: fol. 306-357.
[15] Gundrum 1902: fol. 358-360.

and 5) descriptions of the ethnography of the region and everyday life in 1902.[16] By comparing his diary with Karl Baedeker's guide *Egypt: Handbook for Travellers* (1898 edition), it seems that Gundrum used this as his main source for historical and archaeological descriptions: this will be discussed in more detail later.

It seems that Gundrum followed the instructions for what to see according to the recommendations in Baedeker, with slight variations in the timing.[17] From the morning of the 4th, until noon of the 7th December, when he left Luxor, Gundrum, in the company of his dragoman, made several excursions to the great temples of Luxor and Karnak (4th December),[18] the Valley of the Kings,[19] the ruins of the temple of Seti I[20] (5th December), the Deir el-Bahri,[21] the Ramesseum,[22] the valley of Deir el-Medina,[23] the temple at Medinet Habu,[24] the necropolis in Sheikh Abdel-Quma,[25] and the Colossi of Memnon[26] (6th December). On his last day there (7th December), Gundrum walked around town and visited the Austrian-Hungarian diplomatic agent,[27] the local hospital, mosque, and the school.[28]

Sightseeing around the archaeological sites of ancient Thebes

4th December: Luxor and Karnak temples

On the morning of 4th December 1902, Gundrum started by a visit to the nearby Luxor temple, which he describes in every detail in his diary.[29] That morning his sightseeing included: the three remaining statues of Ramesses II, the obelisk,[30] pylons, courtyard, and the remaining parts of the temple – with all its pillars and reliefs. He was impressed, of course, noting the 'lovely courtyard' and the reliefs around the temple walls.[31]

[16] Gundrum 1902: fol. 299-362.
[17] Compare it with Baedeker 1898: 225-226.
[18] Gundrum 1902: fol. 301-322; Gundrum 1903: 86-87; Gundrum 2003: 31-32.
[19] Gundrum 1902: fol. 333-338; Gundrum 1903: 87; Gundrum 2003: 32.
[20] Gundrum 1903: 87; Gundrum 2003: 32.
[21] Gundrum 1902: fol. 344-347; Gundrum 1903: 87; Gundrum 2003: 32-33.
[22] Gundrum 1902: fol. 347-351.
[23] Gundrum 1902: fol. 351.
[24] Gundrum 1902: fol. 351-353; Gundrum 1903: 87; Gundrum 2003: 33.
[25] Gundrum 1903: 87; Gundrum 2003: 33.
[26] Gundrum 1902: fol. 353-357; Gundrum 1903: 87-88; Gundrum 2003: 33.
[27] He did not mention his name. Gundrum 1903: 88; 2003: 33-34.
[28] Gundrum 1902: fol. 357-362; 1903: 88; 2003: 34.
[29] Gundrum 1902: fol. 306-308.
[30] In his narrative, Gundrum describes how the other obelisk was transported to Paris in 1836. Gundrum 1902: fol. 307.
[31] Gundrum 1902: fol. 313.

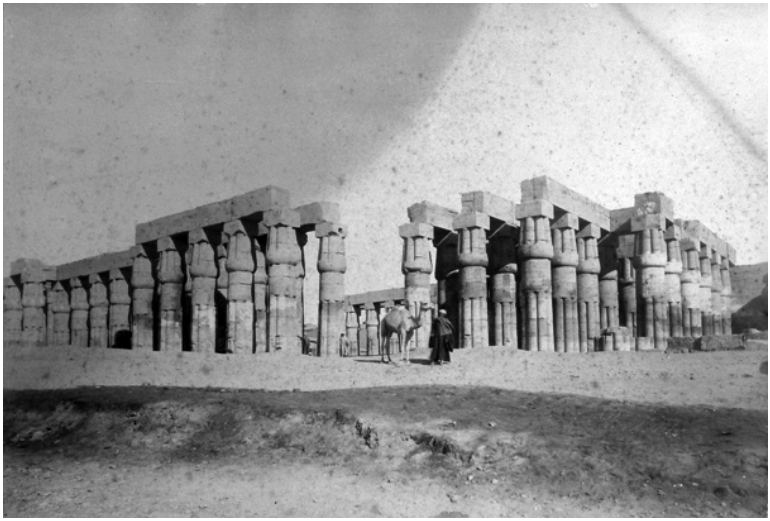


Figure 3. Photograph of Luxor temple. Taken by Antonio Beato between 1865 and 1882. *Dubrovnik: Archaeological museum*, inv. no. 1705.



Figure 4. Photograph of pylons at the Luxor temple with obelisk on the left side. Taken by Antonio Beato between 1865 and 1882. *Dubrovnik: Archaeological museum*, inv. no. 1715.

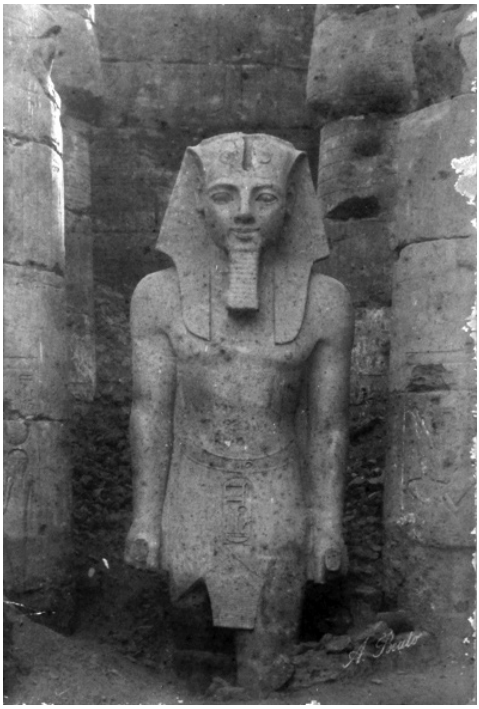


Figure 5. Photograph of the remaining statue of Ramesses II at the Luxor temple. Taken by Antonio Beato between 1865 and 1882. *Dubrovnik: Arhaeological museum*, inv. no. 1697.

After a couple of hours inside the Luxor temple, Gundrum returned on his donkey to the hotel. There he had a break for lunch and time to relax, which he probably used to write up his diary – including his description and observations on the temple, as well some narrative on its history.[32] It seems that for that part of the text he relied on the information provided by Baedeker.[33]

During the afternoon of the same day (4th December 1902), Gundrum and his dragoman went on two donkeys through the 3-km-long avenue of sphinxes, all the way to the Karnak temple.[34] Amazed at the huge temple, he describes it as 'the largest architectural creation in world history' and that the site on which the temple was built 'still exceeds the largest buildings in the modern world'.[35] He also opines that it is the most important archaeological site in Luxor.[36] His narrative about the history of the temple complex includes: imagining a religious procession

[32] Gundrum 1902: fol. 306-314.
[33] Cf. Gundrum 1902: fol. 306-314 and Baedeker 1898: 231-236.
[34] Gundrum 1902: fol. 314-321.
[35] Gundrum 1902: fol. 314.
[36] Gundrum 1902: fol. 314.

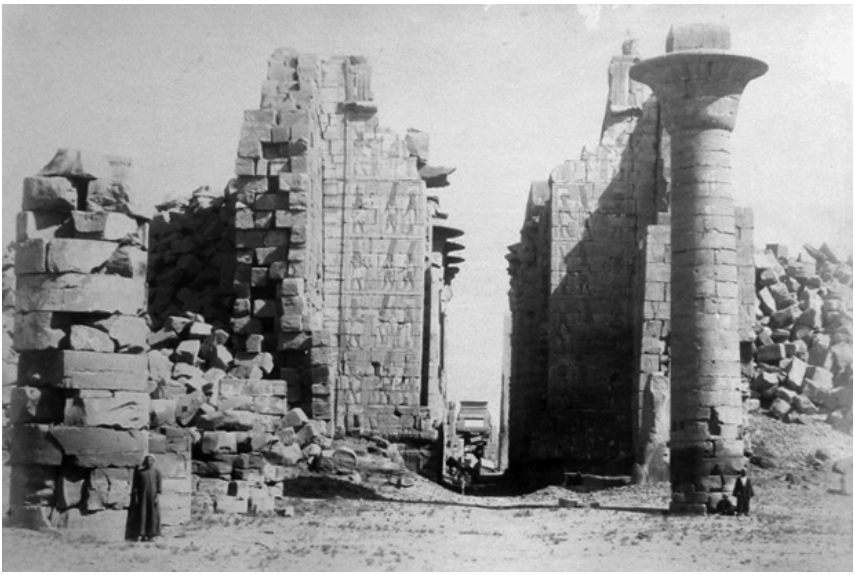


Figure 6. Photograph of the First courtyard of the Karnak temple. Taken by Antonio Beato between 1865 and 1882. *Dubrovnik: Archaeological museum*, inv. no. 1706.



Figure 7. The northern view of the Karnak temple with two obelisks. Taken by Antonio Beato between 1865 and 1882. *Dubrovnik: Archaeological museum*, inv. no. 1687.



Figure 8. The southern pylon and the part of the Avenue of the Sphinxes at the Karnak temple. Taken by Antonio Beato between 1865 and 1882. *Dubrovnik: Archaeological museum*, inv. no. 1703.

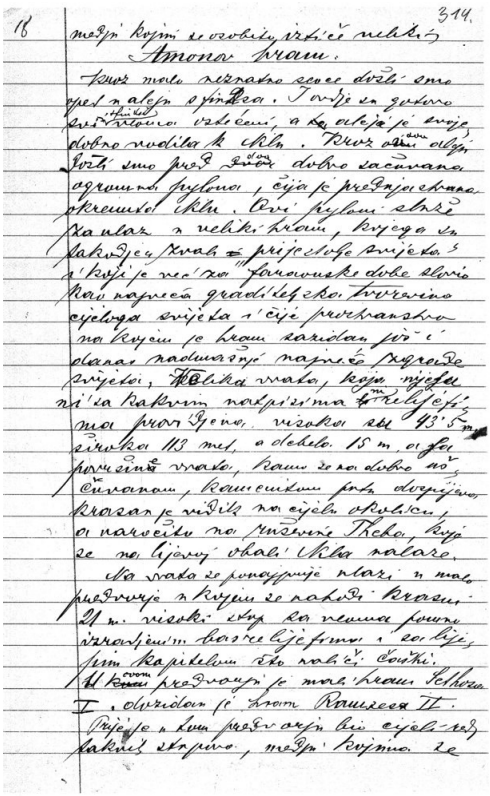


Figure 9. Fran Gundrum Oriovčanin manuscript page 314 with the description of Ammon temple in Karnak.

there in ancient times; several historical references as to the meaning of temples during the Pharaonic period; a history of the temple complex; a description of the first courtyard built by the pharaohs of the 21st Dynasty; very detailed account of the Ammon temple (measurements of each part, and precise details of various monuments, statues, inscriptions, pylons, pillars, courtyard, obelisk, etc.).[37] After seeing everything he could in the largest temple, he continued to the temples of Mont, Ptah, Mut, the small temple of Ramesses III, and the temples of Thutmose III and Amenhotep III.

After a couple of hours walking among the ruins of the Karnak complex, Gundrum returns to his hotel,[38] where he admits to being so exhausted that he could not even check the latest newspapers the hotel had from all over the world. All he could do was to sit in his large, comfortable armchair, where he stayed until the evening.[39] After dinner he had a talk with his dragoman about the next day's trip to the west side of ancient Thebes. Gundrum wanted to see everything he could on that side, but his dragoman was less than keen. In the end Gundrum got his way and they would visit all the archaeological sites on the western bank.[40]

5th December 1902

Early next morning, Gundrum was the first on the small boat that crossed to the other side of the Nile,[41] where two donkeys were already waiting for them. Like at many other Egyptian sites he visited, Gundrum was pestered by children asking for money (*baksheesh*) during their ride to the first ancient site.[42] According to the plan they arranged the day before, after about one hour they reached the temple of Sety I, near the modern village of Qurna, which Gundrum describes very briefly.[43] They then continued towards the valley of Dra Abu el-Naga. The sun was already high, and the air was very hot when they came to their next stop, the valley of Biban el-Moluk, or the Valley of the Kings: there they visited the tombs of Ramesses III,

[37] Gundrum 1902: fol. 314-319.
[38] Gundrum 1902: fol. 319-321.
[39] Gundrum 1902: fol. 322.
[40] Gundrum 1902: fol. 322.
[41] Gundrum 1902: fol. 322.
[42] The numbering is a little confused here, and ten page numbers were skipped; instead of page number 323 the text continues with 333. Each part of the text also has a sub-number, according to where he was; these numbers continue perfectly to page 27. Gundrum 1902: fol. 333.
[43] Gundrum 1902: fol. 333.

Sety I, Amenhotep II,[44] Ramesses IV, and Ramesses IX. His descriptions contain his thoughts about each tomb and the key historical facts and dates of discovery.[45]

When their sightseeing of the tombs was done, they continued their visit according to the suggestions provided in Baedeker. They took the path that starts near the tombs of Ramesses I (KV16) and Sety I (KV 17),[46] and after 45 minutes climbing the hill that separates the Valley of the Kings from the next valley, they finally reached Deir el-Bahri.[47] Baedeker recommends this path for its magnificent view.[48] At the top, Gundrum describes it as 'the most beautiful view of the whole area of the ancient Thebes', musing 'What must this neighbourhood have looked like, where Thebes once was? What was the view 3000 years ago during all the wealth and brightness of the New Kingdom, when the temples still stood in all their glory? What beautiful colours once linked this landscape and the rich, strong city of Thebes, with its 100 gates!'[49]

The next description in his diary contains the short history of the Hyksos Dynasty and the early 18th Dynasty, until the rule of Queen Hatshepsut, who built the beautiful temple at Deir el-Bahri.[50] Of note is his description of the discovery of the Deir el-Bahri cache (DB320) before the temple Hatshepsut. 37 royal mummies were discovered in the tomb in 1881.[51] After descending the hill, Gundrum and his dragoman went to a small house where they already had arranged a nice meal.[52] During lunch, locals gathered round them, offering them various fake antiquities; Gundrum, infuriated, grabbed one of the statuettes and smashed it to the ground.[53] After this incident they continued their trip to the temple of Hatshepsut, which he enjoyed very much. Gundrum refers to it as 'one of the most beautiful temples from the beginning of the New Kingdom'.[54] In the next pages of his diary he gives a history of the temple and his own thoughts on it and the site.[55]

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[44] Gundrum wrote that the French archaeologist Victor Loret discovered the tomb of Amenhotep II (KV35) in 1898. None of the guidebooks available at that time mention this; he probably read it on the tomb, or was told this by his dragoman. Gundrum 1902: fol. 337.
[45] Gundrum 1902: fol. 335-338.
[46] Baedeker 1898: 271.
[47] Gundrum 1902: fol. 338-339.
[48] Baedeker 1898: 271.
[49] Gundrum 1902: fol. 339.
[50] Gundrum 1902: fol. 340-341.
[51] Gundrum 1902: fol. 341-342. Baedeker has no information on this discovery.
[52] Gundrum 1902: fol. 343.
[53] Gundrum 1902: fol. 343-344.
[54] Gundrum 1902: fol. 344.
[55] His description is not so detailed as his previous ones for the Luxor and Karnak temples. The text contains Gundrum's thoughts on the temple and its various reliefs, requiring no sources. Gundrum 1902: fol. 344-347.



Figure 10. The entrance of the Valley of the Kings. Taken by Antonio Beato between 1865 and 1882. *Dubrovnik: Archaeological museum*, inv. no. 1716.

After the Deir el-Bahri temple, Gundrum moves on to the nearby Ramesseum. His description contains information on the history of its builder, the pharaoh Ramesses II, the battle against the Hittites at Kadish, described by the poet Pentaur in his famous poem.[56] His diary entry on the temple is a mix of his own thoughts and a description most likely taken from Baedeker.[57]

Next, they went to the tombs at Sheikh Abd el-Qurna.[58] At this necropolis he visited the tombs of the New Kingdom high officials Nakht (TT52)[59] and Ramose (TT55),[60] which were both recommended by Baedeker[61] and briefly described by

[56] Gundrum 1902: fol. 347-349.
[57] Gundrum 1902: fol. 347-350. Compare with Baedeker 1898: 277-281.
[58] Gundrum 1902: fol. 350.
[59] Nakht was a priest of Amon at the end of the 15th, early 14th century B.C.
[60] Ramose was 'Governor of the Town' and Vizier during the first half and middle of the 14th century BC.
[61] Baedeker 1898: 282-283.



Figure 11. Ramesseum. Taken by Antonio Beato between 1865 and 1882.
Dubrovnik: Archaeological museum, inv. no. 1713.

Gundrum.[62] He followed the instructions of his guide and went next to Deir el-Medina, where they visited the Ptolemaic temple.[63]

After a quarter of an hour they reached Medinet Habu, where Gundrum visited the famous temple built by Ramesses III. In his description of the area, Gundrum also mentions various other monuments (e.g. the small temple of Thutmose III).[64] After sightseeing in the area,[65] Gundrum stops to enjoy the beautiful view of the whole western valley of Thebes.[66]

Returning to the hotel, they stop at the Colossi of Memnon, which he refers to as the remains of the Amenhotep III temple; his description also contains an explanation of why the Greeks and Roman named it that way, and Memnon's role

[62] Gundrum 1902: fol. 351.
[63] Gundrum 1902: fol. 351.
[64] Gundrum 1902: fol. 351.
[65] Gundrum 1902: fol. 351-352.
[66] Gundrum 1902: fol. 352.



Figure 12. Ramesseum, view of the Osiride Columns. Taken by Antonio Beato between 1865 and 1882. *Dubrovnik: Archaeological museum*, inv. no. 1713.

in Homer's *Iliad*.[67] The technical details of these monuments Gundrum probably took from Baedeker.[68]

After a short visit to the Colossi, Gundrum continues through the local fields to the Nile, where they took a small boat back to Luxor.[69] In the late afternoon he finally returned to his hotel, very tired,[70] but also very satisfied with how much they had seen during the day.[71]

In the evening, after dinner, Gundrum plans to walk around the city streets, but just before he leaves, his dragoman and an Austrian consular official[72] knock on his door; the dragoman wanted to introduce them and Gundrum was more than

[67] Gundrum 1902: fol. 353-357.
[68] Gundrum 1902: fol. 354. Compare with Baedeker 1902: 300-301.
[69] Gundrum 1902: fol. 357.
[70] 'I could hardly wait to rest'. Gundrum 1902: fol. 358.
[71] Gundrum 1902: fol. 358-359.
[72] He does not mention his name, but describes him as an Arab Catholic working in the Austrian Diplomatic Service for 30 years (he also says he dealt in antiquities). Gundrum 1902: 358.



Figure 13. The Temple at Medinet Habu. Taken by Antonio Beato between 1865 and 1882. *Dubrovnik: Archaeological museum*, inv. no. 1710.

pleased. While they were talking Gundrum learns that the Austrian diplomatic agent Ludwig Velics had arrived on one of the steamers travelling to Aswan for the opening of the great dam; soon after, Gundrum goes to meet him, spending the evening in his company.[73]

6th December 1902

The next morning Gundrum takes a walk around the streets of Luxor. First he visits the small Catholic church and meets the Italian priest, Demotrin, and many foreign travellers from various European countries, as well as previously mentioned Austrian consular official.[74] Gundrum walks with the latter to the local hospital, where he talks to patients and he even offers medical advice to some of them.[75] One was a Polish worker sick with tuberculosis. In the hospital, with the help of

[73] Gundrum 1902: fol. 358.
[74] Gundrum 1902: fol. 359.
[75] Gundrum 1902: fol. 359-260.



Figure 14. So-called 'Memnon Colossi', the remains of the Temple of Amenhotep III. Taken by Antonio Beato between 1865 and 1882. *Dubrovnik: Archaeological museum*, inv. no. 1708.

the Austrian official, Gundrum arranges for him to be transferred to the Austrian hospital in Cairo.[76] Later he returns to his hotel, where his dragoman is waiting for him with many locals seeking medical help. Gundrum writes that he gladly helped all of them.[77]

Later that day they visit the local shops and markets, which he briefly describes in his diary. He was surprised how expensive the antiquities were (e.g. for a 1 tetradrachm coin of Alexander the Great they were asking £5, and for 1 gold Caesar coin, £35).[78]

In the evening Gundrum went to visit the Austrian official at his home. He spent a nice evening there, and even treated couple of local patients.[79] Back at the hotel, he meets someone he refers to as the famous German writer 'K. H.', who had

[76] Gundrum 1902: fol. 360.
[77] Gundrum 1902: fol. 360.
[78] Gundrum 1902: fol. 360-361.
[79] Gundrum 1902: fol. 360.

hurt his left knee while riding his donkey in western Thebes. Gundrum treats his wound, but sadly does not provide his full name.[80]

The next morning Gundrum embarks on the fast steamer *Amenartas* for Aswan, a vessel almost identical to the one he had arrived on a few days earlier. He left the quay at Luxor around 2 pm.[81]

Conclusion

Like many other travellers at the end of the 19th and early 20th century, Fran Gundrum Oriovčanin was keen to see as much as he could. The main difference between him and the other travellers he mentions in his diary, Gundrum travelled alone. With the help of his dragoman, in just two days he saw almost all the monuments in the area. He enjoyed mostly everything, and was greatly impressed with Egyptian culture and its monuments. As we can see in the descriptions and discussions of his trip, Gundrum closely followed the recommendations of Baedeker. The narrative of his text is rich in detail, thought, and historical and technical data on the monuments; some of these elements he probably took straight from Baedeker. During research for this contribution, Murray's famous guide was also compared to Gundrun's text and it would appear that he probably made little or no use of it; the sources for some of the historical facts Gundrun mentions remain unknown. He was clearly interested in many different things, well read in history, archaeology, ethnology etc., and is certain to have consulted several sources on ancient Egyptian history and archaeology, including perhaps some archaeological journals of the day. As an amateur archaeologist and historian, he probably had in his library copies of classical texts (Herodotus, Strabo, Homer, etc.) that he would have referred to.

To conclude therefore, Gundrun's diary is very well-written source that demonstrates his wide knowledge and interest in Egyptian history and society. It is to be hoped that in the next couple of years we will be able to prepare it for publishing, and, in the meantime, we may even discover some new facts about his fascinating trip to Egypt in 1902.

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[80] Gundrum 1902: fol. 362.

[81] Gundrum 1902: fol. 362-363.

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GUNDRUM'S DESCRIPTION OF THE CONSTRUCTION AND GRAND OPENING OF THE OLD ASWAN DAM IN 1902

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Abstract: This contribution is based on a passage from the travel journal of the Croatian physician Fran Gundrum Oriovčanin, chronicling his trip to Egypt from Križevci (Croatia) in 1902; the section is entitled *Iz Kaira u Gornji Egipat po Nilu i natrag u Kairo*. Gundrum stayed in Aswan from 9th to 13th December 1902, and during that time he participated in the grand opening of the old 'Aswan Low Dam' on 10th December 1902. The focus will be on Fran Gundrum's description of the construction work of the Low Dam and its opening ceremony.

Keywords: Fran Srećko Gundrum Oriovčanin, Aswan, construction and opening of the old Aswan Dam in 1902.

Arrival at Aswan

Based on his manuscript, Gundrum's journey begins on 20th November 1902 with his arrival on a steamer from Trieste, followed by a train to Cairo, then Gizeh, where he embarks on another steamer for Aswan, where he attends the opening of the largest dam ever built in the world up until then – the old 'Aswan Low Dam'.[1] Fortunately, our traveller is very fastidious in terms of writing down everything he experiences, enabling all future readers of his travelogue to imagine a clear picture of the event.

Upon Gundrum's arrival at Aswan on 9th December, he begins to journal all the information he has on the dam itself, starting the chapter with a short account of the background to the Aswan Dam project. The first concept appears in 1895, the brainchild of Sir William Willcock, who made forecasts of the amounts of water that would be required for Upper, Middle and Lower Egypt. He calculated a water need in Egypt of *c.* 3,610,000,000 m^3, to be provided by the Aswan Low Dam and the Assiut barrage, which were to be built by the same company at the same time as the Aswan Dam, according to Gundrum.[2] The design of the barrages was approved later and construction work begun under the leadership of the firm John Aired & Company.[3]

[1] Gundrum-Oriovčanin 1902.
[2] Gundrum-Oriovčanin 1902: 417.
[3] Gundrum-Oriovčanin 1902: 417-418.

Gundrum also learns about its financing and the repayment plan, since the dam was to be built by a foreign company: 'The Egyptian government will start the repayment on 1st July 1903, in a run of 60 instalments, twice a year, at £78,613 sterling.'[4] His diary also informs us that the total amount invested in the project less than £4.5 million sterling.[5]

Thus, on 2nd February 1899, in the presence of the Khedive,[6] the Duke of Connaught laid the dam's foundation stone; Gundrum's manuscript records the inscription:

H.H. Albas Helmy Khedive
This foundation Stone
Was laid by
H.R.H. The Duke of Connaught
12th February 1899.
H.E. Hussein Fakhry Pascha
Minister of Public Works.[7]

Philae island flooded by the dam

In the next sections of his journal, our traveller reveals the story behind the construction process and writes about the problematic situation posed by the island of Philae. From the start, historians and archaeologists were resolutely against the dam construction because of the ancient temple complex on the island in the middle of the Low Dam reservoir:[8] these ancient and famous landmarks were in danger of inundation – and destruction.

Some voices suggested that the monuments could even be sold, or move to the nearby, and higher, island of Bigeh. In the end there was no need for such drastic measures as the technical specialists and architects said that it was perfectly possible to keep the remains on Philae island safe, provided that a raft of appropriate actions was undertaken:[9] 'They thought that some extra layers of cement and other materials on the walls of the monuments will keep them safe from destruction and the company spent around 1 million krone to preserve this jewel.'[10] 'But, in the end, water is water', Gundrum wrote, and 'the whole island has

[4] Gundrum-Oriovčanin 1902: 418.
[5] Gundrum-Oriovčanin 1902: 418.
[6] Abbas Hilmi Pasha. The title 'Khedive' was in use until 1914, when nominal (*de jure*) Ottoman sovereignty ended.
[7] Gundrum-Oriovčanin 1902: 418.
[8] Gundrum-Oriovčanin 1902: 421.
[9] Gundrum-Oriovčanin 1902: 421.
[10] Gundrum-Oriovčanin 1902: 421.

been completely flooded for a couple of months already, and the English are saying that they will see what harm the water does first and then they will try their best to save the remains with some new ideas.'[11]

The opening ceremony

On 10th December 1902, Gundrum boarded a train from Aswan with all the others who wanted to participate in the event.[12] 'At noon, in the worst heat, the passengers arrived at Shellal railway station, and from there the open carriageway took us from the right side of the dam to the left, which was an extremely loud experience.'[13] Gundrum describes his view from that point, mentioning Philae, which was obviously flooded: '...on my left I see the water, like a sea, and from which, like a beautiful crown, the charming island of Philae with its temples pops up; you can also see Bigeh island and some palm trees.'[14]

When they finally arrived on the left side of the dam, where the ceremony was supposed to start, Gundrum complains about the wait – and the heat: 'For three hours we stayed under the burning sun, the thermometer jumped to 43 degrees Celsius at 2 pm as we waited for the Khedive to come. There was no shade there, no tent where a man could seek a little shelter from the summer heat, and no place to cool off with some cold water or a cordial. I must say, we could almost not cope with it!'[15] Our reporter also mentions that there were no decorations, flowers, flags, or anything else that might have been usual for such an important event, and he was surprised at what he saw.[16]

But at least Gundrum managed to find an excellent spot from where to witness the ceremony, right next to the most important people there. This fine view, among the journalists, was achieved thanks to some smooth talking and kindness, as he describes.[17] After three hours of waiting, Gundrum and his companions were found and saved from heatstroke and sunburn by a captain of one of the Thomas Cook & Sons steamers that ferried passengers from the first Nile cataract to Wadi Halfa and back.[18] The captain offered them some temporary shelter on his spacious ship before the ceremony started:[19] 'The cannon firing was a sign that the Khedive had arrived at the station in Shellal, and 20 seconds later the tram was rolling again.'[20]

[11] Gundrum-Oriovčanin 1902: 422.
[12] Gundrum-Oriovčanin 1902: 422.
[13] Gundrum-Oriovčanin 1902: 423.
[14] Gundrum-Oriovčanin 1902: 423.
[15] Gundrum-Oriovčanin 1902: 424-425.
[16] Gundrum-Oriovčanin 1902: 425.
[17] Gundrum-Oriovčanin 1902: 424.
[18] Gundrum-Oriovčanin 1902: 425.
[19] Gundrum-Oriovčanin 1902: 425.
[20] Gundrum-Oriovčanin 1902: 425.

In the first carriage was the Khedive, sitting with the wife of the Duke of Connaught; in another sat Connaught himself, representing the English monarch, then there were the Italian and German deputies, on behalf of their respective rulers, followed by ministers and other personalities – including Lord Cromer and his wife, Ghazi Muhtar Pasha, all the consuls of other countries, and then public officials.[21]

Gundrum now adds an aside about an unexpected incident that happened while the VIPs were on their way to the left bank: 'When the tram stopped at the middle of the dam so the guests could have a good look at the First Cataract, a few naked Nubian boys jumped into the rushing river; they swam a bit and then grabbed at some palm tree logs as the current was too strong for them, and for a few moments it seemed like the kids would drown, but then they appeared again and soon everyone realised they were holding the Egyptian flag in their hands.'[22] Just to show how dangerous the river is, the diarist adds that a few years ago an Englishman – one D. Cane – tried to swim at almost the same spot as the children and, unfortunately, drowned; his body was found eight days later.[23]

Right after the excitement of the Nubian swimmers the guests reached the left bank, where everyone was introduced to the Khedive by the Minister of Internal Affairs, after which the former Khedive just briefly thanked the assembled party, making no speech, even though Gundrum probably expected he would give one.[24] After that, the Duchess of Connaught picked up a silver trowel, approached a large stone symbolising the end of the construction work, spread a little plaster on it, and then, taking in her hand a 'beautiful hammer', as our diarist notes, she hit the stone three times. One final stone was then set in place and the construction work was officially at an end.[25]

Gundrum also recorded the words engraved on that final stone:

This Stone Was Laid
To Complete the Dam
By H. R. H.
The Duchess of Connaught
10th December 1902
In the 10th Year
Of the Reign of
H. A. H. Abbas Hilmy Khedive[26]

[21] Gundrum-Oriovčanin 1902: 426.
[22] Gundrum-Oriovčanin 1902: 426.
[23] Gundrum-Oriovčanin 1902: 426.
[24] Gundrum-Oriovčanin 1902: 427.
[25] Gundrum-Oriovčanin 1902: 427.
[26] Gundrum-Oriovčanin 1902: 427.

Later, the Khedive pushed the button of a great hoist that lifted the three doors of the three openings of the dam, and the gigantic volume of water issued with great force, and with a roar that almost deafened Gundrum:[27] 'The spray of water was everywhere – it seemed like rain, almost like a heavy fog. The sun's rays made everything sparkle on this surprisingly modest ceremony, and the water droplets seemed like tiny, bright gemstones...'[28]

Gundrum was aware of the dam's importance, but he still seems to have been less than impressed with the organisation of the event: 'Of course this dam will bring happiness and prosperity; it was magnificent what I saw that day, but I definitely paid a high price for it, considering my suffering there in the heat.'[29]

Right before the finale, he mentions in his manuscript two well-decorated and colourful boats, *feluccas*, that passed beneath the dam, and the crowd was cheering and the people in the boats started singing a song that went: 'Ya habibi, ya Muhammed'.[30]

Soon after, the ceremony was over, and Gundrum was ready to go back to Aswan, obviously exhausted by the heat, bustling crowds, and the delay: 'So, the ceremony is over, the wonderful work is given to its purpose, and we, to be honest, could hardly wait for it to end. We were all relieved that we could move freely again.'[31]

The specifications of the dam

According to Gundrum, more than 10,000 people worked on the dam, over 5000 per day.[32] The length of the dam, from one side of the Nile to another, is 1902 m; the top of the dam is 7 m in width (a railway track taking up 4 m of it);[33] the foundation wall is 272 m wide, at a height of 28 m above the original riverbed. Gundrum notes that the length of the reservoir formed is 240 km.[34] The dam has 180 gates, not all of which are the same size: 140 are 2 m wide and 7 m high, and they are located on the dam a little lower than the rest of the gates, which are also a bit smaller.[35] For the river traffic from the First to the Second Cataract, he notes that a canal, 1600 m long and 15 m wide, was built along the left bank, with four gates for ships to pass.[36]

[27] Gundrum-Oriovčanin 1902: 427-428.
[28] Gundrum-Oriovčanin 1902: 428.
[29] Gundrum-Oriovčanin 1902: 428.
[30] Gundrum-Oriovčanin 1902: 428.
[31] Gundrum-Oriovčanin 1902: 429.
[32] Gundrum-Oriovčanin 1902: 418.
[33] Gundrum-Oriovčanin 1902: 419.
[34] Gundrum-Oriovčanin 1902: 419.
[35] Gundrum-Oriovčanin 1902: 419.
[36] Gundrum-Oriovčanin 1902: 420.

This dam is able to store over 1000,000,000 m^3 of water, which can leak through the bulkheads when needed.[37] Also, according to Gundrum's notes, if everything works out the way expected, the dam will generate revenues of in excess of £2m sterling a year, bearing in mind the benefits of water control, which will enable more planting during summers.[38]

Conclusion

Doctor Fran Gundrum Oriovčanin was a most descriptive diarist of his observations and experiences – not just for his Aswan adventures, but for the whole of his Egyptian trip. This small section of his journey shows how much effort he puts into learning his facts first, and thus greatly benefitting his future readers. His passion to find out, not just as a regular tourist, but as a real explorer, leaves us with an extensive volume of knowledge to do with the way people travelled in the early 20th century. Judging by Gundrum's travelogue, which was a short review of the original manuscript and published later in one of the Croatian papers, Egypt left a very strong impression on the Croatian physician, explain why he ends his the title of his account with an exclamation mark – 'In Egypt!'.[39]

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[37] Gundrum 1903.
[38] Gundrum-Oriovčanin 1902: 418-419.
[39] Gundrum 1905.



Figure 1. Aswan dam in 1902.



Figure 2. Building of the First Aswan dam.



Figure 3. Opening of the dam 1902a.



Figure 4. Opening of the dam 1902b.

FROM HABSBURG GALICIA TO THE OTTOMAN EGYPT. IMPRESSIONS FROM A VOYAGE TO EGYPT BY STANISŁAW TRZECIAK (1904)

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Abstract: Among the most interesting sources of knowledge of the ancient Orient are voyage accounts of individuals who did not travel to conduct research, or do business, but only observed people, monuments and local occurrences. In 1903, the Catholic priest Stanisław Trzeciak set out on a journey from Cracow, via Vienna and Trieste, to Egypt. After his voyage he published an account in which he described Alexandria, Cairo, Memphis and Saqqara, Port Said, and some villages in Lower Egypt. This report, written in Polish, is generally unknown. It is fascinating source of information through one traveller's eyes of ancient and Ottoman Egypt. As a typical voyager of his era, he compared the lands he visited to home – in this instance the Galician provinces of the Habsburg Empire, with broad comments on history, religion, and human behaviour. His account is also a valuable contribution to the history of the ancient Egyptian monuments he observed at the beginning of the 20th century, giving us a traveller's perspective also on the archaeology of ancient Egypt based on the understanding of the time state.

Keywords: travellers to Egypt, history of Egyptology, Ottoman Egypt from the central European perspective.

Not only numerous travellers, artists, scientists and researchers found themselves under the spell of the Orient and the cultures of ancient Egypt and other Near-Eastern lands that were gradually being revealing in the 19th century.[1] Also, so-called 'ordinary' individuals who, thanks to their profession, and led by their interests and using better and better transport and communication means, could travel to distant lands and realise their dreams. Being aware of the unique nature of their journeys, inaccessible for the less affluent, and desiring to share their impressions and ideas on social and religious issues of the time, they often wrote diaries or reports, which were then a valuable source of knowledge for others interested in the world.

[1] Among the numerous studies on travel accounts to Egypt – from ancient times to the 20th century – see, e.g., Manley and Abdel-Hakim 2008, and from the Polish perspective, Śliwa 2012.

One such figure was the Reverend Stanisław Trzeciak, a Polish Catholic priest who at the beginning of the 20th century, in 1903, travelled from Cracow to Egypt. He published regularly extracts of this Egyptian journey in Polish in the Catholic periodical *Przegląd Kościelny* (*The Church Review*)[2]. In 1904 he made a collection of these articles available in a small book called *Impressions from a Journey to Egypt*.[3] This little work is now completely forgotten, but it is an interesting source of details on perceptions of both ancient and modern Egypt by a representative of the then intellectual class of central Europe.[4]

Stanisław Kostka Trzeciak was born into a poor family on 25th October 1873 in Rudna Wielka, near Rzeszów, in what was then Austrian Galicia. In 1898 he was ordained in Przemyśl and continued his theological studies in Cracow, where he obtained his doctorate, and then Freiburg, Vienna, Rome, and Jerusalem. In the years 1903-1905 he travelled to Egypt and Palestine, exploring the natural history, climate, geography, culture, as well as taking an interest in diseases (especially leprosy) and social issues. He was particularly interested in the history and culture of Jews and other nations of the Near East, mainly in the fields of religion and faith. In 1912 he became a member of the Imperial Russian Archaeological Society in St Petersburg, rather surprising as Orthodox circles rarely welcomed active Catholic priests.[5] In recognition of his merits in the field of science, he received numerous Polish, Romanian, Hungarian, Yugoslavian, and German state awards. In the interwar period, Trzeciak became a well-known and recognisable figure, especially among historians and theologians.[6] He also became involved in patriotic, social and educational activities, with leanings in terms of the Jewish question, Masons, communism and liberal movements that reflected the mores and prevailing views of his times, especially among the establishment, including the Church.[7] It would appear that Trzeciak was killed on 8th August 1944 during the Warsaw Uprising by a German soldier during the evacuation of Warsaw residents from the city centre.[8]

The publications of Stanisław Trzeciak reflected a broad scope of interests, among which two trends can be distinguished: in the 1930s he published studies

[2] *Przegląd Kościelny* 1904: vol. V 39-52, 132-149, 210-225, 284-298, 358-373, 453-470, vol. VI 41-59.
[3] Trzeciak 1904.
[4] Cf. the review by Ruczyński 1905: 158-160.
[5] Blombergowa 2003: 156-157.
[6] Grzebień 1983: 327-329.
[7] Trzeciak is now mainly associated with controversial anti-Semitic views prevalent within establishment and ecclesiastical circles of the 1920s and 1930s – cf. Modras 1994: 94 and Łysiak 2007: 26-49.
[8] Podlewski 1971: 134, 137, 138, 139, 140, 490. The distinction of the German Reich, a few years before the Nazi invasion of Poland, was used by Trzeciak during the occupation (he was at this time a parish priest at the Church of Saint Anthony, Warsaw) to rescue many people taken in street roundups and imprisoned in prisons and camps.

on the issues of Jewish Law, the Talmud, and ritual slaughter.[9] In the initial period of his activities, however, Trzeciak published several works that were the result of his studies and travels to Egypt and Palestine. Most were published as articles in the above-mentioned *Przegląd Kościelny* and afterwards as offprints with titles (and here translated into English) such as: 'The Bible and Egyptian discoveries and the Babylonian-Assyrian excavations of Delitzsch [Friedrich]' (Przegląd Kościelny vol IV, 321-335, 1903); 'Jewish Colonies in the Time of Christ the Lord' (Poznań 1906); 'Christ the Lord and his contemporaries' (Poznań 1905); 'Literature and religion of Jews in the time of Christ the Lord' (Warsaw 1911); 'Natural development of Christianity from other religions or theories of Andrzej Niemojewski in the light of science' (St. Petersburg 1912).[10] These publications show that although Trzeciak's range of historical interests was focussed on Biblical and Christian issues they were not limited to Palestine and Egypt.[11]

Impressions from a Journey to Egypt, as mentioned above, is a kind of diary – a document in which Trzeciak records his trip from the moment he leaves Galicia in October 1903. The author cites several historical facts that accord with knowledge at that time, including archaeological discoveries, and broadly gives his impressions of the current situation in Egypt and the East, as well as his homeland, Habsburg Galicia. As previously mentioned, the series of articles Trzeciak wrote for *Przegląd Kościelny* appeared in a small book published by the firm of St Wojciech, Poznań. The slim volume contains around 114 pages of text, divided into chapters that correspond to the stages of its author's travels: an Introduction with a description of the trip to Egypt, then Alexandria, the route from Alexandria to Cairo, Cairo itself, Cairo with its surroundings, the route from Cairo to Port Said, and a chapter summarising the entire stay in Egypt (called 'At a Glance').

The first part is dominated by impressions and reflections of the first phases of Trzeciak's journey through the Austro-Hungarian Empire: a short stay in Vienna, the train from Vienna via Styria, and Istria to Trieste. From here his ship, the *Dalmatia* steams off for Alexandria, with stops at Dubrovnik, Brindisi, Patras, and Crete.[12] As an example of how travel was in those days, as well as the preparations and costs, a short extract is enlightening: 'A passport from the relevant regional

[9] Wołczański 1995: 146-148.

[10] For a list of Trzeciak's publications on Bible studies and ancient times, see Polska Bibliografia Biblijna 1932: 13, 19, 24, 38, 46, 55-57, 59, 60, 62.

[11] Śliwa 2019: 315.

[12] See similar contemporary reports (and this volume) by Fran Gundrum Oriovčanin, who travelled to Egypt (via Trieste to Alexandria) in November 1902 on the Austrian Lloyd *Habsburg* to take part in First International Medical Congress of Tropical and Infectious Diseases in Cairo (December 1902). One participant of this Congress was also the Polish doctor Józef Batko from Cracow, mentioned by Trzeciak in his 'Impressions' (1904: 89). For the Egyptian activities of J. Batko (1869-1948), see Śliwa 2018: 6-15.

office has to be submitted for signature to the Turkish delegation in Vienna, or to the consul in Trieste, if one wants to cross the borders of the Turkish state. A ticket for Austrian Lloyd ships must be booked a few days ahead (a week) in agencies and is bought at the port. If short of time you can buy a previously ordered ticket on board, but this costs extra. French or Egyptian currency can be taken, or gold. Money can be exchanged in the country or in Trieste on the Corso Favela. As for travel costs, from Vienna to Trieste, the fast train, first class [is] 55 krones 10 hellers, second class 41 krones 45 hellers, third class 27 krones 80 hellers (...). From Trieste to Alexandria, first class: 118,50 guldens, second class: 80,70 guldens in gold (...). From Trieste, the ship leaves for Alexandria every Thursday 11.30 at noon and arrives in Alexandria on Monday at 6 am (...).'[13]

The ship to Egypt gives the author an opportunity to present short history of Egypt from Alexander the Great to the present and share his reflections on the associations that the country evokes. It is also a fascinating insight into the perception of ancient Egypt by contemporary travellers: 'Finally, Egypt approaches, and my thoughts turn... It is a land of powerful pharaohs, a country of fairy tales and miracles, a country of early and very high culture, a country of ignorance and slavery, a real home of slavery. Everything is mixed up here, the finals come together. In addition to deep faith, so much superstition here is shown by its history, alongside the learned priestly caste and philosophers there is the later and massive ignorance. The whole panorama of memorable events is moving in my thoughts. During the time of the thirty-one dynasties of pharaohs here, how many works of art and science, how many crimes and brutalities inflicted on the people of these nations...'[14]

Trzeciak's real contact with Egypt takes place in Alexandria.[15] The city has more than 300,000 inhabitants, including communities of Italians and Greeks. There is also a colony of Slovenians, whom the author describes in detail.[16] In the city, he is struck by the confusion of Arab and European elements. He reports the tightly packed building, the clothes of the inhabitants, the Christian churches. There are observations on the behaviour and religious habits of Muslims. The author also gives the history of the city and its role in Hellenistic times, as well as its standing in the Greek and Christian worlds. For archaeologists, the account of the Alexandria Museum is especially interesting:[17] 'Small monuments from the former Alexandria and its surroundings, and in part from Fayum, are in the museum, established jointly by the present Viceroy, the association of the Athenaeum, the association

[13] Trzeciak 1904: 3, fn. 1.
[14] Trzeciak 1904: 12.
[15] On the rediscoveries of Alexandria in modern times, see McKenzie 2007: 8-30.
[16] Holaubek 2008: 263-270.
[17] Interesting data for visitors is also noted: the museum opens every day from 9 to 12 and from 15 to 17.30, ticket price 2 piastres (half krone), Wednesdays closed, Friday free.

of Egyptian antiquities and municipal board. The statue of Hercules in a sitting posture, the statue of Ramesses II of pink granite, next to his son Merneptah and his wife, from Aboukir, also Apis in granite, draw attention here. There is a gypsum copy of the Rosetta stone (...). Among the mummies here there is one of a soldier from the second century after Christ of special interest, with a very fine image of the deceased, painted on wood and covering the body. A significant number of tombstones come from the time of the Ptolemies to that of Constantine. The grave inscriptions usually end with the consolation: 'Do not be sad, there is nobody in this world who is immortal'. In addition to the images of Serapis, Isis, Demeter, Zeus, there are many sacred cats, snakes, fish and crocodiles. The gods of the Nile appear less aesthetically pleasing, but they point to naive and pious notions about the creation of the river, and the naturalistic ideas about the deity. A frog riding a fish and playing on a lyre amuses.'[18]

Apart from visiting the museum, the author reports ancient monuments preserved in situ, i.e. Pompey's Column and the catacombs. For the column, he quotes a guide, popular in his time and published a year earlier: '(...) Napoleon, whiling away time in Egypt, arranged for himself to have breakfast on the top of the capital (Pompey's Column). The greatest warriors (maybe in the world?) – Alexander, Caesar and Napoleon reached this column. Well, as for having breakfast there, the physical impossibility is clear, and here we have a mistake in the story – the guide has transferred the breakfast from the Cheops Pyramid to Pompey's Column! When Alexander was in Egypt, the sparrows did not yet sing about the column.'[19]

Trzeciak's report of his visit to the newly discovered catacombs is of interest. They were accidentally discovered in 1900 on the site of a military fort. Trzeciak mentions the catacomb researcher who died in 1903 – the Italian Egyptologist Giuseppe Botti.[20] Paying particular attention to the craftsmanship, artistry, harmony and confusion of styles in the iconography of the tombs (Egyptian, Greek and Roman influences), the author shares, not for the last time, his reflections on Egyptian iconography and religion: 'Following the historical thread of the development of the Egyptian religion, we come from the one and only god Amun Rah to the most bizarre caricatures of polytheism. As a starting point and proof of the primeval monotheism in the religion of ancient Egyptians, we can adopt the oldest known hymn to one God, Amun Rah, from who everything comes and who governs everything (...) and finally as evidence of complete degeneration of religion we can cite the above-presented gods.'[21]

[18] Trzeciak 1904: 21-22. For the history of Alexandria's Greco-Roman Museum, see Savvopoulos and Bianchi 2012: 11-14.
[19] Trzeciak 1904: 23, The mentioned guide is Łukaszkiewicz 1902: 33.
[20] Dawson *et al.* 1995: 57.
[21] Trzeciak 1904: 25.

The chapter detailing the route from Alexandria to Cairo is a brief one – Trzeciak covers the distance of over 200 km by train, within three and a half hours, not forgetting to give us the fares (first class 22 francs, 11 second). He reports the traditional Arab towns and villages along the way. Having reached Cairo, he describes it as a universal city that 'has so much contrast, so many varieties, but also so much charm.'

Trzeciak is undoubtedly impressed by the city and its history, as well as the mix of European and Arab cultures visible to him right from the first hours of his stay. The behaviour of the Egyptians often evokes associations with scenes from native regions or Biblical stories, such as the refreshment distributed by a circulating water-seller, or writing services provided on the street. During his visit to Cairo, the author wandered the streets of the city, visiting the university among other sites, even taking part in the audience of, as it transpired later, was to be the last audience of the Viceroy – the Egyptian Khedive Abbas II.

In the newly founded Egyptian Museum, above all the other wonders, Trzeciak is captivated by the mummies and sarcophagi: 'In some of them we see fear, horror, pain and convulsions, and at the same time despair. Such a one is the mummy of an ancient priestess, for example. Others have calm and gentle expressions, for example the mummy of Ramesses III. In this pharaoh, from the 20th dynasty, one also sees the high forehead, the nose and the Semitic mouth. Under Ramesses II, who was supposed to have persecuted Jews, the traces of a great, uncommon spirit are reflected, but pain and depression are visible.'[22]

Describing tomb monuments, and their biographical inscriptions, Trzeciak uses Heinrich Brugsch's *Geschichte Aegyptens unter den Pharaonen*.[23] Paying attention to the presentation of Egyptian gods, he again suggests the original monotheism of Egyptian religion: 'We meet here a nice human figure, sitting on a throne, presenting the ancient Amun Ra. On his head are two plates, and in the middle of them there is the sun. This is the oldest deity of the Egyptians. The aforementioned hymn in his honour may be the prayer of every Christian, presenting faith in a single God. (...) And here, too, with the help of historical sources, we have new proof that the further we reach back into the earliest times of ancient nations, we find the cult of a more singular God, and finally (...) we come to the traces of monotheism itself.'[24]

It is sign of his times that Trzeciak often indicates monotheistic tendencies in Egyptian religion, something that still generates discussion in terms of Egyptian beliefs. Apart from reflections on ancient times, there is an interesting observation made by our author from one of Cairo's streets: 'On the entrance doors and in

[22] Trzeciak 1904: 40.
[23] Brugsch 1877.
[24] Trzeciak 1904: 42-43.

shops you can see little dried crocodiles, or horseshoes nailed to the threshold, all allegedly bringing happiness and protection from sorcery. Fortune-tellers sit in the streets, predicting the future. However, in spite of the many superstitions, Eastern nations are pious (...). No other nations have as many temples as the Eastern nations.'[25]

Trzeciak's next chapter gives his impressions of the monuments and sites he finds around Cairo – the Mameluq graves, Heliopolis, the Pyramids of Giza and Saqqara, the ruins of old Memphis, by Heluan and Bulaq.[26] His account of Heliopolis serves as a good example: 'About a mile from this tree [of Saint Family in El Matareya] to the northeast there are the ruins of the ancient city of Heliopolis, the Egyptian Annu, and Biblical On.[27] The beginnings of this city are lost in the mythical past. Here was the capital of the ancient state, and in it the most famous temple dedicated to the god Ra. Its priests were originally monotheists, they served God who, in the mummy's rolls, is called 'Nuk pu Nuk' – 'I am who I am', they had moreover a reputation for first-class knowledge and science. Greek scholars came to them to deepen their studies (...) In 60 BC, Strabo finds a desolate city, and the temple was partially destroyed. There were priests and offerings, but they had no schools and lacked the wisdom of their ancestors. Today everything is in ruins and the remains of the walls are still visible. The goats and sheep of today's inhabitants run among them. Only the obelisk remained from the whole era of the great past, the rest was destroyed or buried under the ground. Excavations are led here by the well-known Italian archaeologist, Prof. Schiaparelli.[28] About 40 people are at work digging up the ancient city, covered with a layer of soil to a depth of 10 to 15 meters.'[29]

Apart from typical reflections on the passing glory of the former city, Trzeciak once again emphasises his thesis of the primordial monotheism of the Egyptian religion, in this case seeing it in Atum's solar cult.

Extremely interesting musings on Egyptian art appear in an excerpt on the pyramids at Giza: 'The first impressions of this miracle of the ancient world are

[25] Trzeciak 1904: 48. For dried crocodiles above doors and other Egyptian customs, Trzeciak was probably also inspired by depictions known to him from the two volumes of Georg Ebers' *Ägypten in Bild und Wort: dargestellt von unseren ersten Künstlern* – cf., e.g., a depiction of a dried crocodile above a door in Ebers 1880: 200.

[26] Heluan was a very popular health resort for Europeans and Americans, and a centre of leisure for Polish tourists. Trzeciak (1904: 79) mentions one famous Polish guesthouse the 'Villa Wanda', managed by Wanda Bilińska de domo Bobrowska, that ran from 1900 to 1931 – cf. Hoff 2016.

[27] Matareya was also a popular pilgrimage centre for Polish and other European Christians – Kaczmarek 2013: 987-999.

[28] On Ernesto Schiaparelli and his excavations at Heliopolis between 1903 and 1906, see Sbriglio and Ugliano 2015: 278-293.

[29] Trzeciak 1904: 60-61.

tinged with some disappointment. Yes, the pyramids, and almost all of the original Egyptian art, astonish us by their enormous size. We admire the extraordinary durability of the material, and the labours of the thousands of workers. You can find brilliance in Greek or Roman art, but we do not find it in Egyptian art at all. Their art, as their history, is thoroughly slavish. Not only people, but even their own gods have monotonous, well-defined, slavish forms. There is no life in them; more like mummies than living beings. Only the Greeks, learning from the Egyptians, gave art a sense of imagination, thought and life. Although Sumerian art for seven or six thousand years before Christ was highly developed, its influence cannot be seen on the Egyptians.'[30]

Trzeciak visits the interior of the pyramid of Khufu (at a cost of 2.60 francs), eschews the opportunity to climb to the top. He recalls the commonly known passage from Herodotus on the construction of pyramids and adds his own reflections: 'This desire for life, this fear before death was the leading principle in the construction of the pyramids. Although we do not see any higher thought, and we must be indignant at the means of their construction, we must consider the goal to be sublime, and sympathetic, resulting from the deepest feelings of the spirit. But the goal itself never sanctifies the means. According to others, referring to the Hindu Brahmins, the pyramids served as temples (...) According to these assumptions, they used pyramids in their worship of stars.'[31]

A longish passage is devoted to Memphis, i.e. the modest remains of the city in the village of Mit Rahine: 'Crossing the bridge at Bedraschen, through the palm forest, we arrived at the village of Mit Rahine. All this space was once probably the city's territory. Here, in 1888, a granite statue of Ramesses II was found. This colossus is 8 m long, lying on the ground in an open field, and next to it its crown, 2 m long. On the shoulders, armlets, on the chest and on the waist, the name of the king is engraved. A few minutes from here is another colossus. If they could speak, they would tell many stories about fleeting glory and all earthly things. Formerly they stood proud, commanding respect at the entrance to the magnificent temple, today one of them lies in a field, the other (...) is mute in a clay shed without a roof. It was found in 1820. Herodotus reports that it was 30 cubits high [13 m]. Currently, without legs, placed on the ground; one goes up some stairs and a few people can walk comfortably on it, the ear itself is half a metre long. He has a dagger in his belt. On the belt and the right arm are names of Ramesses II. Next to it are several pieces of ancient monuments. The expression on both faces is gentle, slightly smiling. Fashioned extremely carefully, even in the most delicate features.'[32]

[30] Trzeciak 1904: 67.
[31] Trzeciak 1904: 68.
[32] Trzeciak 1904: 72-73.

Later again, Trzeciak focuses on Egyptian art, indicating very interesting parallels with Christian iconography: '[Let us] look at classical Egyptian art. Shadow, colour selection, and perspective were not known here, but it was remarkably able to present their thoughts visibly. At the same time, this naive simplicity has been preserved (...) In this respect, Egyptian art surpasses modern art. The similarity between the new Art Nouveau and Egyptian art during its heyday is greatly evident. As to the choice of content, Egyptian naive naturalism, and a certain idyllicism can be seen. We often witness everyday life in all its forms, with its activities and pastimes. Everything is based on domestic life or nature. For example, the farmer rides his cattle through water in one relief, or carries a small calf on his back. This rendering of the good shepherd, in a spiritual sense, is like our Christ the Lord.'[33]

The last stage of the trip for Trzeciak is the route from Cairo to Port Said, via Suez. This distance and time for the author provide an occasion for a series of associations and observations related mainly to Biblical stories. Thus the land of Goshen for the author is the place of captivity of the Jews, 'a colony of Jacob's sons during their stay in the lands of the Pharaoh', and the 'Great Bitter Lake' with the Red Sea gives the route of the Exodus from Egypt. Trzeciak was especially interested in the history of Jews in Egypt – first at the time of the Exodus.[34] He compares various hypotheses for and against the reconstruction of traces of 'Egyptian captivity', concluding: 'For these reasons, I consider working with current scientific data to describe the way of Jews through the desert to be largely equal to the task of Sisyphus.'[35]

Trzeciak's impressions of a visit to the ruins of Bubastis, near Zaqazik, are insightful: 'However, among the ancient monuments the most treasured must be the granite column that bears the name of Ramesses II, and the sobriquet the "Favourite of the mighty Seth, the son of Nut". According to Ebers, Sethon (Typhon) is equivalent to the Semitic Baal, and every city in which the Pharaoh is referred to as "beloved by Seth" can be considered a Semitic colony. Herodotus admired this beautiful city and its magnificent temple, dedicated to the goddess Sechet. Hundreds of thousands of pilgrims have been here every year, in a state of abandon, devoting themselves to wild licentiousness during sacrifices. Today, only boulders remain from the temple, and only pieces of brick and pots are found among the ruins of the old city. However, just like in antiquity, thousands of pilgrims from distant regions still meet here today, with the difference that they stop here only on their pilgrimage to Mecca.'[36]

[33] Trzeciak 1904: 76-77.
[34] Trzeciak 1903: 321-335.
[35] Trzeciak 1904: 94.
[36] Trzeciak 1904: 83-84 and cf. also Ebers 1879: 112.

Trzeciak's last contact with Egyptian soil is at Port Said. He writes: 'The city itself does not represent anything special. It only strikes a terrifying moral foul, the worse it is widespread among children. The moral savagery here passes all boundaries. The heart breaks when you see a whole mass of workers half-dressed and completely neglected morally. Their appearance is probably more than wild. They do not think about anything more for themselves as to satisfy the instincts of nature and nobody thinks about them otherwise, as if they only use them or abuse them for work.[37]

The last chapter – 'Impressions' – contains general reflections on contemporary Egypt which illustrate well the perception of world, politics and individual nations. The author clearly dislikes the Turks, believing that everywhere they rule the culture, and the country as a whole, cease to develop. He observes the English present in Egypt as administrators, watching their interests. He does not especially like the Greeks, seeing them as the main opponents of the Catholic Church. The author cares for the fate of the Arabs, the Egyptians, chronicling the unfair treatment and poor living conditions. When referring to ancient traditions Trzeciak notes: 'In general, comparing the way of life and work of today's Egyptian peasants with the paintings on the walls of the pyramids and ancient graves, a complete resemblance can be seen between them.'[38]

He also makes interesting observations about the economy and social behaviour: 'The way of collecting taxes is also characteristic. Ancient graves depict soldiers pulling a peasant by the head to the tax office. The poor man resists with all his strength, but the two tormentors pull him, and the third man rushes in. Today, taxes are still one of the plagues for an Egyptian farmer. Suicides are not known at all here. The gentle nature of the people is reflected in their proverbs: "A man of gentle nature makes himself and others happy", "Patience is the key to pleasure"'.[39]

In his last sentence, the author concludes: 'Thus Egypt gives us many teachings and warnings, but at the same time the country requires a lot of help from us.'[40]

Thus, Stanisław Trzeciak paints a personal picture of Egypt at the beginning of the 20th century, including several glimpses of ancient Egypt. For him Egypt is primarily a Biblical country, a place that featured also in the history of Christianity. Our author was a good observer and in particular his extensive knowledge and erudition deserve to be emphasised. In terms of the state of contemporary Egyptological knowledge, the author is well-read. He critically comments on the stories he has heard and tries to verify all he can. Trzeciak observes Egypt

[37] Trzeciak 1904: 95.
[38] Trzeciak 1904: 103.
[39] Trzeciak 1904: 110.
[40] Trzeciak 1904: 114.

with interest, and his journey was an opportunity for him to share his reflections on culture, religion, education, and health. He also shows some archaeological appreciation, drawing attention to detail. He is particularly interested in art and religion, seeking, and repeatedly stressing, the monotheistic sources. For the readers of his generation, who knew Egypt only from Biblical stories, the picture painted by Trzeciak greatly expanded their horizons, and for modern readers it is a meaningful insight into the psychology and understanding of travellers at the beginning of the 20th century.

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Figure 1. Rev. Stanisław Trzeciak (1873-1944) in 1936
(Narodowe Archiwum Cyfrowe w Warszawie/National Digital Archives in Warsaw, no. 1-A-747).

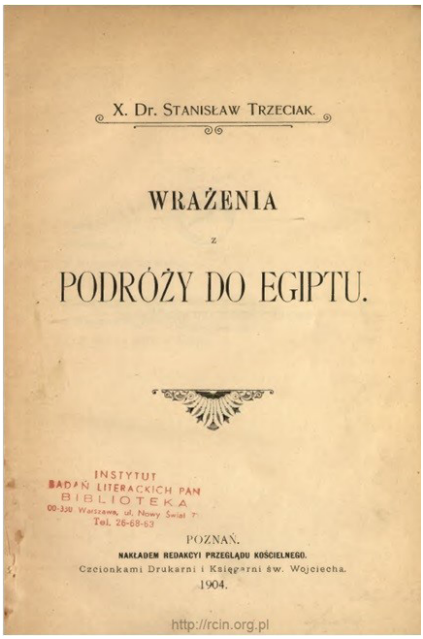


Figure 2. *Wrażenia z podróży do Egiptu/ Impressions from a voyage to Egypt* by Stanisław Trzeciak, 1904, title page (www.rcin.org.pl).

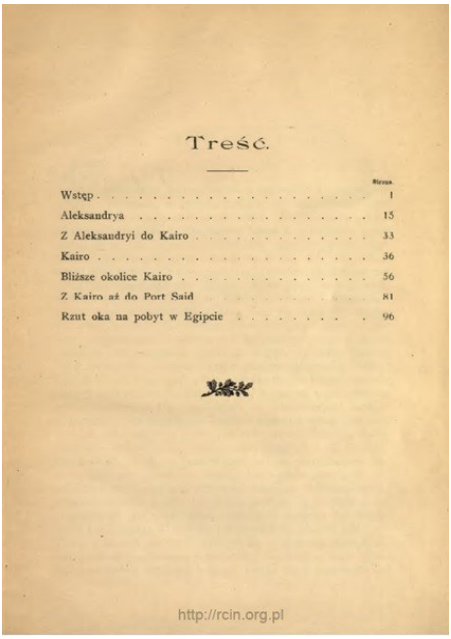


Figure 3. *Wrażenia z podróży do Egiptu/ Impressions from a voyage to Egypt* by Stanisław Trzeciak, 1904, list of contents (www.rcin.org.pl).

KAREL PEČNIK: A SLOVENIAN PHYSICIAN IN EGYPT

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Abstract: Dr Karel Pečnik was born in Carinthia in 1867. After studying medicine in Vienna and Dresden he focused on tuberculosis. He came to know Egypt by accompanying his patients there for climate therapy. In 1895 he settled in Alexandria, established his medical practice, and remained in Egypt for 16 years. His findings on the local climate and tuberculosis were quoted in medical textbooks. He also became much involved socially, including the foundation of the society 'Slovenian Palm on the Nile'. In various Slovenian newspapers he published articles on Egypt, dealing with its present and past, and strongly advocating exports of Slovenian goods to Egypt. In 1911 he returned to Slovenia and practised there. Upon retirement he moved to Vienna, where he died in 1936.

Keywords: Karel Pečnik; Egypt and Slovenia; Egypt in the early 1900s.

Introduction

The European colony living and working in Egypt at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries included many medical doctors.[1] The present paper is dedicated to the Slovenian physician Karel Pečnik (1867-1936), an extremely versatile man with many talents and interests, who was among their number.

Early life

Karel Pečnik was born into a peasant family in the Carinthian village of Leše, near Št. Jakob v Rožu (Lessah bei St. Jakob in Rosental) on 1st September 1867. Regarding his later work and achievements, it is interesting to mention that on his mother's side he was a nephew of three prominent figures of the time: the well-known Slovenian literary scholar and linguist Anton Janežič, author of a Slovenian language grammar (1854) that remained in use for about 60 years; Valentin Janežič, a medical doctor and chief staff surgeon, who is acknowledged as the founder of a mutual savings bank for peasants (Št. Jakob v Rožu 1872), the first of its kind in today's Austria and Slovenia; and Simon Janežič, editor and later one

[1] Lehnert 2018: 209-217.

of the managers of the still-operating Carinthian Mohorjeva družba/Hermagoras Publishing House.[2]

It might be imagined that Karel, by talent and/or family tradition, inherited or absorbed these interests and abilities, as he was later in his life active in the fields of medicine, language and linguistics, economics, as well as writing and publishing. In the present paper, linguistic affinities are just briefly noted, the main focus being on medicine, writing and publishing, the latter being interweaved somewhat with his economic ideas, suggestions and proposals.

The young Karel attended secondary school in Celovec (Klagenfurt). Owing to his language gifts he was strongly encouraged to pursue studies in this direction. However, he decided to enrol in the medical faculty in Vienna, studied there, but graduated in Dresden. Although his career choice might have come as a surprise to his secondary school teachers, from today's perspective a much bigger surprise is that in 1890, i.e. presumably soon after his graduation, Pečnik published a textbook entitled *Praktisches Lehrbuch der Slovenischen Sprache für den Selbstunterricht* (*Practical Textbook of Slovenian Language for Self-learning*).[3] No less astonishing is the fact that since the first issue in 1890 the book was reprinted no less than five times (1899, 1905, 1911, 1916 and 1919). Although there is a possibility[4] that he might have also enrolled in the Faculty of Arts (which might help explain his book) this is not confirmed.

At the time when Pečnik began his medical career, tuberculosis was a huge medical problem. Although the causative organism was then already identified, the therapeutic options remained severely limited: climate therapy being one of the few. These challenges attracted the young doctor and in 1894 he joined the newly established sanatorium of Otto von Guggenberg in Bressanone (Brixen), South Tyrol.[5]

At that period, many wealthy patients with tuberculosis complemented their climate therapy, undergone at various European locations, including the von Guggenberg sanatorium, by a winter sojourn in the South – Egypt being one of the destinations. Such patients were at times escorted by their doctors. It seems that Dr Pečnik first got to know the 'land of the pharaohs' in this way, by accompanying his patients there.[6]

[2] Sturm-Schnabl 2016: 549-551/1039.
[3] Pečnik 1890.
[4] Jutro 1936: 3-4.
[5] Hribovšek 1987: 191.
[6] Hribovšek 1987: 193.

Egyptian years

The country obviously attracted him, and in 1896 he settled in Alexandria, opening his practice at 15, Ramleh Boulevard. This is confirmed by a notice in the newspaper *Slovenski narod* of May 1896 reporting that '... on the 2nd of May quite a few South Slavs gathered in the apartment of the city physician Dr Pečnik to discuss the organisation of a Slovenian-Croatian singing choir... the choir was established... Now we already have an extended Slovenian-Croatian aid society, the choir and in a few years, we are considering a Slovenian-Croatian school...'[7] The notice went on to report on the ongoing cholera epidemic and foreigners fleeing the land, and other events. It is signed 'Cheops Redivivus' and was most probably written by Pečnik himself. This assumption is supported by the fact that during his 15 years in Egypt he wrote several articles for various Slovenian newspapers. At the same time, the above-mentioned meeting heralds the beginning of Pečnik's active social engagement during the period.

It seems appropriate to discuss Pečnik's activities in Egypt in two broad, yet also overlapping areas: medical work, and writing/publishing and social activities.

Medical work

As well as his regular medical practice, Pečnik studiously researched the Egyptian desert climate and its potential within the field of tuberculosis therapy. He performed precise and long-term measurements of air and sand temperatures, as well as other factors. From the medical standpoint he also noted that Bedouins did not fall sick with tuberculosis while living in their everyday surroundings and in their tents. Based on these findings and insights he developed his own approach to the treatment of tuberculosis (he named it 'bedouinism'), leading to the establishment of a 'tent sanatorium' in Ramleh near Alexandria. This sanatorium consisted of special 'bedouin-like' tents built to serve as therapeutic units for the patients.

The results of these engagements were twofold. On one hand, Pečnik reported on his observations and findings at a medical congress in Berlin in 1899[8] and published a book entitled *Klimatische Wüstenkuren* in the same year.[9] His writings attracted the attention of the medical community, as evidenced by the fact that they are quoted in at least two extensive contemporary medical textbooks.[10,11]

[7] *Slovenski narod*, 16 May 1896: 4.
[8] Pečnik, 1899: 699.
[9] Hribovšek, 1987: 193.
[10] Schröder 1904: 404; Loewy 1924: 265.
[11] Loewy 1924: 265.

On the other hand, the Ramleh project drew the attention of the Alexandria city authorities and consequently Pečnik was asked to write a book about Ramleh as a climatic resort. The invitation resulted in the work *Ramleh; Die eleusinische Riviera bei Aleksandrien in Aegypten*, which extensively fulfilled the request. The book was published in German, French,[12] English, and, reportedly,[13] also in Arabic. There were many illustrations included, as well as a chapter on ancient Egyptian history, written by the museum director J. Botti.

Although mentioning this book represents a slight jump ahead in time – the first edition of the book was published in 1900 – it leads us directly to Pečnik's writing and socio-economic engagement.

Writing, publishing and social activities

During his 15 Egyptian years, beginning in 1896, Pečnik published articles in at least seven various Slovenian newspapers (*Dom in svet*; *Novice gospodarske, obrtniške in narodne*; *Ljubljanski zvon*; *Slovenec*; *Slovenski list*; *Slovenski narod and Soča*), covering fairly broad topics, from introducing Egypt, its economic potential, the situation with immigrants (in particular Slovenians), to Egyptian history. 'Egypt', he writes, 'is rather far away from our Slovenian land... But on the other hand, the distance is not that big at all. If you embark from Trieste on Thursday at noon, you arrive in Alexandria on Monday, bright and early... It takes three and a half days from Trieste to Egypt, thus it is much closer than to America.'[14] The latter remark is typical of Pečnik: those were the years of massive migrations from Europe, including his native Slovenia, in particular to the United States. Pečnik was firmly opposed to the emigration of his compatriots to the Americas: he strongly discouraged emigration to South America (describing the continent as 'lands of misfortune, tears and exploitation'), while for North America he asserted that people who move there will very soon lose their national identity and turn English. Consequently, he recommended his countrymen to settle in Egypt, saying that 'Slovenian settlement in Egypt is the only one that has a future... a brighter future than all American-Slovenian colonies together... For Slovenians ever to have a permanent colony, the destinations must be Alexandria and Cairo.'[15]

The Slovenian colony in Egypt at the turn of the century was fairly large: Pečnik reports the number in 1897 as 5,300, the most numerous among them being women (mainly from the hinterland of Trieste and Gorica) serving as maids, cooks, nannies, wet nurses, etc. It should be noted that Pečnik, along with other

[12] Pečnik 1901.
[13] Hribovšek 1987: 193.
[14] Pečnik 1902: 52.
[15] Pečnik 1902: 56-57.



Figure 1. Board of the Society ‘Slovenian Palm on the Nile’. Karel Pečnik is seated second from the left (after Pečnik, 1902: 56).

distinguished local Slovenians, did much to provide this group with a form of health and social security support.

He was also a co-founder of the society ‘Slovenian Palm on the Nile’ (Figure 1): “‘What about the social life?” the reader might ask. Well, it is quite lively. From 1895 to 1898 the Alexandria Slavs maintained the Slavic society “Unity” [Sloga]. However, as there are practically no other Slavs here, the society meanwhile reorganised into a Slovenian one, “Slovenian Palm on the Nile”’.[16]

In Pečnik’s opinion, Egypt was of overwhelming importance for the commercial development and economic progress of Slovenia. This belief is reflected in the titles of his articles, e.g. ‘Slovenians and international commerce’,[17] ‘Slovenian craft and

[16] Pečnik 1902: 55.
[17] Pečnik 1898a: 53.

artisanry'[18] and 'Potato'.[19] Despite the prosaic title, the latter was a detailed, minute, calculation-based economic study on the possibilities of exporting potatoes from Slovenia to Egypt (because of its specialist subject, the article was also published separately as a booklet). Pečnik was also a strong advocate of exporting wood from Slovenia to Egypt, as well as establishing trade ties between the carpentry cooperatives around the town of Gorica and the Egyptian market.

Despite his strong interests in economic issues and the potential benefits to his homeland of Egyptian commerce, Pečnik could hardly (if at all) be described as a typical economic emigrant: he was a well-to-do young doctor before moving to Egypt and a prosperous expert after his return to Europe in 1911. His Alexandria medical practice flourished, seeming to have attracted quite a number of foreign patients due to his professional reputation, and probably also his knowledge of languages. Besides his Slovenian mother tongue, he was fluent in French and German, most probably also in Italian, and picked up Arabic too. In his article 'At the Arab University in Cairo', in which he describes Al-Azhar University, he writes: 'From Alexandria I often have to go to the city of Cairo (three and a half hours by train). And whenever I am in Cairo, I always visit the Arab University of El-Azhar. There, excellent Arabic is spoken, which we, cultured and educated Europeans, need like daily bread. I should like to briefly report on this interesting school to my dear countrymen.'[20]

This newspaper article sits among Pečnik's writings informing his readers about contemporary Egypt from a broader perspective, sometimes accompanied by pictures or photographs (Figure 2).

Although mostly focusing on modern times, Pečnik also provided his readership with information on Egyptian history: 'In no country in the world are remnants of the old time so densely strewn as they are in Egypt. There are the large catacombs in Alexandria and the mighty column of Pompey. Cairo, in addition to the Giza pyramids, also has the pyramids at Sakhara – smaller, but no less noble. The whole of Middle and Upper Egypt are dotted with ancient temples from old Egyptian, Greek and Roman times, most of them perfectly preserved. They are followed by the ruins in Memphis, pagan temples in Abid and Dendera, by Luxor with the ruins of old Thebes.' On the pyramids, readers also got to know that they were built by the ancient pharaohs, that they were described as one of the wonders of the world by Herodotus, and later admired by Alexander the Great, Julius Caesar, and Napoleon (Figure 3).

Not everything was didactic; Pečnik liked to spice up his articles with humorous details too. He tells his Slovenian readers that Arabic often contained quite familiar

[18] Pečnik 1898b: 83.
[19] Pečnik 1901: 236.
[20] Pečnik 1897a: 526.

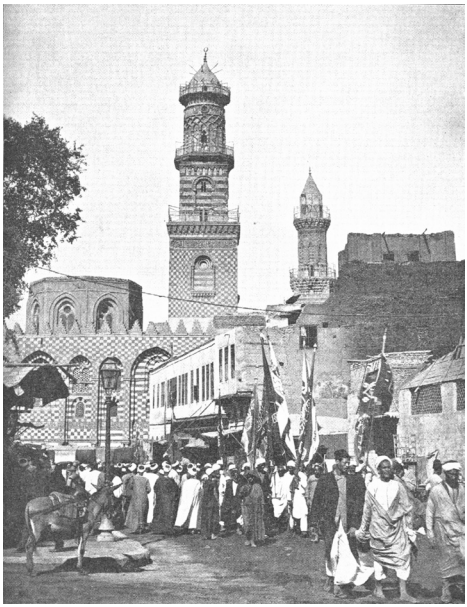


Figure 2. Arabian festivities in Cairo. Illustration from an article on the Arab University in Cairo (after Pečnik, 1897b: 561).

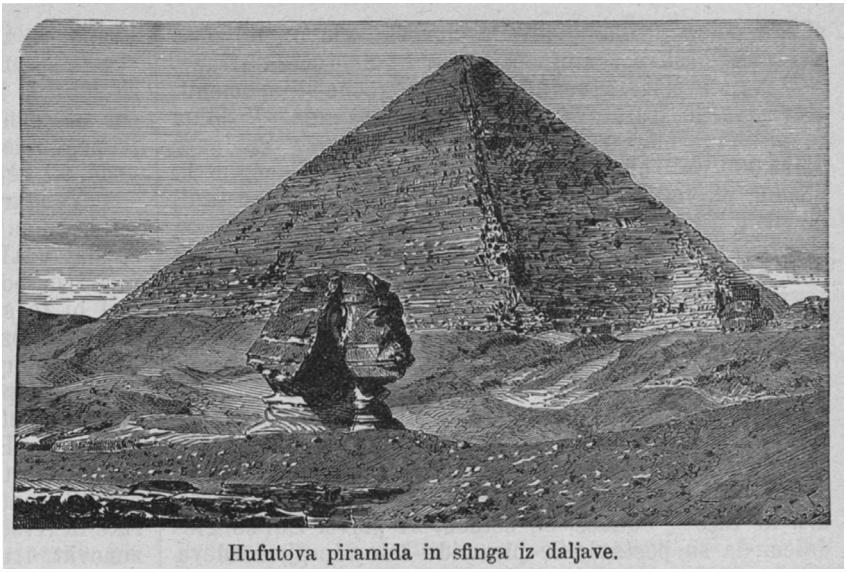


Figure 3. Khufu's Pyramid and the Sphinx from afar. An illustration from the article 'Slovenians in Egypt' (after Pečnik, 1902: 51).

words. 'Philosopher is "felasuf" in Arabic', he writes, 'and calling somebody "ibn el felasuf", son of a philosopher, is considered a severe insult.'[21] In another report he writes of a Slovenian maid who was sent to the post office to fetch some mail – 'Poste restante?' she was asked by the clerk. 'Non, catholique', she allegedly replied without hesitation.[22]

Home again

After 15 years in Egypt, Pečnik returned to his homeland in November 1911 for good. With his Linz-born wife, whom he met and married in Egypt, he permanently settled and worked in Trieste. The couple remained there until 1915, when the region became a WWI battleground. It seems that for a while he practised in his native Carinthia, but they finally moved to the newly established state of the Southern Slavs. In 1919 he published his last Egypt-related newspaper article ('The Slovenian colony in Egypt').[23] His main preoccupation now was his professional work in the field of tuberculosis, publishing several books on the disease and organising a sanatorium near the town of Celje. His interest in linguistics continued and he published a book about the Slovenian language and dialects of Carinthia. In 1927 he retired and moved with his wife to Vienna, where he lived until his death in 1936.

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[21] Pečnik 1902: 53.
[22] Pečnik 1897c: 1-2.
[23] Pečnik 1919: 1.

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IVAN MEŠTROVIĆ'S CORRESPONDENCE TO RUŽA MEŠTROVIĆ FROM EGYPT AND THE MIDDLE EAST IN 1927: THE ARTIST'S FASCINATION WITH EGYPT REFLECTED IN HIS PICTURE POSTCARDS TO RUŽA MEŠTROVIĆ

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Abstract: This article deals with a more personal view of Ivan Meštrović's journey to Egypt (as well as Palestine, Syria and Greece), in May and June of 1927, with a group of clergymen and intellectuals, a certain kind of a picture postcard travelogue, offering insights into the artist's fascination with these countries, their tumultuous history and people's livelihoods. The contents of Meštrović's picture postcards posted to his first wife, Ruža Meštrović, sculptor, painter and decorative artist, to Buenos Aires, where she was organising exhibitions of their works for the year of 1928, have been preserved in the family archive and not published so far. Apart from captivating photographs of famous sites, the postcards are also of philatelic interest.

Key Words: Ivan Meštrović, Ruža Meštrović, picture postcards, Egypt, Argentina

Introduction to Meštrović's journey to Greece and the Near East in the Spring of 1927

This contribution looks at a more personal view of Ivan Meštrović's journey to Egypt (as well as Palestine, Syria and Greece) in May and June of 1927, with a group of clergymen and intellectuals; in a way a picture postcard travelogue, offering insights into the artist's fascination with these countries, their tumultuous history and the livelihoods of the people there. Msgr Rittig, one of the party, also took many fine photographs of the journey, for example at the Ramessium (9 May 1927), showing Ivan Meštrović in front (No. 01).

The contents of Meštrović's postcards to his first wife, Ruža Meštrović, sculptor, painter and decorative artist, to Buenos Aires, where she was organising exhibitions of their works for the year of 1928, have been preserved in the family archive and so far have not been published. Apart from being fascinating images of famous sites, the postcards are also of philatelic interest.

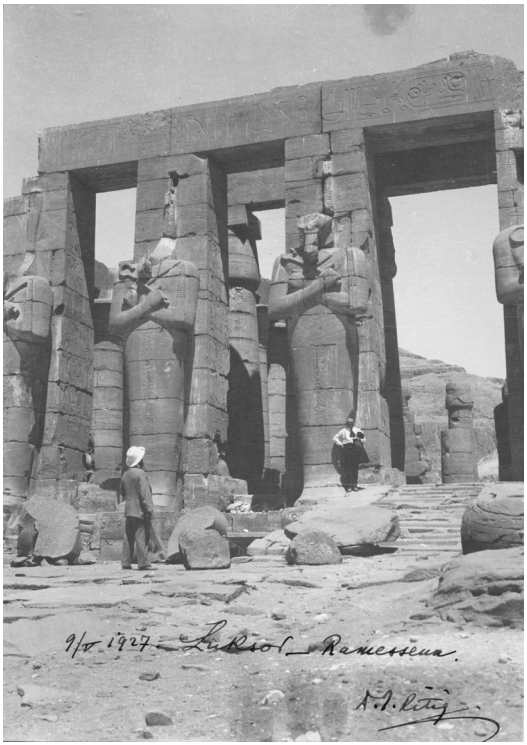


Figure 1. Msgr Rittig's photograph of the Ramessium with Meštrović in front (© Photoarchives of the Meštrović Museums).

The photograph from the 1928 opening of the *Exposicion Mestrovic* at the Casa del Arte in July in Montevideo, Uruguay, shows Ruža Meštrović in the centre (No. 02). The Buenos Aires exhibition opened in May at the Asociación Amigos del Arte, Florida 659.

Meštrović's 1914 portrait of Rodin – 'The Sphinx'

A curious foretaste of Meštrović's long fascination with Egypt is revealed in his portrait of Auguste Rodin, done in Rome in 1914 (No. 03). A year later, during his famous exhibition at the Victoria & Albert Museum in London,[1] the sculptor was interviewed for *T.P. Weekly*[2] and when asked why he had not sculpted Rodin from life, Meštrović replied that in his opinion his friend Rodin was the greatest living

[1] 'Exhibition of the Works of Ivan Meštrović', opened on 24 June 1915.

[2] 'Interview with Mestrovic, the great Serbian Sculptor', *T.P. Weekly*, 24 July 1915, in: D. Prančević, PhD Dissertation 2012 and publication in 2017: *Ivan Meštrović within the Context of Expressionism and Art Déco*.



Figure 2. Ruža Meštrović at Casa del Arte, Montevideo, Uruguay, July 1928.

sculptor, and as the latter's work would live for centuries to come, he had shaped Rodin's head on a body that resembled that of a sphinx, to reflect his immortality – like the Sphinx.

Picture postcard of the pyramids at Giza and the Great Sphinx. Cairo, 4 May 1927 (No. 4)

This postcard (No. 05) clearly reveals the sculptor's inner connections with the fascinating sites near Cairo. There are lyrical comparisons to his native Dalmatia as he writes: (Giza and the Great Sphinx. Cairo, 4.V.) 'I have been here for three days now and am talking face to face with my old friends. The heat is extreme during the day but the nights are pleasant and cool, the stars seem much nearer than in our country although there are no pyramids and tombs there ... (illegible) ... Many greetings, Ivan'

The stamp depicts King Fuad, first Sultan of Egypt and Sudan in 1917, substituting the title of King for Sultan in 1922, when the United Kingdom recognised Egyptian Independence.[3]

[3] https://www.britannica.com/biography/Fuad-I.



Figure 3. 'Auguste Rodin' by Ivan Meštrović, Rome, 1914 (© DiZbi. HAZU Digital Archives).

Picture postcard of Abydos, Temple of Seti I, 9 May 1927 (No. 6)

On 9 May 1927 Meštrović visited the site of one of the oldest cities of ancient Egypt, Abydos,[4] choosing a postcard (No. 07) of the mortuary temple of Seti I for Ruža. He tries to ignore the heat and jokes about his sensitive skin: (Abydos, Mortuary Temple of Seti I., 9 May 1927): 'Heat of 48 degrees. Otherwise magnificent. Tombs and the rest beyond expectation. I am in my element, only my white blood bothers me. Greetings, y. [your] Ivan'

[4] Today Abydos is notable for the memorial with an inscription from the 19th Dynasty – the Abydos 'King List' (https://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=177487&partId=1).



Figure 4. ‘The Pyramids at Giza and the Great Sphinx’, picture postcard.



Figure 5. ‘The Pyramids at Giza and the Great Sphinx’, back of the picture postcard.

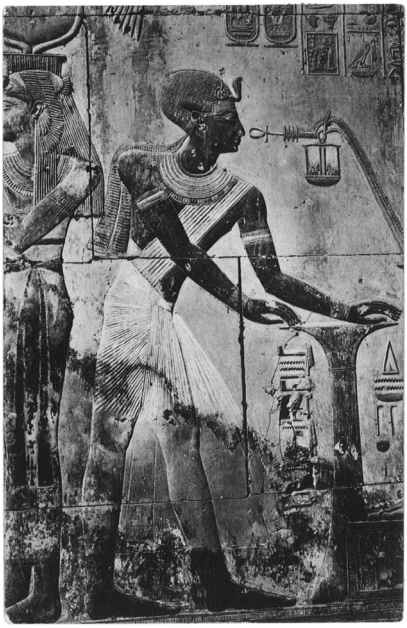


Figure 6. 'Abydos, Temple of Seti', picture postcard.



Figure 7. 'Abydos, Temple of Seti', back of the picture postcard.

Jerusalem, 15 May 1927, The Wailing Wall (Nos. 8 and 9)

The hilly parts of Jerusalem reminded Meštrović of the countryside of the Dalmatian highlands around Drniš and Sinj. The town's character itself was very similar to Dalmatia, he wrote to Ruža, and with the same stone, something which the trained eye of the sculptor would immediately notice. He was deeply impressed by the section of the famous Wailing Wall where women gathered, saying he had never seen anything as moving.

A picture postcard story from Jerusalem to the Kedron Valley (Nos. 10-14)

During the month of May, travelling across the Holy Land, Meštrović wrote an interesting account of the journey on the backs of four picture postcards (No. 10), mailing them in an envelope: Jerusalem. 'The Kings' Tombs' (No. 11), 'Tombs of St James and the prophet Zechariah in the valley of Jehoshaphat' (No. 12), 'Jerusalem. Tomb of the Kings' (No. 13) and 'Monastery in the Rocks, Kedron Valley' (No. 14).



Figure 8. 'Jerusalem, The Wailing Wall', picture postcard.

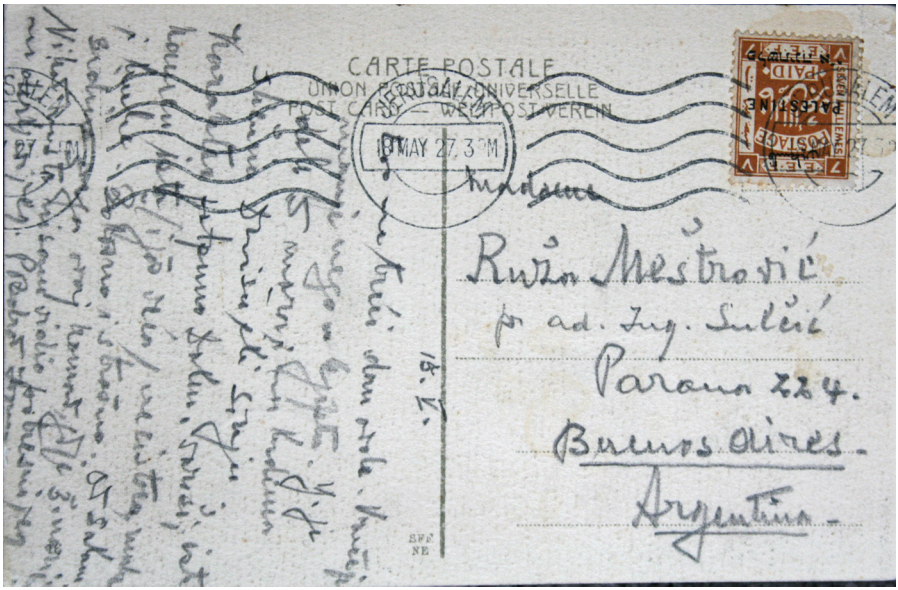


Figure 9. 'Jerusalem, The Wailing Wall', back of the picture postcard.
Beginning of the letter sequence.

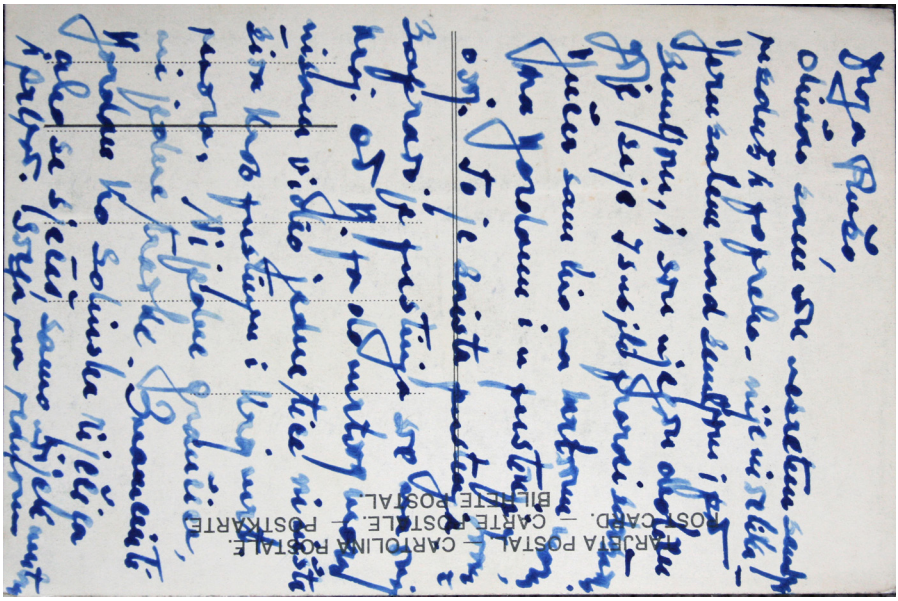


Figure 10. 'Jerusalem, The Kings' Tombs', back of the picture postcard.



Figure 11. 'Jerusalem, The Kings' Tombs', picture postcard.

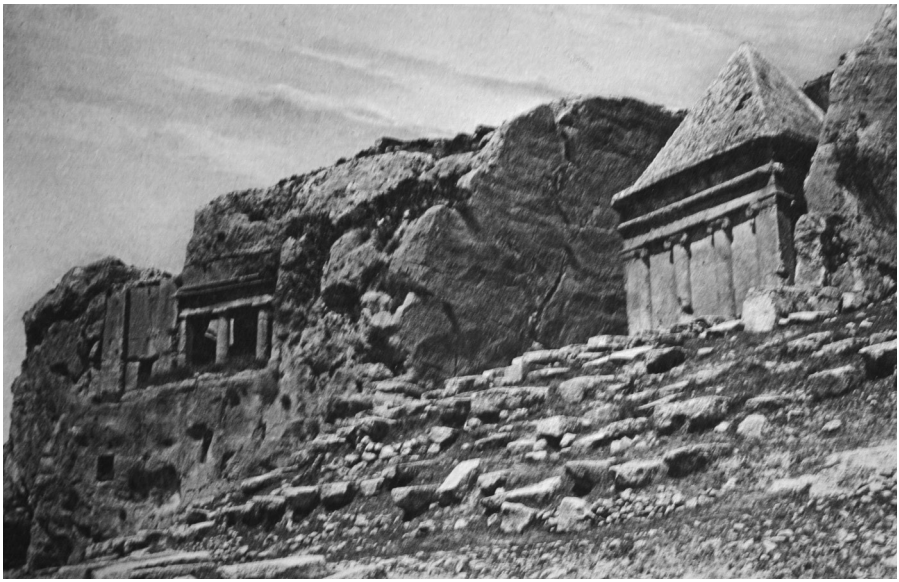


Figure 12. ‘Tombs of St James and the Prophet Zechariah in the Valley of Jehoshaphat’, picture postcard.

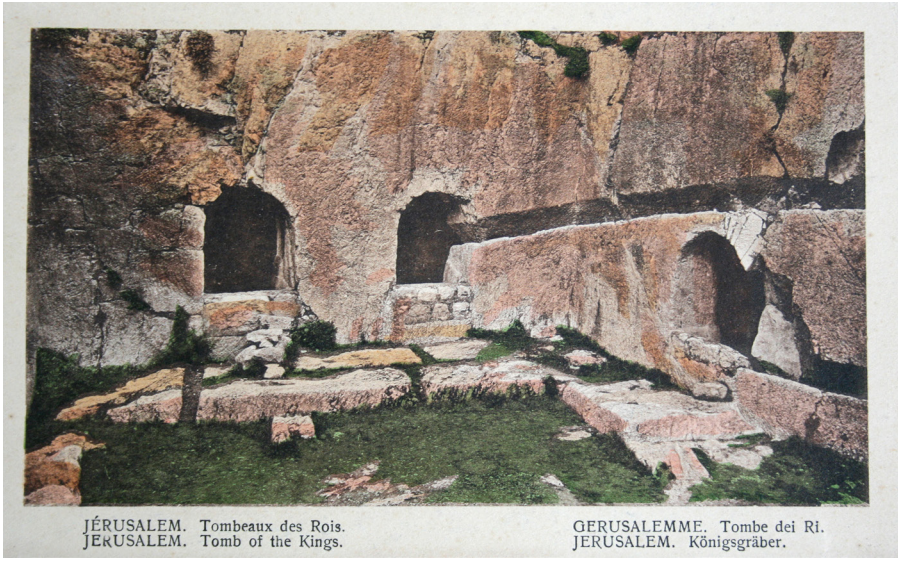


Figure 13. ‘Jerusalem, The Tomb of the Kings’, picture postcard.

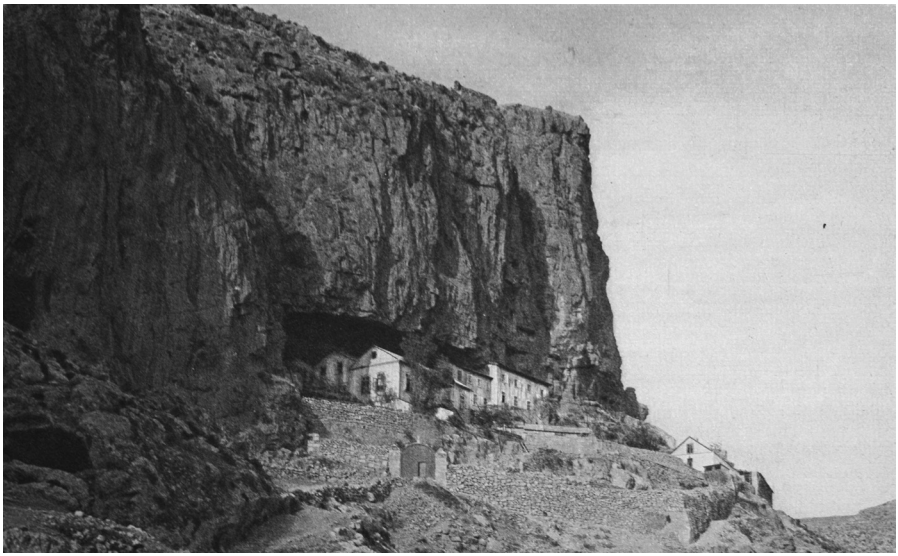


Figure 14. 'Monastery in the Rocks, Kedron Valley', picture postcard.

Meštrović visited this sad land, he noted, where Jesus and the prophets had dwelt. The Dead Sea, then the River Jordan, resembling so much the Jadro River, near Salona. In the vast desert from the outskirts of Jerusalem to the Dead Sea he had not seen a single bird, not a living soul, neither twig nor leaf. He usually mentions the temperature – unbelievably high, that time at 52° C. Early in the morning he was in Bethlehem, then Hebron, King David's residence, then where Abraham had presumably been buried and where he had offered sacrifice. The travelling party also visited David's fishpond in Hebron, and Solomon's on the road between Hebron and Jerusalem. He writes: 'This whole highland area looks so much like the countryside around Drniš, with a few sheep and goats and some grass and corn, then some olive trees and vineyards. These people have a very hard life with this parched soil and no spring water. Now I can grasp the whole of their tragedy – an intelligent nation on utterly poor land, which they could neither renounce nor live on. Sunday in Nazareth, then Syria, then Greece and then via Macedonia back home. This is the hardest part – it's travelling by car all the time.'

Nazareth, Church of the Annunciation, 21 May 1927 (Nos. 15 and 17)

Another card, sent separately to Buenos Aires, reveals how sharply observant Meštrović was, even when writing short messages: 'Samaria and Galilee more



Figure 15. ‘Nazareth, Church of the Annunciation’, picture postcard.



Figure 16. ‘Damascus, Syria’, picture postcard.

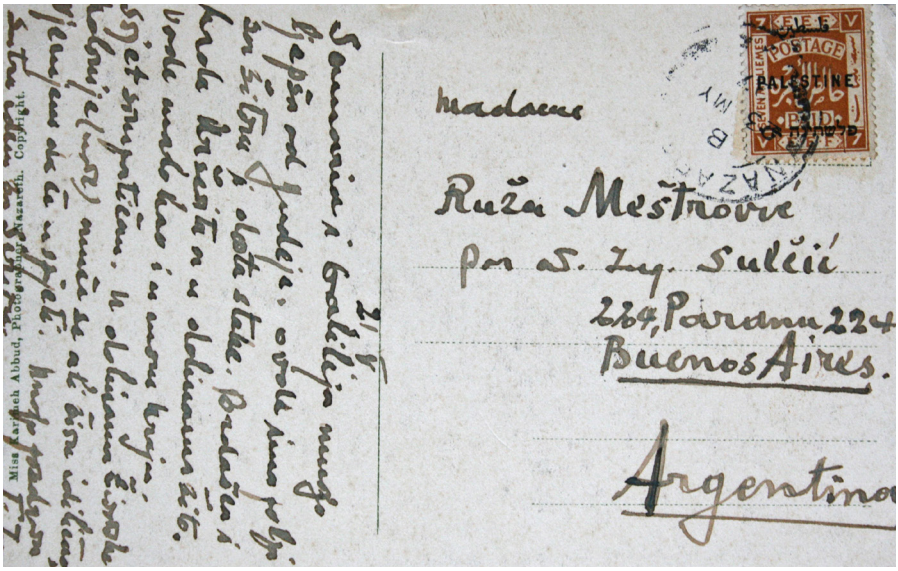


Figure 17. 'Nazareth, Church of the Annunciation', back of the picture postcard.

beautiful than Judea. Crop fields and cattle. Rocky slopes and hills, crops in the valley. Very little water just like in my homeland. Jewish colonies in the valley. Their life is hard, but they live idyllically, I do believe they will make it. Tomorrow off to Syria.'

Damascus and Baalbek, Syria, 24 May 1927 (Nos. 16, 18–19, 21)

'Quite an interesting town but the atmosphere is not altogether pleasant', Meštrović writes from Damascus (Nos. 16 and 18), and more enthusiastically from Baalbek (Nos. 19 and 21), which is part of Lebanon today: 'I've climbed a hill of 270 m to reach this place. Tomorrow there's another mountain of 4000 m to cross to reach the sea. I don't mind at all, it is lovely.'

Athens, Acropolis, the Caryatid Porch, 1 June 1927 (Nos. 20, 22)

'Everything seems so small after Egypt and Syria', Meštrović sounds wistful, although he had always been a great admirer of classical Greek sculpture and architecture, but the journey was coming to its end. Both Msgr Rittig's photograph (No. 23) and the card show the same location on the Acropolis of Athens.

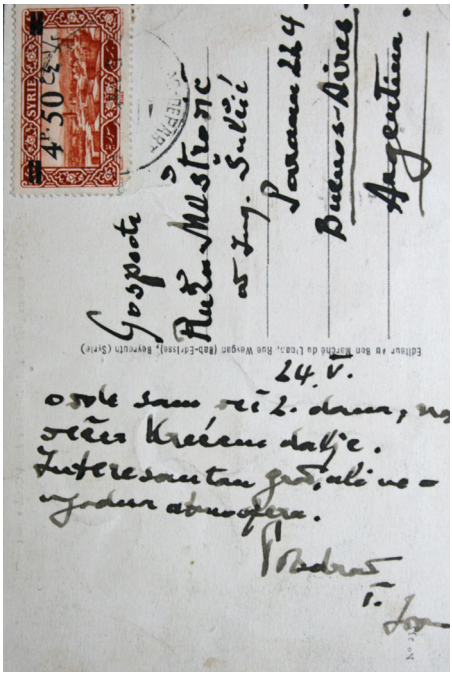


Figure 18. 'Damascus, Syria', back of the picture postcard.

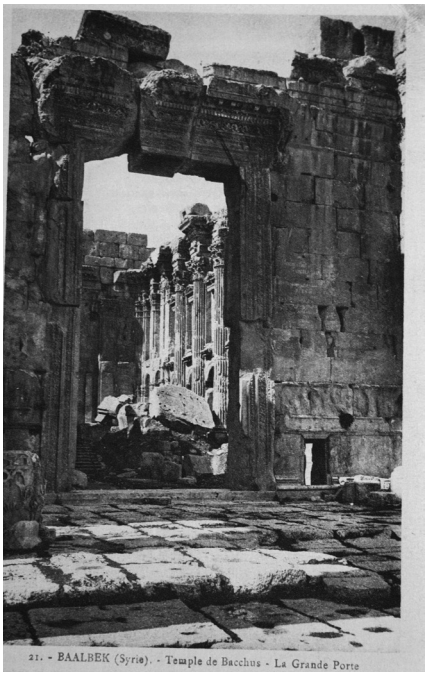


Figure 19. 'Baalbek, Syria', picture postcard.

Ruža Meštrović at Giza in 1933

A few years after Ivan's trip, Ruža Meštrović also travelled to Egypt – on the S/S *Kraljica Marija* of the Yugoslav Lloyd Company. The photograph at Giza (No. 24) was taken by the ship's photographer, who had a studio on board the ship (among its other facilities) for the benefit of the passengers.

Our family archive includes Ruža's souvenir from the cruise, a *shabti* head (No. 25), as well as a booklet on hieroglyphs by Adolf Ernam, published by Sammlung Göschen, GJG (Nos. 26 and 27)

Examples of Ruža Meštrović's sculptural work, painting, and decorative art

Ivan Meštrović taught Ruža how to sculpt and she attended some private courses on decorative art in Germany in 1922. The bronze bust of Vice Iljadica from 1913 (No. 28) was exhibited at *Secessionist* exhibitions in Rome and Torino in the same year.

Her self-portrait, looking in her mirror, from the 1920s or 1930s, pastel on paper (No. 29), presents Ruža as painter, and the engraving from 1925-1927 (No. 30) shows an example of her decorative work.

Both Ivan and Ruža Meštrović were obviously deeply affected by their journeys to Egypt and other countries in the Middle East, enriching their imaginations and influencing their ideas for future artworks.

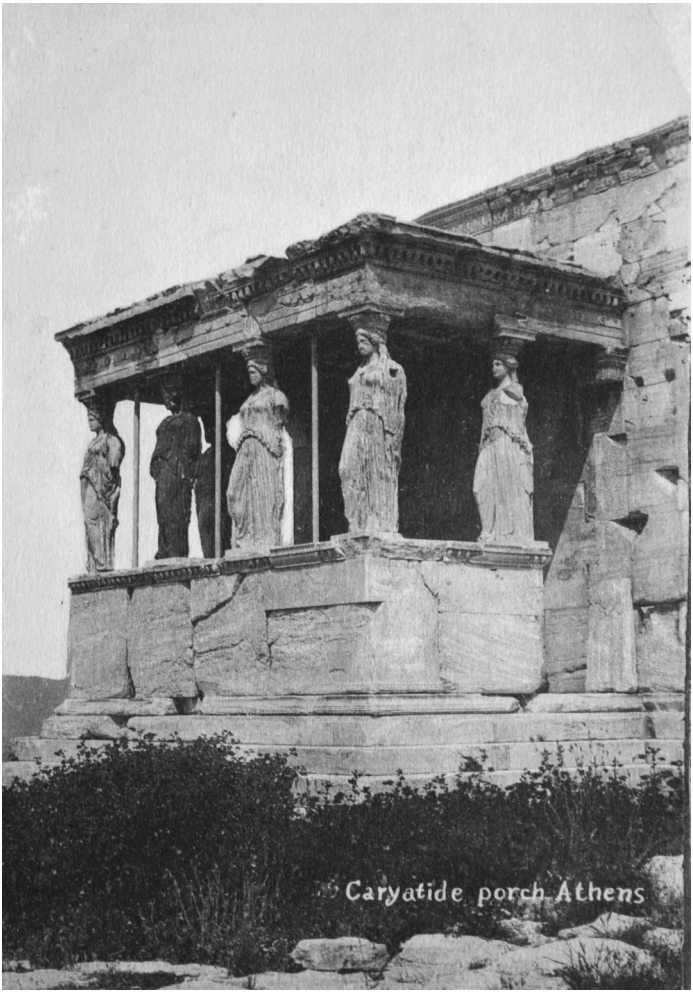


Figure 20. 'Athens, Acropolis, Caryatid Porch', picture postcard.

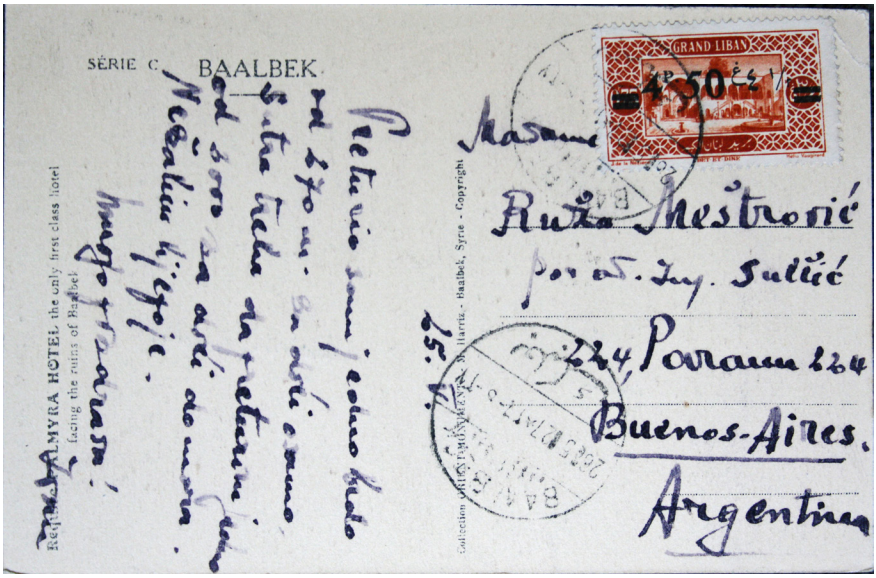


Figure 21. 'Baalbek, Syria', back of the picture postcard.



Figure 22. 'Athens, Acropolis, Caryatid Porch', back of the picture postcard.



Figure 23. Athens, Meštrović on the Acropolis. Photograph by Msgr Rittig (© Photoarchives of the Meštrović Museums).

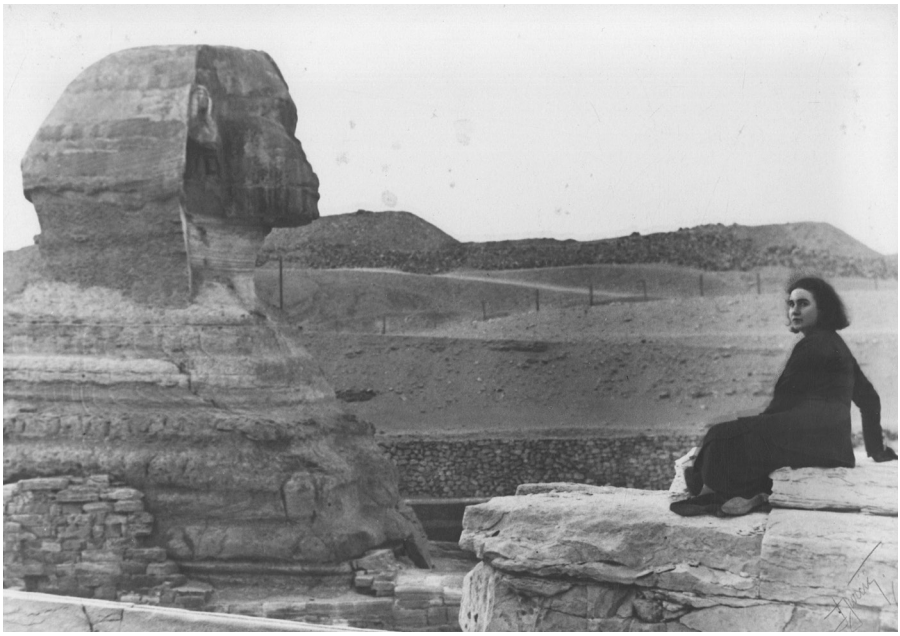


Figure 24. Ruža Meštrović at Giza, photographed by the ship's photographer.



Figure 25. Head of *shabti* (photo: the author).

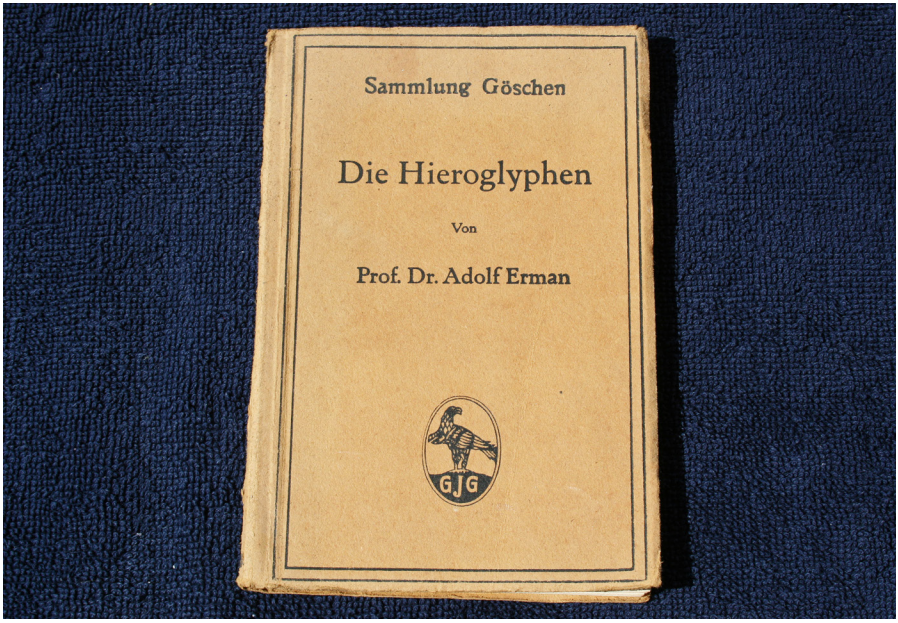
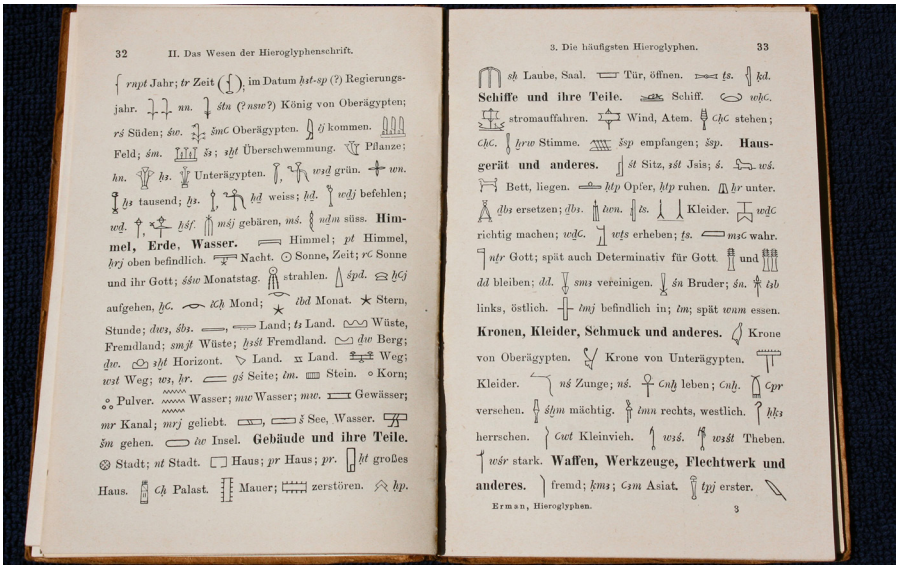


Figure 26. Adolf Ernam's booklet on hieroglyphs (photo: the author).



32 II. Das Wesen der Hieroglyphenschrift.

rnpt Jahr; *tr* Zeit (𓇳𓏏); im Datum *ḥsṯ-sp* (?) Regierungsjahr. *nn.* *ṯnu* (*?nsw?*) König von Oberägypten; *rs* Süden; *św.* *šmʿ* Oberägypten. *ỉỉ* kommen. Feld; *śm.* *šs*; *zḫṯ* Überschwemmung. Pflanze; *ḥn.* *ḥs.* Unterägypten. *wʒḏ* grün. *wn.* *ḫs* tausend; *ḫs.* *ḥḏ* weiss; *ḥḏ.* *wḏỉ* befehlen; *wḏ.* *ḫśf.* *mśỉ* gebären, *mś.* *wḏn* süss. **Himmel, Erde, Wasser.** *ḥrỉ* oben befindlich. Nacht. Sonne, Zeit; *rʿ* Sonne und ihr Gott; *śśw* Monatstag. strahlen. *špḏ.* *ḫʿỉ* aufgehen, *ḫʿ.* *ỉʿḥ* Mond; *ỉbd* Monat. Stern, Stunde; *dwn, šbs.* Land; *ṯs* Land. Wüste, Fremdland; *smỉt* Wüste; *ḫśśt* Fremdland. *ḏw* Berg; *ḏw.* *zḫṯ* Horizont. Land. Land. Weg; *wʒt* Weg; *wʒ, ḫr.* *gś* Seite; *ỉm.* Stein. Korn; Pulver. Wasser; *mw* Wasser; *mw.* Gewässer; *mr* Kanal; *mrỉ* geliebt. *š* See, Wasser. *šm* gehen. *ỉw* Insel. **Gebäude und ihre Teile.** Stadt; *nt* Stadt. Haus; *pr* Haus; *pr.* *ḥt* großes Haus. *ḥ* Palast. Mauer; zerstören. *ḥp.*

sḫ Laube, Saal. Tür, öffnen. *ṯs.* *ḫḏ.* **Schiffe und ihre Teile.** Schiff. *wḥʿ.* stromauffahren. Wind, Atem. *ʿḥʿ* stehen; *ʿḥʿ.* *ḫrw* Stimme. *šsp* empfangen; *šsp.* **Hausgerät und anderes.** *śt* Sitz, *zśt* Jsis; *ś.* *wś.* Bett, liegen. *ḥtp* Opfer, *ḥtp* ruhen. *ḫr* unter. *ḏbʒ* ersetzen; *ḏbʒ.* *ỉnn.* *ỉś.* Kleider. *wḏʿ* richtig machen; *wḏʿ.* *wṯs* erheben; *ṯs.* *mɜʿ* wahr. *nṯr* Gott; spät auch Determinativ für Gott. und *dd* bleiben; *dd.* *smʒ* vereinigen. *śn* Bruder; *śn.* *ṯśb* links, östlich. *ỉmỉ* befindlich in; *ỉm*; spät *wnm* essen. **Kronen, Kleider, Schmuck und anderes.** Krone von Oberägypten. Krone von Unterägypten. Kleider. *nś* Zunge; *nś.* *ʿnḫ* leben; *ʿnḫ.* *ʿpr* versehen. *šḫm* mächtig. *ỉmn* rechts, westlich. *ḥḳʒ* herrschen. *ʿwt* Kleinvieh. *wzś.* *wzśt* Theben. *wśr* stark. **Waffen, Werkzeuge, Flechtwerk und anderes.** fremd; *kmʒ*; *ʿʒm* Asiat. *tpỉ* erster.

Figure 27. Adolf Ernam's booklet on hieroglyphs, pages (photo: the author).



Figure 28. Ruža Meštrović's bronze bust of Vice Iljadica, 1913 (© Šibensko pjevačko društvo 'Kolo', Šibenik).



Figure 29. Ruža Meštrović's self-portrait, 1920s
(photo: Goran Vranić, courtesy of Modern Gallery Zagreb).



Figure 30. Ruža Meštrović's engraving (photo: the author).

A CASE OF MODERN-DAY BURIALS IN ANCIENT EGYPTIAN SARCOPHAGI

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(Anton Ritter von LaUrin)

Abstract: For over a century and a half, two ancient Egyptian sarcophagi have been in Slovenia. Around 1845 these sarcophagi were sent to Vipava by Anton Lavrin, Austrian consul-general in Alexandria, who was also engaged in collecting Egyptian antiquities, a common pastime among European diplomats in Egypt at that time. Vipava was Lavrin's hometown and he brought the sarcophagi there to be placed in the family burial vault. The sarcophagi were discovered at the foot of the Chephren pyramid in Giza, in the tombs of courtiers from the end of the 4th (2575-2465 BC) and the beginning of the 5th (2465-2323 BC) Dynasty. They pertain to the class of granite sarcophagi and bear stylised representations of ancient Egyptian buildings on their sides. Originally, they contained the remains of prince Junmin and the courtier Rawer. Today, both sarcophagi stand in the burial vault of the Lavrin-Hrovatin family in the Vipava cemetery, holding the mortal remains of Anton Lavrin's parents and his young son. The reburial of Lavrin's parents in the Egyptian sarcophagi in 1845 received media attention at the time, covered in the newspaper *Kmetijske in rokodelske novice* (Agricultural and Artisan News). The ceremony in the cemetery was also attended by consul Lavrin himself, who was at the time paying a visit to his native country. An interesting question remains as to how Lavrin's apparently 'pagan' act was accepted by the strictly Catholic-oriented society of the time with, it seems, no objections.

Keywords: Egypt, Vipava, sarcophagus.

On his way from Vienna back to Egypt in June 1845, the Knight Anton von Lavrin (Anton Ritter von Lavrin), the Austrian consul-general in Alexandria, and a keen collector of Egyptian antiquities, visited his hometown Vipava; while there he attended the large funeral service held for the reburial of the remains of his parents – inside an Egyptian sarcophagus.

On 2nd July 1845, the newspaper *Kmetijske in rokodelske novice* (Agricultural and Artisan News) published an article on consul Lavrin, his activities in Egypt, and his visit to Vipava, reporting, *inter alia*, the following: 'When travelling through Egypt and arriving near Nubia he explored a stone quarry near the town of Syene,

where he discovered an over 3000-year-old old stone coffin (sarcophagus), along with its yet unfinished lid, both made of the hardest granite, called syenite, rarely seen in Europe. Seeing the sarcophagus, he had the idea to have its lid finished and to have the whole sarcophagus sent to his homeland at his own, great expense, so that upon his return home he could put the bones of his parents inside, as an expression of his deep gratitude... The sarcophagus waited at the Vipava cemetery for several years before the grateful son arrived. On 17th June, in the evening, Knight Anton Lavrin arrived from Vienna, and on the 19th, in the evening, the bones of his father, Jernej Lavrin, and mother, Jožefa, born Uršič, were respectfully placed inside the sarcophagus.'[1]

A contemporary stone memorial tablet on the wall of the vault bears the Latin inscription: 'Laurinidum parentes honorata vita per acta ab hinc 20mo martii 1846 heic requiescunt sucessores dolentes sepulcra ex Egypto advehi curarunt' (From 20th March 1846, the parents of the Lavrins rest in these sarcophagi brought from Egypt by their bereaved descendants). Although the newspaper *Kmetijske in rokodelske novice* only mentions one sarcophagus, the Lavrin-Hrovatin family vault actually houses two very similar ancient Egyptian sarcophagi.[2] The explanation for this is that, due to transport challenges, the second sarcophagus did not reach Vipava until the second half of 1845 or the beginning of 1846 – in any event after the ceremony reported by *Kmetijske in rokodelske novic* in the first half of 1845.[3]

In the ancient Egyptian language the sarcophagus was referred to as 'the possessor of life'. It was believed that it would provide the deceased with eternal power, attainable via the symbols, magic images and spells depicted or carved on the sarcophagus. It was also believed that the deceased would be able to step out of the sarcophagus, his house, through the door depicted on its inner or outer surface. As for the inscriptions, the name and title of the deceased sufficed at the time of the Old Kingdom.

These ancient Egyptian sarcophagi brought to Vipava for the Lavrin family vault are exceedingly rare historical artefacts of the utmost importance, as they belong to the group of only six currently known granite Old Kingdom sarcophagi of a similar design. The exteriors of each of the six sarcophagi are decorated with stylised ancient Egyptian façades, and the sarcophagi are covered with slightly vaulted lids reminiscent of house roofs. Hence, the German Egyptologist Adolf Erman in 1886 named this kind of sarcophagi 'house-shaped' (or 'in the form of a

[1] Vertovec 1845: 108.

[2] The Hrovatin family from Vipava are descendants of Lavrin's sister Jožefa, who married into the Hrovatins. They are the owners of the Lavrin vault in the Vipava cemetery.

[3] Kajfež and Pflaum 2014: 50.

house')[4], while a slightly older, descriptive term encountered in the literature for this type is 'palace-façade sarcophagi'.[5]

This design of sarcophagus was considered the most perfect realisation of the concept of dwelling intended for the departed. Consequently, the sides are decorated with architectural elements, such as doors, windows and semi-columns, which represent real Old Kingdom buildings preserved to the present day, for example the walls surrounding the burial complex of the Djoser step pyramid, or the funeral chapel of the same complex in Saqqara of the 3rd Dynasty (2650-2575 BC).

All the sarcophagi are made of reddish Aswan granite, often called syenite, and were discovered at the foot of the Chephren Pyramid in Giza, in the tombs of courtiers from the end of the 4th (2575-2465 BC) and from the beginning of the 5th (2465-2323 BC) Dynasty.

The Vipava sarcophagus that now stands on the left side of the Lavrin vault belonged to an individual named 'Rawer', as is carved in the hieroglyphic script on the top of both short edges of the lid. Rawer's original tomb is a mastaba, with a vertical shaft through the rock and a horizontal burial chamber, and is located to the south of the access ramp to the Chephren Pyramid and to the south of the Sphinx of Giza. The sarcophagus and the lid are made of reddish Aswan granite; the dimensions are 2.16 m × 0.81 m × 0.70 m + 0.24 m. It is dated to the first half of the 5th Dynasty.[6] The surfaces of the sarcophagus bear representations of stylised ancient Egyptian façades, with doors depicted twice on the long sides. As in all sarcophagi of the group, the lid is rounded, echoing the shape of a house roof. On both narrow sides of the lid there is a handling-boss. The hieroglyphic inscription of Rawer's name is repeated in the middle of the upper part on all four sides. The same inscription is present on the upper edge of the long sides, but this text is covered by the lid of the sarcophagus.

The Vipava sarcophagus now on the right side of the vault belonged to an individual whom the tomb's hieroglyphic inscriptions identify as Yunmin, 'hereditary prince' and the 'king's eldest son of his body'. Both inscriptions are carved at the top of the left longer side, and on the side edge of the lid, so that the two identical inscriptions are one above the other when the lid is in place. The sarcophagus originates from a rock-carved tomb located to the southeast of the Chephren Pyramid at Giza, and marked with the number LG 92. The sarcophagus with the lid is made of reddish Aswan granite and measures 2.10 m × 0,81 m × 0.71 m + 0.27 m. It is dated to the transition from the 4th to the 5th Dynasty.[7] Stylised ancient Egyptian façades are depicted on each of its sides, but there are no doors.

[4] Erman 1971: 172.
[5] Clayton 1990: 69.
[6] Hamernik 1985: 65.
[7] Hamernik 1985: 37.

The lid of the sarcophagus is vaulted in the form of a house roof, and there is a handling-boss on both of its narrow sides.

The details of how Lavrin acquired the two sarcophagi for his collection are not clear. It is known, however, that the courtier tombs at the foot of the Chephren Pyramid were cleared by an Egyptian excavator and antiquities dealer called Youssef Masarra, so it is possible that Lavrin purchased the sarcophagi from this man.

The other four sarcophagi of the above-mentioned type are now in museums in Britain, Germany and Egypt.

The first of these was discovered by a Prussian expedition led by Karl Richard Lepsius between 1842 and 1845. The expedition identified, excavated and documented numerous archaeological sites in the Nile Valley, and its findings were published in a comprehensive work entitled *Denkmäler aus Aegypten und Aethiopien*.[8] Its first volume features a drawing of a sarcophagus, with a comment that the sarcophagus was discovered in the northern shaft of the Giza tomb, given the number 98 by Lepsius. This tomb is situated at the precise location that Joseph Bonomi[9] later in a letter described as lying 'between the Sphinx and the second Pyramid'.[10]

The above-mentioned Cairo antiquities dealer Youssef Masarra is known to have exploited these tombs in Giza between 1834 and 1837. Therefore, it is supposed that the first-discovered house-shaped sarcophagus may have passed through the showroom of the Masarra family before reaching England. In England it was bought by Lord Lonsdale for his collection at Lowther Castle in Cumbria, where it remained until 1947. In 1947 it disappeared without a trace, not to reappear until an auction in Tatton Park near Knutsford, Cheshire, in 1990. At the time, the first-discovered house-shaped sarcophagus from Lepsius tomb 98 was purchased by the British Museum, where it is now exhibited. This sarcophagus belonged to an individual by the name of Kai; it is dated to the period of the 5th Dynasty (2465-2323 BC).[11]

The second in this group of house-shaped sarcophagi is very similar to Yunmin's sarcophagus in Vipava: its hieroglyphic inscriptions are both carved in the same position as on the Vipava sarcophagus, i.e. at the top of the left, long side and on the side edge of the lid, so that the inscriptions are one above the other when the lid is closed. The inscriptions indicate that the 'royal chamberlain Kaemnefret' was buried in it. It originates from mastaba G II S, south of the Cheops Pyramid at Giza. The sarcophagus is now in the Roemer und Pelizaeus Museum in Hildesheim,

[8] Lepsius 1849-1859.

[9] Joseph Bonomi (1796-1878), artist and traveller. He worked often with Egyptologists and among other things compiled a collection of hieroglyphs intended for a dictionary.

[10] Spencer 1991: 13.

[11] Spencer 1991: 13.

Germany. It is dated to the period of the 4th Dynasty (about 2480 BC),[12] and is the best preserved of the group, still retaining the glossy smooth surface originally characteristic of all six sarcophagi.

The other two known house-shaped sarcophagi are in the Egyptian Museum in Cairo. The first one belonged to an individual by the name of Irinwer. His tomb is located to the east of the Cheops Pyramid at Giza. The Aswan granite sarcophagus with lid has not been precisely dated, but according to the analogies mentioned above it could originate from the first half of the 5th Dynasty.[13] The other sarcophagus in the Egyptian Museum, also made of reddish Aswan granite, has no inscriptions and its lid is not preserved. As for the place of discovery, it is only known that it was found at Giza. It has not been precisely dated, but considering the analogies it could belong to the first half of the 5th Dynasty;[14] stylised ancient Egyptian façades are depicted on all sides of the sarcophagus, but there are no doors. In this respect it is similar to the Yunmin sarcophagus at Vipava.

At the initiative, and under the guidance of the renowned Austrian Egyptologist Gottfried Hamernik, in 1987 a team of archaeologists and restorers from the National Museum of Slovenia in Ljubljana, and from the Institute for the Protection of Natural and Cultural Heritage in Nova Gorica, opened and reviewed the Vipava sarcophagi.[15] The opportunity was used to check the lid closure system of the sarcophagi and to document the hieroglyphic inscriptions on the upper edges of the long sides of the Rawer sarcophagus, which are not visible when the sarcophagus is closed.[16] It was confirmed that the Yunmin sarcophagus holds the remains of Lavrin's parents, as reported by *Kmetijske in rokodelske novice* in 1845. In the Rawer sarcophagus there was a small lead coffin containing the remains of Lavrin's firstborn son, Albert, who died in the prime of his youth in Alexandria in 1846. He was buried initially in Alexandria's Catholic cemetery, but was exhumed in 1849 and his remains brought to Vipava, where they were reburied.[17]

At the same time in 1987, the restorers temporarily repaired the cracks in the sarcophagi caused by long decades of exposure to the weather. The sarcophagi were in an extremely poor condition and their conservation status was the worst among all the six house-shaped sarcophagi. Due to the exceptional cultural and historical value of both artefacts, as well as their poor conservation status, procedures were initiated for the entire vault to be declared a cultural monument. The renovation

[12] Schmitz 1993: 24.
[13] Hamernik 1985: 80.
[14] Hamernik 1985: 62.
[15] Kajfež 2010: 37-40.
[16] Kajfež 1994: 45.
[17] The information is given on the basis of an extract from the Register of Deaths, Vol. III, page 62, no. 13, of the parish church of St. Catherine in Alexandria, Egypt, issued on 26th October 1994.

of the Lavrin-Hrovatin family vault and the restoration of both sarcophagi started at the end of 1998. The basic conservation aim was that the sarcophagi would no longer remain outside and exposed to the elements. Therefore, a new burial chapel was constructed in which the coffins have stood since 1999. The chapel is designed in such a way that the sarcophagi remain accessible to visitors. After restoration, both sarcophagi again hold the remains of Lavrin's parents and his son, and thus continue to serve the purpose for which Lavrin brought them from Egypt.

The question still remains as to how the burial of the remains inside an ancient Egyptian, i.e. 'pagan', sarcophagi came to be accepted without reservation by the strictly Catholic society of the time.

The answer is suggested in the afore-mentioned article in *Kmetijske in rokodelske novice*, recounting the ceremony at the Vipava cemetery: 'On the 20th, at 8 o'clock in the morning, the Vipava parish priest and dean, the Reverend Jurij Grabrijan, and his chaplains carried the remains [of Lavrin's parents] with all church honours. In the magnificent procession they were accompanied by Knight Lavrin, other distinguished persons, numerous relatives, and a great many others who had gathered there to pay their respects, as is the custom for the dead, escorting the mortal remains into the small church in the middle of the cemetery. After the hymns were sung and the Holy Mass said, along with other ordinary prayers, the remains were placed in a stone coffin, a sarcophagus, and covered by its lid.'[18]

Thus, the answer to the above question can be found in the personalities of both main organisers of the funeral ceremony: dean Jurij Grabrijan (mentioned in the article), and the author of the *News* article, who also spoke at the ceremony, parish priest Matija Vertovec. Both men were highly educated and knowledgeable, and active in many fields. Thus they could discuss with consul Lavrin on equal terms the issues pertaining to the planning of the reburial of his parents within the Egyptian sarcophagi.

Jurij Grabrijan, the Vipava parish priest and dean from 1840 until his death in 1882, was a scholar in the fields of church and religion, culture and education, as well as economics and politics. He was particularly well-known for having founded and built numerous schools in the region of Vipava.[19]

Matija Vertovec was at the time parish priest in Št Vid near Vipava, and was engaged not only in church and religious work, but also oversaw general education and economic progress in the area. He promoted agricultural activities, especially viticulture and wine-making, and was involved in the health and social

[18] Vertovec 1845: 108.
[19] Kralj 1978-1979: 460-461.

issues of his parishioners. He published numerous works in the fields of history, geography, chemistry, astronomy, and agriculture.[20]

Such representatives of the Catholic Church in the upper Vipava Valley in the first half of the 19th century seem to have had no concerns or reservations about Lavrin's intentions for the reburial of his parents within the Egyptian sarcophagus. And not only that, as we are informed by the *Agricultural and Artisan News*, they even organised and led the great ceremony at the cemetery themselves.[21]

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[20] Kralj 1991: 191-194.

[21] Vertovec 1845: 108.

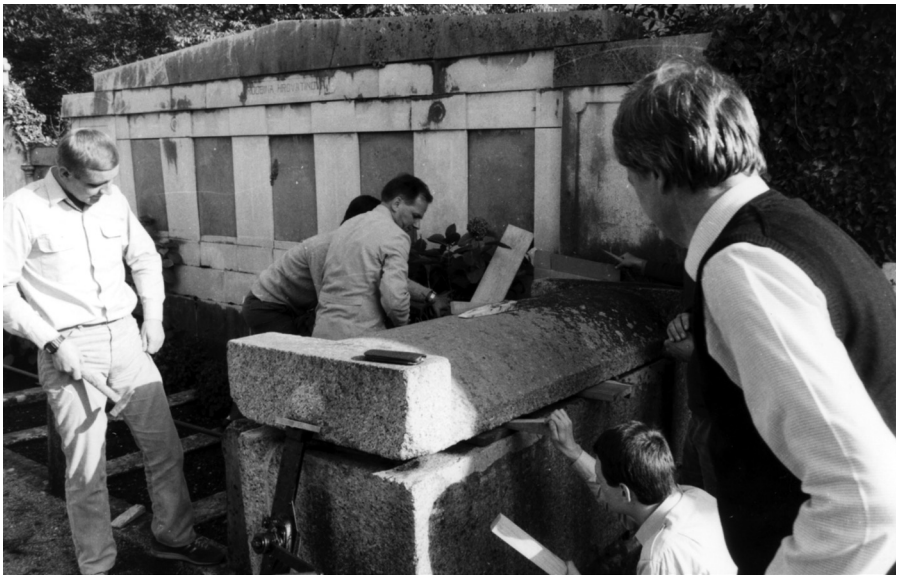


Figure 1. Opening the ancient Egyptian sarcophagi, Vipava cemetery, 1987 (photo: Primož Pavlin).



Figure 2. Beginning restoration of the ancient Egyptian sarcophagi, Vipava cemetery, December 1998 (photo: Tomislav Kajfež).



Figure 3. The Lavrin-Hrovatin family vault with the ancient Egyptian sarcophagi, Vipava cemetery, present state (photo: Tomislav Kajfež).

EGYPTIANISING FUNERARY ARCHITECTURE IN BUDAPEST

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Abstract: Although 'Egyptomania' has been of interest to researchers in Hungary recently, the influence of ancient Egyptian art on modern funerary architecture has not been properly investigated until now. The heyday of Egyptianising funerary architecture in Hungarian cemeteries was during the Dual Monarchy of Austria-Hungary. At the turn of the 20th century, imposing mausoleums and funerary monuments were built in Budapest, designed by famous architects and sculptors of the period. The authorship of a number of these monuments, however, has not been determined. Variations of the house-tomb with Egyptianising decorative motifs are well-known from the grand Parisian cemeteries, and can also be found in many places around the world, for example in London, Naperville and Belfast. The house-tomb decorated with Egyptianising motifs can also be found in Hungary; in several cases the monument blends Egyptianising details with Neo-Classical elements and Art Nouveau features. The main goal of this contribution is to introduce an important group of Hungarian funerary art, which is rich in Egyptianising motifs, and to explore the cultural and social settings that lay behind the effect of Egyptomania on Hungarian architecture.

Keywords: Egyptomania, art history, funerary architecture, mausoleum, Hungary, cemetery.

Introduction

Although Egyptianising funerary architecture is well known from many places around the world, it is a little-known fact that this group of funerary art also has Hungarian examples. These imposing mausoleums and funerary monuments were built at the turn of the 20th century. They were designed by famous architects and sculptors of the period and reflect the influence of ancient Egyptian art on modern Hungarian funerary architecture.

In the following we shall focus on the rich Egyptianizing motifs of an important group of Hungarian funerary architecture with significant artistic and historical value, and to explore the cultural and social contexts of the influence Egyptomania exerted on Hungarian funerary architecture.

Graveyards and funerary monuments

Hungarian funerary monuments with Egyptianising motifs were built in Budapest in the Salgótarjáni Street Jewish Cemetery and the Kozma Street Jewish Cemetery. The use of the two cemeteries by and large follow each other, with an overlapping period. Their foundation reflects a change in burial practices and coincides with the establishment of new cemeteries that were designed in Europe and America from the early 19th century.[1]

Despite their spatial separation, the history of the Christian Cemetery at Fiumei Street – also known as the Kerepesi Street Cemetery – and that of the Salgótarjáni Street Jewish Cemetery beside it, are closely connected. The Salgótarjáni Street Jewish Cemetery was established in 1874, just one year after the merging of Buda, Pest and Óbuda into the city of Budapest in 1873. It was not the earliest Jewish cemetery in Budapest, but it is the oldest one that still exists.[2] There had been two former cemeteries near the Christian Váci Street Cemetery.[3] The significance of the earlier one is that it was the first cemetery of the Jewish population in Pest, which already existed in 1788.[4] The second cemetery was established in 1808, when the earlier one had become full, but later both were closed down, together with the Christian Váci Street Cemetery, due to a lack of space, and the council of Pest decided on the establishment of a new, united cemetery.[5]

Even though the Jewish population traditionally aimed at separation both in their funerary customs and the location of their cemeteries, they could not back away from the centralisation of Budapest's cemeteries and the city's efforts at public sanitation. The location for the new Jewish cemetery was laid out in the monumental Christian Fiumei Street Cemetery, where the Salgótarjáni Street Jewish Cemetery was separated with a wall from the field of the Christian graveyard.[6]

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[1] For the new cemeteries and the significance of the great cemetery of Père-Lachaise in Paris, see Curl 2006: 286-290; for new Jewish cemeteries, see Klein 2018: 45, 55-56, 73-79. In connection with new cemeteries, see also Gecséné Tar 2012: 16-21; Papp 2016: 542-543.

[2] For the Salgótarjáni Street Jewish Cemetery, see Frojimovics *et al.* 1995: 600-604; Tóth 1999: 22-23; Haraszti 2004: 44-79; Klein 2011: 105-111; Csáki 2018: 281-332; Tóth 2018: 344-385; Klein 2018: 260-275. The first monograph on the Salgótarjáni Street Cemetery is Tóth 2014; see also more recently Bányai *et al.* 2017.

[3] Fehér 1933: 81-84.

[4] See Frojimovics *et al.* 1995: 583-585; Csáki 2018: 282, 300.

[5] For the establishment of the second Jewish cemetery in Pest and its closure, together with the Christian Váci Street Cemetery, see Fehér 1933: 83-84; for a detailed description of the events, see Csáki 2018: 282-290. In connection with the closure of the Christian Váci Street Cemetery, see also Tóth 1999: 6, 22.

[6] Csáki 2018: 283-290. For the establishment of the Fiumei Street Cemetery and the Salgótarjáni Street Jewish Cemetery, see Fehér 1933: 88-89; Tóth 1999: 6-7, 22-23.

The construction of the railways, however, hindered the enlarging of both graveyards. The Fiumei Street Cemetery could not keep pace with the quick growth of the population, while the area of the Jewish cemetery remained small in spite of the repeated enlargements, which led to the capital establishing new cemeteries in Rákoskeresztúr. From this time onwards, the Fiumei Street Cemetery and the Salgótarjáni Street Jewish Cemetery served as honorary graveyards. The New Public Cemetery was opened in 1886, followed by the neighbouring Kozma Street Jewish Cemetery in 1892.[7] Thus, the largest Jewish cemetery in Hungary was established, one that still serves the Jewish community in Budapest.[8]

The Chevra Kadisha of Pest – The maintainer of the cemeteries

In the second half of the 19th century the role of Christian denominations in funerals was played down and became limited to the funeral rite. This secularisation did not affect the Jewish funerals. The entire funerary proceedings were carried out by the Chevra Kadisha (Jewish Burial Society). The society was established to perform tasks involving the burial of the deceased and maintaining cemetery services in accordance with Jewish custom and law.[9] After the merging of Buda, Pest and Óbuda into the city of Budapest in 1873, all the burial societies of the former settlements held their independence. From 1874 to 1892 the Salgótarjáni Street Jewish Cemetery was the only active cemetery in Pest.[10] When the 1868/69 Hungarian Jewish Congress, summoned to establish a united representative organisation for Hungarian Jewry, ended in failure, it lead to the emergence of three factions in Hungarian Judaism: The Orthodox, the Neolog and the Status Quo,[11] this disunion did not affect the funerals in Budapest. At its peak, the Salgótarjáni Street Jewish Cemetery was the only cemetery for the Jewry of Pest, serving the followers

[7] Different dates are given in the sources and publications connected with the opening of the Kozma Street Jewish Cemetery. I will here use the date 1892, following Tamás Csáki, whose recent work on the history of the Jewish cemeteries is based on the evidence of archival documents (2018).

[8] Fehér 1933: 89-90; Csáki 2018: 292-296. For the Kozma Street Jewish Cemetery, see Frojimovics *et al.* 1995: 604-610; Haraszti 2004: 80-257; Klein 2011: 105; Csáki 2018: 326-328; Klein 2018: 276-287.

[9] Csáki 2018: 296-299. For the changing of the role of the Christian denominations in funerals, see also Tóth 1999: 9. For the Chevra Kadisha and cemetery services, see Frojimovics *et al.* 1995: 583-589; Bányai *et al.* 2017: 6-7.

[10] Csáki 2018: 301.

[11] Bányai *et al.* 2017: 10-11.

of all three faction still in 1890, when the Orthodox Cemetery in Csörsz Street was opened in Buda.[12]

The building of the family vaults, which form the boundaries of three sideward of the Salgótarjáni Street Jewish Cemetery, was started in 1875 by the Chevra Kadisha. The burial places were suited to entomb 8 or 12 people and were constructed in several steps together the brick walls of the cemetery. The foundations of the fence serve as the back walls of the vaults. The oldest burial vaults are along the southern wall of the cemetery. In the Kozma Street Cemetery, the building of the family vaults along the walls was begun in the middle of the 1890s by the Chevra Kadisha.[13]

In accordance with Jewish tradition, a monument is erected thirty days or twelve months after the burial.[14] The permission of the Chevra Kadisha was necessary to erect a monument or other memorial, and the building intention had to be reported to the borough council of the Chevra Kadisha. The plans here discussed were also kept in the archives of the Chevra Kadisha, but nowadays no copies of this valuable source material are known. The Chevra Kadisha had control over both the decoration and the form of the monuments.[15] 'The borough council can raise objections against the ornaments and shapes to be used when building, with regard to religious traditions or an exaggeration of dimensions and may make the issue of the building permit dependent on the reconstruction of the plan.'[16]

But it was the owner who had the superstructures of the family vaults planned and obtained the building permit required from the capital city council. These building permits are of great significance, as they are frequently retrievable, and contain references to the names of both clients and architects.[17]

The Egyptianising funerary monuments in the Salgótarjáni and the Kozma Street Jewish Cemeteries

The small Salgótarjáni Street Jewish Cemetery was only used for a short time, which nevertheless represents a prosperous period in Hungary that was especially

[12] Csáki 2018: 301. For the Orthodox Cemetery in Csörsz Street, see Frojimovics *et al.* 1995: 596-600; Haraszti 2004: 34-39.
[13] Csáki 2018: 317-320.
[14] Bányai *et al.* 2017: 7.
[15] Csáki 2018: 321.
[16] 'Az elöljáróság az építkezésnél használandó díszítéseket és alakzatokat a vallási hagyományok vagy méretek túllépésének szempontjából kifogásolhatja, és az engedély megadását a terv átalakításától teheti függővé.' See Csáki 2018: 321.
[17] For the published and the original building permit of the Moscovitz monument, see notes 60, 61 below.

important in connection with the assimilation of the Jewry.[18] It is the most significant cemetery in the region both historically and artistically[19] – 'a museum of tombstones'.[20] The atmosphere of the cemetery is defined by the imposing family mausoleums and funerary monuments along the perimeter walls. Their architecture is characteristic of the art historical periods in Hungary from the neo-Renaissance through Historicism and Art Nouveau to neo-Classicism.[21] From 1892 onwards the Kozma Street Jewish Cemetery was the common cemetery of the Jewry in Pest. Here, too, many grandiose family mausoleums and funerary monuments stand beside the perimeter walls, many of them in Art Nouveau and Art Deco style.

In both Jewish Cemeteries, the artistic and historical value of the Egyptianising funerary monuments is further increased by the fact that the Egyptianising style was less widespread in Hungary before and at the turn of the 20th century than in western Europe and later in America. There are occasional buildings[22] within urban architecture that had Egyptianising architectural and decorative elements, but the art of the cemeteries is quite different from the architecture of the city, allowing for an Egyptianising style appropriate to the funerary character. Architects of these tombs include Zsigmond Quittner (1859-1918) and Sándor Fellner (1857-1945), who were often employed by the Jewish denominational institutions, but also had a lasting impact on other fields of architecture. At the same time, in the case of many family vaults beside the walls, the funerary monuments were designed and constructed by monumental masons, such as the workshop of Arnold Kohn. Only few sculptors were active in these cemeteries because of the secondary role played by figural ornamentation, but the sculptural decoration of the Moscovitz of Zemplén monument, for instance, is attributed to the renowned sculptor Gyula Donáth (1850-1909).[23]

The Egyptianising funerary monuments of the Salgótarjáni Street and the Kozma Street Jewish Cemeteries can be classified into three groups.[24] The first includes funerary monuments with a shape that immediately recalls Egyptianising

[18] Tóth 1999: 22.
[19] See also Klein 2011: 106.
[20] A term coined by József Schweitzer, Hungary's former national Chief Rabbi, see Tóth 2014: 7.
[21] Csáki 2018: 324. For Hungarian mausoleum architecture, see Papp 2016: 542-551.
[22] Cf. the two sphinxes before the Opera House, the decoration of the facade of the Music Academy, the pylons of the Chain Bridge, and the facade and inside of the house of the Grand Lodge in Podmaniczky Street, in Budapest.
[23] Csáki 2018: 325-326. For the list of architects, sculptors and stone-cutters active in the Salgótarjáni Street Jewish Cemetery, see Tóth 2014: 119-120; and in connection with the Fiumei Street Cemetery and the Salgótarjáni Street Jewish Cemetery in relation to funerary monuments, see Tóth 2018: 503-517.
[24] If not otherwise indicated, the funerary monuments and mausoleums described in this chapter were built in the Salgótarjáni Street Cemetery.

stylistic elements.[25] These simple monuments and tombstones with clear shapes can be found in relatively large numbers among the family vaults beside the walls, and sporadically also in the plots of the cemeteries. Most of these are tombstones crowned with *cavetto* cornices, but pyramids can also be found. The funerary monument of the Ágoston Csányi family was built beside the northern wall in the Salgótarjáni Street Cemetery, with a shape echoing an ancient Egyptian gateway. A more complex funerary monument was built for the family of Ignácz and Adolf Neuberger in the Kozma Street Cemetery. The shape is again like an ancient Egyptian gateway, but the *cavetto* cornice is crowned with a composite gabled construction, and the funerary monument has a decorative fence made of stone. Both funerary monuments were designed and constructed by Arnold Kohn and made of black granite.[26] The first group also includes the funerary monument of the Keppich family, which was designed by Sándor Fellner,[27] and the Bischitz mausoleum with its characteristic sloping walls, which are its only Egyptianising elements. This last characteristic feature can also be seen on other mausoleums that otherwise have no Egyptianising elements apart from the typical sidewalls recalling the ancient Egyptian naos.[28]

The present condition of the Keppich funerary monument does not reflect its original appearance. The deep mortises on its surface are indications of the original decorative motifs made of metal. Its most interesting element is the winged sun-disk at the top of the monument with an unpolished surface. There is no information on its original appearance, and there is no mortise on the surface to indicate the original metal decorative motif. The roughly finished winged sun-disk produces the impression of incompletion: perhaps the entire surface of the winged disk was once embossed with metal plate.

Although the funerary monument of the Wodianers of Vásárhely reflects a very close similarity to that of the Goldberger-Wolfners of Buda, and that of the Moscovitz family of Zemplén (Figure 4), the only reason to include it within the first group is its shape, which recalls Egyptianising elements. It was built after 1892; the architect of the monument is unknown.

[25] Obelisks, which were very popular at the turn of the 20th century, and can be found in almost all Hungarian cemeteries, are excluded from this group.

[26] For the plan of the family funerary monument of Ágoston Csányi, see Csáki 2018: 316, fig. 9. The Neuberger funerary monument indicates the name of the monumental mason, Arnold Kohn.

[27] The names of the architect and the stone-cutter can both be seen on the monument. For the Keppich funerary monument, see Tóth 2014: 31, 98, 108, fig. 85, 168-170; Bányai *et al.* 2017: 23; Tóth 2018: 378; Csáki 2018: 316.

[28] See, e.g., the Laczkó and Wahrmann mausoleums, both of which were designed by Zsigmond Quittner (Quittner 1900: 15-18).

The second group includes funerary monuments that not only have Egyptian architectural elements but Egyptianising motifs as well. All belong to the family vaults built at prominent places beside the walls. The Goldberger-Wolfner funerary monument falls within this group. The shape is again reminiscent of an ancient Egyptian gateway: it is crowned with a *cavetto* cornice, and a winged sun-disk appears above the memorial tablet. The cornice is decorated with a frieze consisting of stylised cartouches topped by the sun-disk. The architect of this funerary monument, built after 1894, is also unknown. Another funerary monument in this group is the Moscovitz monument, one of the most interesting and with a special representation that will be described later in detail.

Two funerary monuments in the Salgótarjáni Street Cemetery: the Guttmann and the Sváb monuments were designed by the famous architect Béla Lajta (1873-1920). Both are interpreted as gates connecting the world of the living with the afterlife, with the two lions and the two birds standing guard.[29] The Moscovitz, Goldberger-Wolfner, and the Wodianer funerary monuments also echo this concept, as do the Csányi and Neuberger family funerary monuments as well.

The outstanding funerary monument of this group is that of the Schulhoff family in the Kozma Street Cemetery, built after 1914. The monument is hidden now by thick vegetation, which makes taking a photograph – or even finding it – a challenge. Without the trees growing inside it, and the encompassing ivy, one would see a funerary monument much in the vein of the Hood Monument in Glasgow.[30] Both monuments have twelve columns with carved floral capitals. The Syme Memorial,[31] built in Melbourne suburb of Kew in 1908, also has a similar structure with various capitals carved from granite. Another similar funerary monument is the Bache Mausoleum in New York.[32] The Schulhoff monument is not as grandiose as the Syme or Bache memorials, but with its fine details it comes very close. All four were inspired by the same ancient Egyptian building known as Trajan's Kiosk.[33]

The architect of the Schulhoff funerary monument is unfortunately not recorded. Its Egyptianising style may be due to the personal travel experiences of the client family, but it could also have been influenced by the professional skills

[29] See Majoros 1983: 172-173; Tóth 2005: 24.

[30] For the Hood Monument (1902), see Packer 2012: 67, 277-279.

[31] For the Syme Memorial, built in the Presbyterian section of the Boroondara Cemetery, see Condon 2012; http://www.sirgeoffreysyme.com.au/contents/boroondara.html

[32] For the Bache Mausoleum (1916), see Keister 2013 (https://www.mausoleums.com/seeing-double-bache-mausoleum-borrows-from-kiosk-of-trajan/) and Dale 2017 (http://www.aheadworld.org/2017/03/16/woodlawn-cemetery-bache-mausoleum/).

[33] This structure is presumed now to date from the time of Augustus, but the decoration was only begun during the reign of Trajan, and remained unfinished. For 'Augustus, Kiosk of (Philae)', see Arnold 2003: 25.

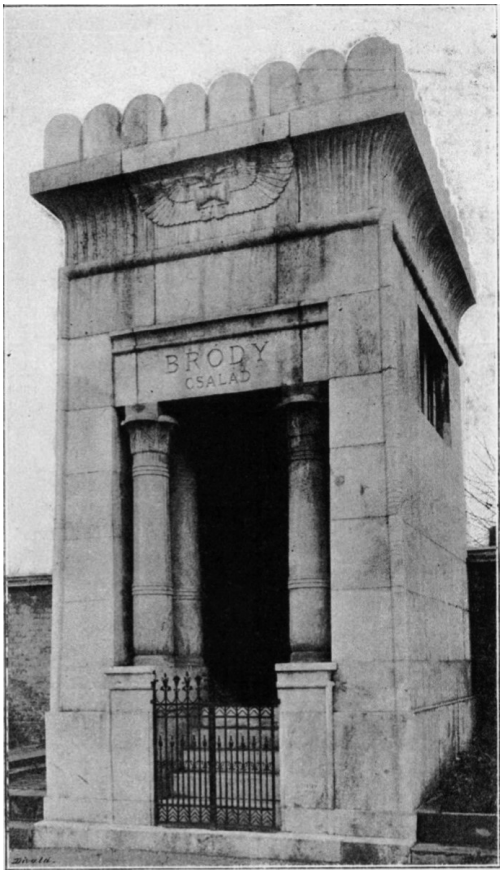


Figure 1. The Bródy Mausoleum (after Zs. Quittner, 1900).

or experiences of the architect. Ignác Alpár (1855-1928), the famous Hungarian architect, and members of his firm are known to have travelled to Egypt for inspiration. Alpár had published a richly illustrated article on their travels in a learned journal a few years before the building of the Schulhoff funerary monument.[34] This article suggests that travelling to Egypt was not very expensive, and one could reach Alexandria by ship from Fiumé – today's Rijeka – in three and a half days.

The most exciting and imposing examples of Hungarian Egyptianising funerary monuments are certainly the family mausoleums belonging to our third group. Two are to found in the Salgótarjáni Street Cemetery, another is in the Kozma Street Cemetery.

[34] See Alpár 1910: 1-13.

The Bródy mausoleum[35] (Figure 1) has a naos-shaped superstructure with characteristic sloping walls. The torus mouldings along the vertical edges of the building and below the cavetto cornice on the facade are typical elements of ancient Egyptian architecture.[36] The cornice is crowned with a decorative motif consisting of feather-like elements and decorated with a representation recalling the winged sun-disk. In the place of the disk, however, there is a horizontal sandglass with a band fastening the glass and ending in two snake heads (Figure 5). The entrance is framed by two columns on each side, with bell-shaped capitals in four-fold sections, and two other columns with the same capitals flank the memorial tablet inside the building. The interior lays special emphasis on the Egyptian motifs as well. The friezes on the ceiling and directly below it consists of lotus flowers and lotus buds. Below, on the cavetto cornice, the frieze consists of stylised cartouches topped by two ostrich feathers and the sun disk on *nbw* signs. In the corners, the frieze is connected by lilies and lotus flowers with lotus buds. All cartouches contain a five-pointed star. The side-walls are decorated with reliefs consisting of three lotus flowers. The papyrus, the other heraldic plant of ancient Egypt, is absent. The form of the memorial tablet is also typically Egyptian with its sloping edges. At the base, the frieze consists of plant motifs. Above, a representation recalls the winged sun-disk. Its central part is again a horizontally placed sandglass. Above the glass there is a snake head, flanked by two vulture heads and two bands; on the central head is an ornament in two rows. Below the glass are two arched lines flanking a criss-cross motif. Above the memorial tablet the representation of a palm-branch appears, which symbolises true people, honest character.[37] The Bródy mausoleum was built for the wife of Zsigmond Bródy in 1893.[38] The mausoleum was already finished in the year of the death of his wife. The atmosphere of the entire funerary monument is defined by the sentiment that it was built for a beloved wife who was lost too early. Zsigmond Bródy (1840-1910) was a leading newspaper publisher and one of the greatest patrons of his time.[39]

Today free-standing, the mausoleum of the Freunds of Tószeg (Figure 2) was originally built in front of the wall of the earlier forecourt, which was later pulled down. It also has a naos-shaped superstructure, but the decoration combines Egyptianising motifs with neoclassical elements. The building is crowned with a cavetto cornice, on which the frieze consists of lotus flowers and lotus buds, with connecting leaf-motifs at the corners. There is an urn shaped as a volute *krater*

[35] For the Bródy mausoleum, see Quittner 1900: 15, 17. It was made of calcareous tufa from Dunaalmás, the columns of sandstone from Besztercebánya, and the memorial tablet of black Belgian marble.

[36] For 'Cavetto cornice, torus moulding' see Arnold 2003: 46-47.

[37] Frojimovics *et al.* 1995: 594.

[38] See Quittner 1900: 15.

[39] For Zsigmond Bródy, see Bárczy *et al.* 1933: 53-55.



Figure 2. The Freund Mausoleum (photo: A. Fullér).

at the top of the building. Below the cornice, and along the vertical edges of the building there are torus mouldings, but with more simple finishing. The entrance is flanked by two columns; the memorial tablet above is framed with rosettes. On the facade, the cavetto cornice is decorated with a winged sun-disk. The decoration of the interior is more moderate than that of the Bródy monument. Above the memorial tablet there is a representation of the tablets of the Ten Commandments, symbolising adherence to religious laws.[40] Below the ceiling, the frieze consists of leaves and flowers. Originally, the building had leaded glass windows. The Freund mausoleum was built after 1894. Henrik Freund of Tószeg, the head of the family, was a wholesaler and landowner, who was given a title in 1884.[41] The Kőbányai Civil Brewery Joint-stock Company (Kőbányai Polgári Serfőző Részvénytársaság) was established by the Freund family in 1892. Antal Freund,[42] the grandson of Henrik Freund, was a patron of the psychoanalytic movement in Hungary, and a sponsor of the Internationale Psychoanalytischer Verlag in Vienna.[43]

[40] Bányai *et al.* 2017: 24-25.
[41] See Budapesti Közlöny 1884: 1.
[42] Also known as Anton von Freund.
[43] For Antal Freund of Tószeg and his friendly relations with Sigmund Freud, see Hidvégi 1997 (https://ligetmuhely.com/liget/hidvegi–mate–freud–kobanyan/); Mészáros and Erős 2003:



Figure 3. The Hűvős Mausoleum (photo: A. Fullér).

The mausoleum of the Hűvös family of Botfa (Figure 3) had already been built in the Kozma Street Cemetery. Its eclectic decoration combines Egyptianising motifs with neoclassical elements and in the Hungarian Art Nouveau style. It also has a naos-shaped superstructure and torus mouldings along the vertical edges, with simple finishing. The upper third part of the building is more divided and decorated, and crowned with a cornice consisting of tympanums and corner acroteria. Below, the

132, 146; Erős 2005: 511-514; Moreau-Ricaud 2005 (https://www.encyclopedia.com/psychology/dictionaries-thesauruses-pictures-and-press-releases/freund-toszeghy-anton-von-1880-1920); Borgos 2017: 149-164. In connection with the Internationale Psychoanalytischer Verlag in detail, see Illetschko 2017 (http://personal.murrayhall.com/wp-content/uploads/2017/11/Illetschko_Der-Internationale-Psychoanalytische-Verlag.pdf).



Figure 4. The Moscovitz Monument (photo: A. Fullér).

cavetto cornice is decorated with plant motifs and bordered with two horizontal dentil friezes, below is a frieze consisting of stylised plant motifs. On the facade the most emphatic ornament is the coat-of-arms above the memorial tablet. Above the shield the winged sun-disk is represented. The interior is undecorated, save for the former Egyptianising leaded glass window of the ceiling. In the middle of the window there was a six-pointed star. The mausoleum was built for the family of József Hűvös of Botfa, who played a significant role in the establishment of the underground railway and tram transportation in Budapest. He was ennobled in 1897.[44]

Finally, one of the most interesting examples, and presumably also the earliest example of Hungarian Egyptianising funerary art, is the monument of the Moscovitz family of Zemplén (Figure 4),[45] built in 1890.[46] The shape of the monument also

[44] See Szilágyi 1929: 384; Haraszti 2004: 146.
[45] For the Moscovitz monument, see Losonczi 1892: 142, 146.
[46] The original building permit can be found in the Budapest City Archives, see BFL IV.1407.b_III_1871_1890_III.54/1890.



Figure 5. The horizontal sandglass on the cavetto cornice of the Bródy Mausoleum (photo: A. Fullér).

mirrors an ancient Egyptian gateway, crowned with a cavetto cornice and flanked by two lions and snakes. The position of the two lions is one of the most striking elements of the funerary monument. It has an interesting parallel to the ancient Egyptian Aker, represented as *double lions* joined back-to-back, and acting as the protector of the entrance to the underworld, and symbolising the two horizons.[47] The snake is a chthonic symbol in mythology, and is also tied to Asclepius, the Greek god of medicine, thus becoming a symbol of medical science. The snake was also a healing symbol in ancient Hebrew tradition.[48] On the facade, the most prominent ornament is the coat-of-arms flanked by two columns. Above this is the memorial tablet, which contained the name of Mór Moscovitz of Zemplén. There had been Egyptianising torus mouldings along the vertical edges of the monument, some of which can still be seen under the cavetto cornice, but most now lie on the ground. Here, too, a winged creature with a horizontal sandglass

[47] For Aker, see Wilkinson 2003: 176.
[48] See Schiller 1984: 61-65; Antoniou *et al.* 2011: 217-221.



Figure 6. The winged creature on the cavetto cornice of the Moscovitz Monument (photo: E. Süvegh).

is represented on the cavetto cornice in the place of the winged sun-disk (Figure 6). A bird's tail and two legs projecting from the sandglass are visible on an old photograph. The legs holding the sandglass can still be clearly seen. Above the sandglass, the representation of the head is damaged, but a crown or headdress is visible still, and perhaps what might be two horns or locks of hair, while the head is flanked with two other elements. The old photograph still shows the name of Mór Moscovitz of Zemplén on the memorial tablet.[49] Mór Moscovitz (1810-1880) was one of the first homeopathists in Hungary.[50] In 1831 he fought successfully against the cholera epidemic and became the family doctor of the Andrássys. After the Austro-Hungarian Compromise in 1867, he was given a title by the Prime Minister, Gyula Andrássy.[51] He died in 1880, but his present funerary monument was built ten years later in 1890, in the place of a former monument.[52] Although the Moscovitz monument was built to the memory of Mór Moscovitz, it is more reflective of the time of his son, Géyza Moscovitz of Zemplén, who had it built.

Excursus: the winged symbols and the sandglass motif

[49] See Losonczi 1892: 142.
[50] See Kóczián and Kölnéi 2002: 75-110.
[51] For Mór Moscovitz of Zemplén, see Török 2012: 24; and Konrád 2014: 156, 167-168, 411-413; Repiszky 2018 (https://www.rovart.com/hu/csondes-elhang-a-kassai-lesznai-anna-konferencia-elestejen_3879).
[52] See BFL IV.1407.b_III_1871_1890_III.54/1890; for his obituary, see Orvosi Hetilap 1880: cols. 668-669.

Two of the funerary monuments discussed above represent very similar winged symbols, while another variation can be seen on the facade of the Bródy mausoleum. However, the winged creatures of the Bródy and Moscovitz monuments are not quite the same; overall, they consist of the same elements. The representation on the Moscovitz funerary monument is earlier, but unfortunately, the condition of the relief does not allow the identification of the winged creature, and the representation cannot be reconstructed based on the only extant old photograph either.

The winged creature with the sandglass can be identified with personified Time, who seems to appear with wings and a sandglass on the cover of a book by Paul Zehentner, published in 1643.[53] The winged creature holding the sandglass brings a line of Virgil to mind: 'irreparable time, flies away'.[54] Rarely, the sandglass can also allude to Temperance, who can also be depicted with wings, thus the creature with the sandglass may also evoke the allegory of moderation.[55] One of the closest parallels to the Egyptianising sandglass appeared on the cavetto cornice of the funerary monument of the Hungarian poet, Gyula Reviczky (1855-1889), built in 1891 in the Fiumei Street Cemetery and designed by Köllő Miklós.[56] However, on this funerary monument, the winged sandglass was vertical and with no other elements.[57]

Another close parallel to the Egyptianising sandglass appears on the cavetto cornice of the Egyptian Vaults in the Glasgow Necropolis, built in 1837 for the temporary storage of coffins pending the erection of a permanent grave.[58] However, parallels to the Egyptianising winged creature itself that holds the horizontal sandglass have not yet been found. The sandglass laid horizontally resembles the symbol of infinity. In the turned sandglass, time does not pass and becomes forever circular.

[53] Zehentner 1643.

[54] Virgil, *Georg*. III 284, transl. J. Martyn.

[55] For Temperance and her depiction with an unusual symbolic attribute in Siena, see Nagy 2007: 49-64; Boucheron 2005: 1182-1184. In connection with another rare depiction of Temperance with sandglass, see Kiefer 2003: 163-164, fig. 31.

[56] For the funerary monument, see Vasárnapi Újság 1891: 425.

[57] Unfortunately, the stone of which the Reviczky monument was built was of an inferior quality, which led to damage in his funerary monument. His new funerary statue was made by István Lipót Gách in 1932. See Tóth 1999: 36-37. In connection with the damaged Reviczky monument, it is worth making mention of the 170 funerary monuments along the perimeter wall and a section of two plots, which were built between the 1870s and the 1920s in the north-eastern corner of the Fiumei Street Cemetery and torn down in 1953. See Tóth 1999: 88-93. We have no information on what was definitively lost with this demolition.

[58] See Scott 2005: 111, fig. 31; Packer 2012: 67, 230, 279.

The artists and clients of the Egyptianising monuments

On the basis of earlier literature, the Moscovitz funerary monument was built before 1892, and is attributed to Gyula Donáth.[59] However, a contemporary journal attests that the published building permit had been made out for the architect Ignác Reiszner in 1890.[60] The original building permit can be found in the Budapest City Archives.[61] It once included four plans, which are unfortunately lost. On the original building permit neither the name of Gyula Donáth nor the name of Ignác Reiszner are indicated. The work of Ignác Reiszner is unknown; he was presumably the architect officially assigned to the building by the capital city council. Gyula Donáth was a well-known sculptor of his time. He studied at the famous art academies of the period in Munich, Dresden, Vienna, and Saint Petersburg.[62] He returned to Hungary upon receiving the news on the building of the Opera House, and shortly after accepted one commission after another. By the 1890s he had become one of the most widely acknowledged sculptors of Hungarian funerary art. The turning point of Hungarian figural funerary art was heralded by the funerary monument of the sculptor Adolf Huszár in 1889, which was designed by Gyula Donáth. It includes a daring association of the symbol of Christianity and an ancient mythological figure. Before the large crucifix stands the Fate, Atropos, who cuts the thread of life and chooses the manner of a person's death.[63] With the funerary monument of his master, Donáth became the innovator of Hungarian funerary art and one of its greatest masters, combining traditional attributes with uniquely novel death allegories.[64]

To better understand the history of the creation of the Moscovitz monument, a brief introduction to its recipient client is also necessary. Géyza Moscovitz of Zemplén was a lawyer, who also acted as the secretary of Gyula Andrássy for a short time. After his early resignation, he retired to the family estate in the countryside, which was open to the most outstanding artists and thinkers of the period. Moscovitz was an art collector and he also maintained a salon in Budapest.[65] 'In Pest, his house was open, and anyone of his friends could go up to

[59] See Losonczi 1892: 136-146. In the literature there is no information on the date of the building of the Moscovitz-monument, see Tóth 2014: 54; Tóth 2018: 350; Csáki 2018: 324.
[60] See Építő Ipar 1890: 47.
[61] BFL IV.1407.b_III_1871_1890_III.54/1890.
[62] See Both 1881: 270-271; Szana 1883: 834-836; and Jancsák 1996: 121-122.
[63] For the funerary monument of Adolf Huszár, see Prém 1889: 5; Fővárosi Lapok 1889: 449; Losonczi 1892: 143-144. Tóth 1999: 16-18.
[64] See Tóth 1999: 53-54.
[65] For Géyza Moscovitz of Zemplén, see Repiszky 2004: 163, 186; Török 2012: 24; and Konrád 2014: 156-157, 160-162, 168, 412-413; recently Repiszky 2018 (https://www.rovart.com/hu/csondes–elhang–a–kassai–lesznai–anna–konferencia–elestejen_3879).

dinner without an invitation. He took pleasure in people with the most different party affiliations and world views meeting in his house, where they argued about literary and political questions till midnight.'[66] He named these evenings 'jungles' after Kipling's popular book of the time, referring to the mix of people who showed up there. One of his favourite guests was the art historian Elek Petrovics, later director of the Museum of Fine Arts Budapest.[67]

The Egyptianising funerary monuments also hint at a possible Masonic connection. This impression is further confirmed by the very special representation of the winged creature with the horizontal sandglass and the position of the two lions that flanked the Moscovitz funerary monument. Although Géyza Moscovitz himself was not connected to any specific Masonic lodge, his society of friends included many freemasons, for example Endre Ady, the famous poet, and Oszkár Jászi, the second husband of his daughter, who became the Master of the Martinovics lodge in 1911.[68]

The mausoleum of the Freunds of Tószeg was built after 1894, and according to the literature its designer is unknown. However an obituary published in 1927 states that the mausoleum was designed by the architect Kálmán Gerster (1850-1927).[69] Gerster, who had studied at the Academy of Fine Arts Vienna in Italy and in Germany,[70] designed the interior of the Kossuth mausoleum in an Egyptianising style in 1902,[71] but was made to rework the original plans of that monument later the same year on the orders of the Building Committee.[72]

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[66] See Jászi 1982: 557-558.

[67] See Jászi 1982: 558.

[68] For the freemason Endre Ady, see Nacsády 2018: 311-340; and for Oszkár Jászi, see Jászi 2018: 159-188.

[69] See Fábián 1927: 138. The following mausoleums are listed in the obituary: the Neuschloss, Freund, Ehrenfeld and Brüll mausoleums. In connection with the cemetery where these mausoleums were built only the following determination can be found: 'az izraelita temetőben', lit. 'in the Jewish cemetery', see Fábián 1927: 138. The Brüll mausoleum was built in the Kozma Street Cemetery, The Neuschloss, Freund and Ehrenfeld mausoleums were built in the Salgótarjáni Street Cemetery. The legacy of Kálmán Gerster can be found in the National Archives of Hungary, where the plans of the Brüll, Neuschloss, and Ehrenfeld mausoleums are kept, see MNL OL T_8_No_18/141-143; MNL OL T_8_No_18/8; MNL OL T_8_No_18/102-104. However, the plan of Freund mausoleum is not to be found. The academic achievement of Kálmán Gerster was treated by Gábor György Papp. His dissertation mentions the three mausoleums that can be connected to Kálmán Gerster, but there is no information on the Freund mausoleum, see Papp 2007: 22.

[70] See Fábián 138; Papp 2007: 13-18.

[71] On his American tour, Lajos Kossuth joined the Freemasonry in Cincinnati. It is conceivable that his Masonic bonds contributed to the Egyptianising style of the original plan. For the freemason Lajos Kossuth, see Berényi 2018: 277-298.

[72] See E. Csorba 1983: 140. Papp 2007: 95.

The patrons of the funerary monuments and mausoleums in the Salgótarjáni and the Kozma Street cemeteries were not attached to Masonic lodges, but some of their architects were. Nevertheless, in retrospect it is quite difficult to decide if this had any influence on the choice of the style of funerary monuments. The Bródy mausoleum was built in 1893 and designed by Zsigmond Quittner, who had studied at the Technical University of Munich,[73] and joined the Alten Getreuen Masonic Lodge.[74] The Hűvös mausoleum was designed by Alfréd Wellisch in 1906, who was trained at the Karlsruhe Institute of Technology, the Academy of Fine Arts in Vienna, and the Academy of Fine Arts in Paris.[75] He did join the Freemasons – becoming a member of the Eötvös Masonic Lodge from 1881 to 1892, and one of the founders of the Reform Masonic Lodge in 1892.[76]

Conclusion

The architects of the Egyptianising funerary monuments in Budapest studied at famous institutions of higher education, and were familiar with the designs for mausoleums and funerary monuments in Père-Lachaise, which were published in numerous books on funerary architecture and became widely available sourcebooks all over the world.[77] The life, social position and funerary customs of the designers and clients of Egyptianising funerary mausoleums and monuments were largely affected by assimilation and emancipation that characterised the period. At the same time, the style and location of funerary monuments were also affected by religious practices. Although some of the tomb owners had large estates in the countryside, they did not use these country cemeteries, or their grand country homes for their burials. They had their imposing family mausoleums and funerary monuments built in the Jewish cemeteries of the capital in Pest,[78] a decision probably influenced by the prestige of the cemeteries. After all, the Salgótarjáni Street Jewish Cemetery was the burial place of the Jewish economic and cultural elite, who participated in the prosperity of the Dual Monarchy of Austria-Hungary.[79]

[73] See Gerle, Kovács and Makovecz 1990: 159. In connection with his works, see Frojimovics *et al.* 1995: 641-642.
[74] See Berényi 2005: 242.
[75] See Gerle, Kovács and Makovecz 1990: 218. In connection with his works, see Frojimovics *et al.* 1995: 644.
[76] He resigned in 1896, see Berényi 2005: 277-278.
[77] For the funerary art of Père-Lachaise as source books, see Curl 2006: 290.
[78] See Csáki 2018: 323. However, the Christian aristocracy of the Dualism in Hungary considered themselves connected to Budapest by their activities, but built their family funerary monuments or mausoleums in the countryside, see Tóth 1999: 60-62.
[79] See also Klein 2011: 106.

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List of abbreviations
BFL = Budapest Főváros Levéltára
MNL OL = Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár Országos Levéltára

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IMAGES OF EGYPT IN ZAGREB FROM THE 19TH AND 20TH CENTURIES: BUILDINGS, MONUMENTS, STREET FURNITURE

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Abstract: Signs of Egyptomania in Zagreb's architecture and urbanism are to be found scattered over a period of almost two centuries. At the beginning and end of that timeline are the obelisks, whose settings are associated with the Archdiocese of the city. The first ever obelisk in Zagreb was set up by bishop Aleksandar Alagović in 1835 to mark the completion of works in the great garden under the bishop's palace and the cathedral. The last (thus far) obelisk was erected in 1994 in Hrvatske bratske zajednice Street to commemorate 900 years of Zagreb and the Archdiocese. Between these two monuments there are other obelisks that are also associated with various events and serve as street furniture. The Mirogoj Cemetery and Maksimir Park are those parts of the city with the largest number of monuments referencing ancient Egypt, clear indications of the connection between Egyptian culture and contemporary notions of death, and also the flowering of the 'Egyptomania' that grabbed Europe after 1922.

In the first decades of the 20th century the art of ancient Egypt inspired many architects in Zagreb, especially those who witnessed the new 'discovery' of Egypt in Vienna around 1900. Among the commercial and residential buildings of Zagreb's Lower Town, most of the Egyptian decorative elements are linked to a large building project started by the Isis Pharmaceutical Company, which created a unique visual identity associated with its name.

Keywords: Zagreb, architecture, obelisks, Art Nouveau, Art Déco, Maksimir Park and Zoo.

Obelisks in Old and New Zagreb

The appearance of architectural elements which, in terms of both form and symbolism, were inspired by ancient Egyptian art can be found in Zagreb linked to the first decades of the 19th century. At that time, more precisely according to the 1837 census, the city's population was some 15,000 residents.[1] City life was concentrated on Grič Hill, where citizens' houses and noblemen's palaces were

[1] *Almanah grada Zagreba* 1931: 545.

located, along with governmental institutions and venues for social interactions. The demolition of Grič's medieval walls began on the southern side in 1812, and promenades were built in their place. Kaptol Hill is located to the east of Grič, with the cathedral and the palace of the Archdiocese, with its walls and towers. In the southern suburb of Grič is today's main Ilica Street, marked on the 1825 city plan as *Strasse nach Steyermarkt* (Styria Road), and Vlaška Street, on the east side of Kaptol Hill, then called *Wiener Strasse* (Viennese Street). These two thoroughfares, Ilica and Vlaška, contained the homes of small traders and craftsmen. The main confluence of all sectors of the bustling city's urban life was Harmica Square, today's Ban Jelačić Square.

In art, architecture and urban planning the paragon, of course, was Vienna, with the prevailing fashion of the first decades of the 19th century being the 'Biedermeier style', a derivative of Neoclassicism and characteristic of central Europe at the time. This period was witness to Zagreb's most beautiful gardens, commissioned by church dignitaries, and it was these horticultural ventures that nourished the first roots of Egyptomania in the city. In particular, the exemplars for Zagreb's gardens in the Biedermeier epoch were the Laxenburg and Schönbrunn parks, with features and architectural details that made, inter alia, numerous references and quotations from ancient Egyptian art.[2]

Immediately after his appointment as bishop of Zagreb in 1829, Aleksandar Alagović (1760–1837) undertook the restoration of a neglected marshy area northeast of the cathedral.[3] This area, Ribnjak (literally: fish pond), was turned into a landscaped garden by Leopold Klingspögl, who was previously in the service of Count Batthyány of Nagykanizsa.[4] Leopold constructed a system of lakes and promenades, and oversaw the planting of a variety of trees and flowers. It is recorded that a garden temple was erected in the park, and some sources also mention sculptures of Kora, Minerva and Osiris, which, alas, were not preserved.[5] In honour of the completion of the Ribnjak works, the first obelisk was erected in Zagreb in 1835. It was the work of the sculptor Wagner, and was located at the very start of Vlaška Street, in front of the eastern entrance to the Archdiocese palace, at the point where the bishopric town on the hill and the suburb meet. The obelisk was based on three spheres and placed on a pedestal decorated with statues of saints and angels. The artist was Franz Marsch, who also created statues for the park itself. In a storm in 1875, the obelisk was unfortunately damaged and restoration was estimated to be difficult; thus the entire monument was removed despite the wishes of the public to restore it.[6] We can sense the popularity and

[2] Hajos 1989: 52, 100, 135.
[3] Dobronić 1991: 109; Maruševski 1997: 92.
[4] Kunitsch 1831: 289-295.
[5] Maruševski 1997: 92.
[6] Knežević 2004: 258-259.

importance of the Vlaška Street obelisk in terms of its city image and its place in the collective memory of today through the popular prints and pictures of the much-esteemed Zagreb cityscape artist Branko Šenoa, dated to 1915, reproduced from a preserved photograph of the obelisk.

The second Zagreb obelisk commemorates too the same kind of endeavour – the completion of Maksimir Park. Bishop Maksimilijan Vrhovec (1752–1827) began the project of transforming the diocesan estate, located east of the city limits, into an English-style park in 1787.[7] After a long break, the works were completed in 1843, during the time of the bishop (later cardinal) Juraj Haulik (1788–1869, bishop of Zagreb from 1837). The landscape architect Johann Michael Sebastian Riedl and the builder Franz Schücht, both previously engaged in similar works at the Laxenburg estate,[8] participated in the new park's design. To mark the completion of the undertaking, Haulik erected an obelisk in an area of the park delightfully known as the 'Valley of the Dahlias'. The artist chosen was Joseph Kässmann, a Viennese sculptor who made some other monuments in the park. This obelisk was also erected on a pedestal, with its sides decorated with a gilded laurel wreath, as were the sides of the obelisk.

In the late 19th century, that era of several 'neo'-styles, Zagreb's architectural and urban features witnessed the addition of an obelisk as part of a festive initiative for the Emperor King Franz Joseph's visit in the autumn of 1895. The choice of obelisks, along with triumphal arches, which were arranged around the city, are readily interpreted as symbolic indicators of endeavour and durability – virtues that the Habsburg Emperor wished to emulate. Defined in the Baroque period, the symbolism of the obelisk was to be abundantly used in the construction of the Schönbrunn Imperial Castle Garden, where these features were located at the key points of the complex. Two obelisks are located at the main entrance, and the third is part of the grotto-fountain complex (*Obeliskbrunnen*) which is visually very effective and creates a strong conclusion to the promenade of the garden.[9] Zagreb's 'Welcoming Committee' for the Habsburg Emperor entrusted the task of the construction of the obelisks (or rather 'pyramids') to leading architects Hermann Bollé and the Hönigsberg & Deutsch atelier.[10] These obelisks were to be made of wood, and their relief embellishments of plaster and cement. The entire composition was painted white and adorned with leafy garlands.

As well as the ones on the city streets, four obelisks were placed in a semicircle in front of the newly constructed Croatian National Theatre, which the Emperor himself was to open during the same visit. However, since the obelisks in front of

[7] Maruševski and Jurković 1992: 3-67.
[8] Riedl was the chief supervisor of all the works in Laxenburg. Hajos 1989: 230.
[9] Hajós 2004: 151-153.
[10] Chvala 1895: 96.

the theatre were conceived as permanent urban equipment for the new square, they were made of durable material – chiselled stone (the work of stone-cutter Ignjat Franz, 1855–1942), with wrought-iron lamps mounted on their tops. In the coming years, however, it became obvious that the obelisks failed to define the square in front of the theatre: traffic became chaotic in that area, and it was decided in 1911 that square needed rearrangement.[11] This re-planning featured the sculpture *The Well of Life* by the sculptor Ivan Meštrović as part of architect Ignjat Fischer's overall design. Accordingly, the obelisks were moved to the Mirogoj Cemetery – two in front of the main entrance and two in front of the chapel of rest. The daily newspapers of the time approved of the move, with the monuments suiting the cemetery in terms of their 'pyramid shape'.[12]

In the interwar period, the obelisk shape was chosen to advertise the events of the Zagreb Fair (*Velesajam*); these 'pyramids' were made of wood and sited on the most frequented places in and on the way to the city. The latest obelisk to be set up in Zagreb is also related to the Archdiocese. In 1994, the 900th anniversary of the Archdiocese and the City of Zagreb was marked, and as a memorial an obelisk was erected at the junction of Vukovar Avenue and Croatian Fraternal Union Street, to a design of the architect Branko Silađin (1936). This granite obelisk, with its metal cap, was located near the offices of the city's administration, at the crossroads of major thoroughfares, one of which leads to Novi Zagreb, across the Sava River. From the very start this obelisk strong provoked public reaction: it was even declared a 'masonic monument', and at one point was supplemented with a cross that was soon to be removed. Due to a decision to place a monument to the first Croatian President, Franjo Tuđman, at the same location, the obelisk was moved at the end of 2018 further south, on the axis of Croatian Fraternal Union Street, to Novi Zagreb, at its crossing with Dubrovnik Avenue.

Under the Influence of Viennese Egyptomania

In the late 19th and early 20th centuries, Croatian students studied architecture in Vienna. At the Academy of Fine Arts (*Akademie der bildenden Künste*), Viktor Kovačić (1874–1924) and Vjekoslav Bastl (1872–1947) studied with Otto Wagner, Lav Kalda (1880–1956) studied with Viktor Luntz and Friedrich Ohmann, and Hugo Ehrlich (1879–1936) studied with Karl König at the College of Technology (*Technische Hochschule*). At the time, however, the perceptions of young architects were more influenced by Adolf Loos than their official teachers. Loos's positive critique of Kovačić's student work in *Neue Freie Press* in July 1898 was the beginning of a long friendship between the two architects. However, Loos only influenced Kovačić's

[11] Bagarić 2011: 188-193.
[12] 'Nasadi izpred kazališta', *Narodne novine*, Zagreb, 26 August 1911.

design career to a limited degree: his influence was far greater on Kovačić's tastes and everyday life. In that respect, it can be assumed that the Croatian architect, just as Loos, his life mentor, embraced Egyptomania, to which other champions of Viennese modernism – Wagner, Moser, and Hoffmann – were also not immune.[13] After completing his studies in Vienna, Kovačić returned to Zagreb in 1899. In 1904, for the first time he made use of forms of ancient Egyptian art and symbols on one of the variants of the project to decorate a flight of steps in Franjo Josip I Square (now King Tomislav Square) in Zagreb.[14] According to Kovačić's design, a wide set of steps would lead from the park to the main station. At the top of the steps, to the left and right, large Egyptian sphinxes were to be placed on massive pedestals. In addition, obelisks with streetlamps would be erected on the terrace in front of the station building. On the same design sheet is Kovačić's sketch of the Greek sphinx, which the architect could have seen in the parks of Belvedere or Schönbrunn. Obviously, the Egyptian models seemed to him as a more effective solution for the Zagreb Square. By the end of 1904 and early 1905, Kovačić made several more proposals for the design of the square, as competition projects, in which he left out the monumental sphinxes, but kept the obelisks. In the end, however, none of the proposals were realised. The theme was not abandoned, however, and Kovačić would again use obelisks in his projects for military cemeteries in 1917, although, for the latter, function and message were understandably completely different than for iconic city squares.

Lesser, yet more interesting, traces of Kovačić's Egyptomania can be found in his notebooks: among the many drawings of furniture, mostly made during the architect's visits to Vienna between 1905 and 1918, there is also a drawing of the Loosian three-legged 'Egyptian stool' (ägyptischer Hocker). In addition to this stool, Loos also designed the so-called 'Theban stool', and both these 'Egyptian' pieces of furniture are often found in photographs of Loos's interiors – from his own Vienna apartment (1902) to the Brummel apartment in Czech Plzeň (Pilsen, 1927). Today, we do not know whether Kovačić's Egyptian stools were included in any of his Zagreb interiors; however, with certainty, we can claim they featured in the interior designs of another Croatian *Loosovian* – the architect Zlatko Neumann (1900-1969). Neumann studied architecture at the College of Technology, and he collaborated with Loos from 1919 to 1927, at first in his Viennese atelier and then as an associate in Paris.[15] Upon his return to Zagreb, the architect Neumann had, among other things, designed numerous private interiors, frequently under strong Loosian influence. In the preserved photograph of one apartment in Zagreb's Petrinjska Street from the 1930s, the Loos three-legged stool is visible. Confirmation that this

[13] Alofsin 1993: 103-107, 172-176.
[14] The project was not realised. For more on the project's history, see Knežević 2003: 134-136.
[15] Kahle 2015: 32.

type of stool was a well-known feature of Zagreb's apartments can be found in the home of Miroslav Krleža, one of the most important Croatian writers (now a memorial to him at Krležin Gvozd 23).

As a logo

In the period between the apogee of Viennese Egyptomania 1900 and the global interest in the movement after 1922, a Zagreb-based pharmaceutical company, founded in the summer of 1918, sought its inspiration from among the rich deposits of ancient Egyptian art. Stemming from its name – *Isis* – given by its founder Gustav Janaček, the company based all of its visual identity on the heritage of ancient Egypt. The first *Isis* logo – an image of the goddess Isis in a rectangular frame – was not particularly inventive, the drawing being simply copied from an illustration for *Isis lexeme* from Meyer's *Grosse Konversations-Lexicon*. Over time, however, creative designers and architects were asked to develop promotional material for companies (greeting cards, posters, magazines, souvenirs, etc) and their exhibitions at trade fairs. In this way the *Isis* pavilion was designed by the architect Drago Korbar (1907–1981) for the Chemical Pharmacy Exhibition held as part of the Zagreb Fair in 1934; Korbar's design featured as its central image the goddess Isis, commented on as being 'simple and elegant' and 'tasteful'.[16] In the early 1930s, Zagreb's Atelier Tri was commissioned to design pharmaceutical packaging material, leaflets and advertisements, as well as a range of stationery items. The Tri firm incorporated the initial, simple logo into their design for certain items, e.g. greeting cards, while combining various other Egyptian and pharmacy motifs for other material. The iconic monuments of ancient Egypt were clearly well known to the firm, as can be seen from other advertising campaigns of theirs, for example for the cruise liner the *Queen Mary*, which sailed the Eastern Mediterranean at the time.

The architect Dionis Sunko (1879–1935), who was commissioned in 1920 to work on the *Isis* headquarters at 12 Pavla Hatza Street, Zagreb, also made substantial references to the familiar motifs of ancient Egypt. He designed a three-story mansard building, composed of three linked parts (street, courtyard and lower central building), and which included, besides the business premises, living spaces and warehouses.[17] He came up with a fairly narrow main facade for the building, and the public interiors featured reliefs and sculptures inspired by Egypt. On the draft of the design project, Sunko drew two figures of the goddess

[16] 'Kemijsko-farmaceutska izložba na Zagrebačkom zboru u Zagrebu', *Apotekarski vje*snik, 25 October 1934, No. 20, p. 1076.

[17] The project documentation is kept in the State Archives in Zagreb (Collection of Construction Documents).

Isis over the main entrance to the building, and between them he imagined a relief ornament with widespread wings, in front of which was a shield. Above the arch of the main entrance, and over the arches of the large, displays windows, to the left and right, he planned a series of water lily buds or papyrus relief motifs. Additionally, colossal order pilasters, located along the central axis of the facade, have capitals with wide, parallel-shaped leaves, resembling typical Egyptian 'palm columns'; similar sequences of these leaves feature on parts of the cornice of the final window axes. On the draft of the longitudinal section of the building, it can be seen that Sunko foresaw luxurious decorations on the walls of the vestibule: at the central part of the long wall, in a special niche framed by columns, Isis was presented on her throne, surrounded by adorants, and on the sides were drawn figures, in rows typical of ancient Egyptian paintings and sculptures, with the sun's rays behind them. Unfortunately, at the end of the construction, at a meeting of the executive board of *Isis* in May 1921, it was concluded that the implementation of the 'sculptural decoration' on the new building was 'unnecessary'.[18] In the end, only the embossed flower buds above the ground floor arches were executed, along with leafy capitals and sequences on the cornice; the vestibule walls also remained undecorated.

Echoes of Egyptomania worldwide after 1922

With its clear associations of ancient Egyptian culture with death, Zagreb's cemeteries are feature many tombstones in obelisk form. Zagreb's central cemetery of Mirogoj has one of the most significant examples of Egyptomania in terms of 20th-century architecture in the city – the Cabas family mausoleum, built in the form of a pyramid.[19] The entrance to the mausoleum is flanked by columns with capitals and a tree trunk in the shape of a papyrus. These columns support beams decorated with relief sequences of leaves, inspired by the same ancient Egyptian tradition. According to the construction data, the mausoleum was designed in the early 1930s and completed in September 1932. The project was signed by Miroslav König (1871–1943), the Zagreb sculptor and stonecutter, and Velimir König (1897–1956), a master stonemason. The commissioner of the construction was Antun Cabas (1862–1933), a factory owner, originating from Medea, near the Italian town of Gorizia. With his wife Ella (1884–1932), he had chosen to live in Croatia from 1920, when he became co-owner (with Josip Rendelli and Ivan Trepp) of a company

[18] The State Archives in Zagreb, HR-DAZG-271.

[19] The mausoleum is often referred to after its later owners – the Grubišić family – who have attached a new black marble slab above their entrance with their last name. Mausoleum construction documentation in: The State Archives in Zagreb, construction permit dated 11 March 1930, No. 7167-XVI-1930.

manufacturing bricks, tiles and clay goods in Karlovac.[20] In her own right, Ella Cabas had been running the successful millinery store, the *Yellow House* (Žuta Kuća) in Frankopanska Street since 1930.[21]

Maksimir Park is another of Zagreb's important sites where several monuments made under the influence of ancient Egyptian culture and art are to be found. These monuments were created in the interwar period, and so their inspiration could be interpreted as part of the new wave of Egyptomania that spread through Europe after 1922, of course associated with the great finds in the tomb of Tutankhamen. Within the southern part of Maksimir Park, a modern Zoo was opened in 1925, and by about 1930 its modernisation and the construction of various new park features and animal pavilions began.[22] The designers of the new features and pavilions were architects and engineers from the city's construction department, and the common idea in the venture was to have new buildings styled after the country from which each animal species originated. Thus, the camel enclosure has elements of Arab architecture, while exotic Asian birds fly within a pagoda, and an African hut forms the setting for the ostriches. The giraffe enclosure was apparently conceived in the form of an Egyptian temple, but we learn about this only from an article in a daily newspaper: the structure, unfortunately, was never been built.[23] Happily, the newspaper columns contain its description, along with a sketch drawing, according to which we see that the model for the temple was clearly similar to, for example, the Esna structure. The same source reveals that two pharaonic sculptures were planned for the front of the enclosure – some 4 m high and mounted on pedestals of 1 m. At a later date sculptures were indeed made and erected in front of the tropical enclosure.[24]

At the other end of Maksimir Park is the *Mogila* (tumulus, barrow) memorial – featuring the 'Croatian Falcon' (*Hrvatski Sokol*), with, again, its original form influenced by ancient Egyptian culture. It is puzzling to try and understand the choice for the original sculpture, with its Egyptian influence, for a monument

[20] The State Archives in Zagreb, HR-DAZG-10 City of Zagreb, Auxiliary offices, file No. 126.267 from 1932. Kovačević 2013: 46.

[21] The State Archives in Zagreb, HR-DAZG-10 City of Zagreb, Auxiliary offices, file No. 126.267 from 1932. The 'Yellow House' shop (Žuta Kuća), a 'Parisian fashion salon', was opened in 1927 by the couturier Mira Sirovatka. The shop also sold creations made by members of the first Croatian design association – *Djelo*. 'Žuta kuća', *Svijet*, 3 December 1927.

[22] For more on Zagreb's zoo, see Kolveshi 2015.

[23] 'Naš zoološki vrt pred velikim promjenama', *Jutarnji list*, 14 July 1931. Kolveshi 2015: 89.

[24] Without reference to any sources, it was common to attribute the pharaonic sculptures to the Zagreb sculptor Jozo Turkalj, and dating between 1925 and 1928. After much research into the exhibition held on the zoo, and for this current contribution, no confirmation of Turkalj's authorship was found. As the sculptures are associated with the arrangement of the Zoological garden *c.* 1930, it can be concluded that the previous dating is incorrect. Roje Depolo 2001: 14; Kolveshi 2015: 163.

which, on the occasion of the celebration of the 1000th anniversary of the Croatian Kingdom in 1925, was erected by the patriotic gymnastic society known as 'The Croatian Falcon'.[25] Such inspiration can be interpreted as the spirit of the times, but we also have clues from the biographies of the monument's two main authors. The *Mogila* architectural project was the work of the Zagreb architect Aleksandar Freudenreich (1892–1974), whose work in the 1920s was characterised by the construction of luxury, neo-Historicism villas and family houses. The monuments' pyramid shape (an earthen mound consisting of material brough in from 155 Croatian historical sites), protects and interior 'time capsule', and the choice of the term *mogila*, which in the old language means a grave, is an obvious reference to Egyptian funeral architecture. Another clue is that Freudenreich's brother, Milan (1900–1973), was also an architect, settling in Cairo one year before this project began.

The top of the *mogila*/pyramid was designed as a perch for a statue of a giant falcon. The artist was Ivo Kerdić (1881–1953), a sculptor who was educated and had worked in Vienna, and who was well acquainted with Adolf Loos through his architect friends.[26] Just how much his Viennese education and knowledge of Adolf Loos's Egyptomania influenced Kerdić's design of the falcon, and how much his work was pre-defined by the form of the bird's 'perch', the *mogila*/pyramid, is an open question. In any event, there is a striking resemblance between Kerdić's original falcon design and the Egyptian sculptures of Horus. In support of Ivo Kerdić's original Egyptian inspiration we have his memories of later years when he visited Egypt and its sites in 1936, directly as a guest of the architect Milan Freudenreich. Kerdić, obviously enthralled, mentions those 'Egyptian nightingales', the falcons that ancient 'Egyptians chiselled so often in stone and cast in bronze'.[27]

Unfortunately, Kerdić's own falcon was never to perch upon the *Mogila*: in 1926, the sculpture was destroyed in a politically motivated raid on the sculptor's studio.[28] In 1929, King Aleksandar Karađorđević, the then ruler of Yugoslavia, banned all activities by the Croatian Falcon' society.[29] The Maksimir *Mogila* was eventually restored in 1995, and a new sculpture commissioned: a falcon with widespread wings now sits on top, the work of the sculptor Mladen Mikulin.

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[25] For more on the *Mogila* project, see Štulhofer 2005: 173-174.
[26] Kerdić 1953: 33-78.
[27] Kerdić 1953: 101-107.
[28] Alujević, Der-Hazarijan Vukić and Ferber Bogdan 2011: 24-27.
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Figure 1. Branko Šenoa, obelisk in Vlaška street, Zagreb, 1915, oil on canvas (private collection, Zagreb).

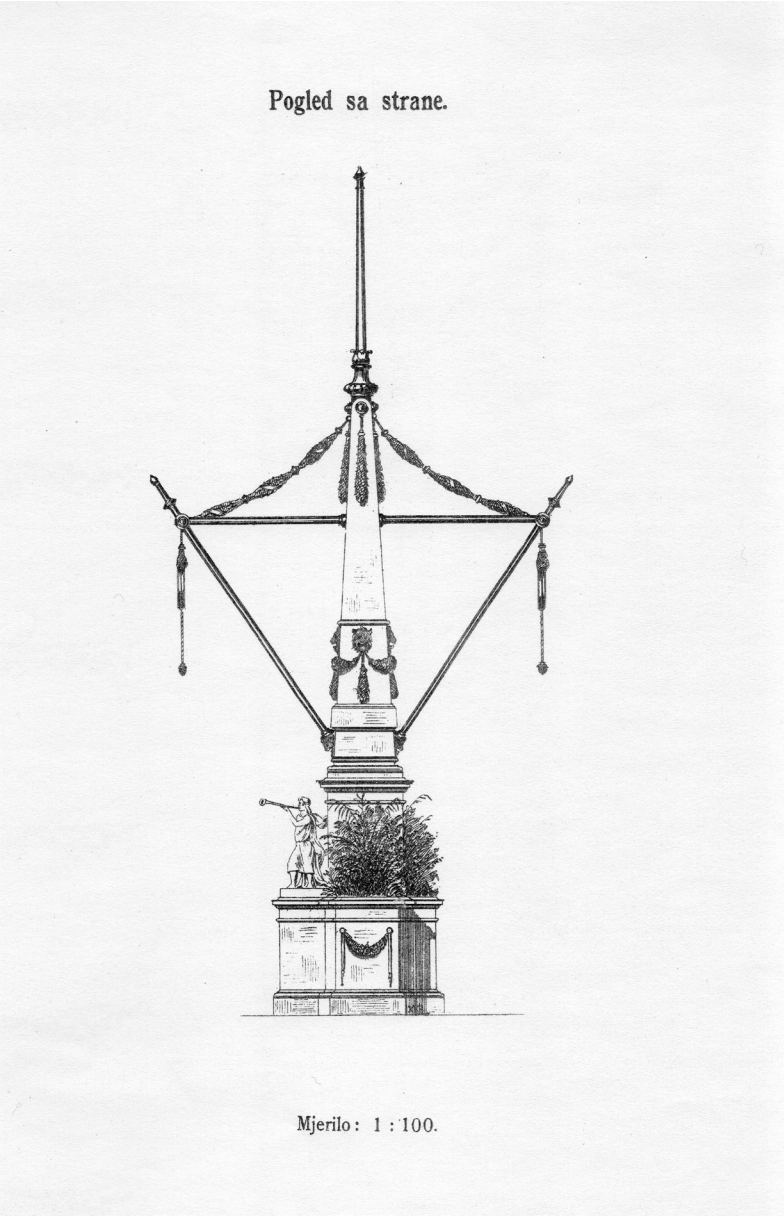


Figure 2. Hermann Bollé, design for obelisk, Zagreb, 1895 (illustration from the journal *Viesti družtva inžinira i arhitekta*).



Figure 3. Obelisks in front of the Croatian National Theatre, postcard, *c.* 1900 (Museum of Arts and Crafts, Zagreb).

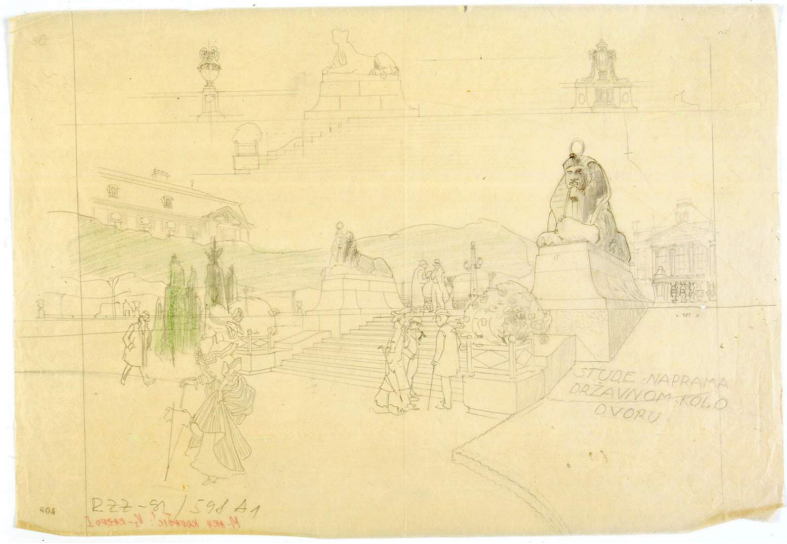


Figure 4. Viktor Kovačić, design for King Tomislav Square – steps to the main railway station, 1904 (Ministry of Culture of the Republic of Croatia).

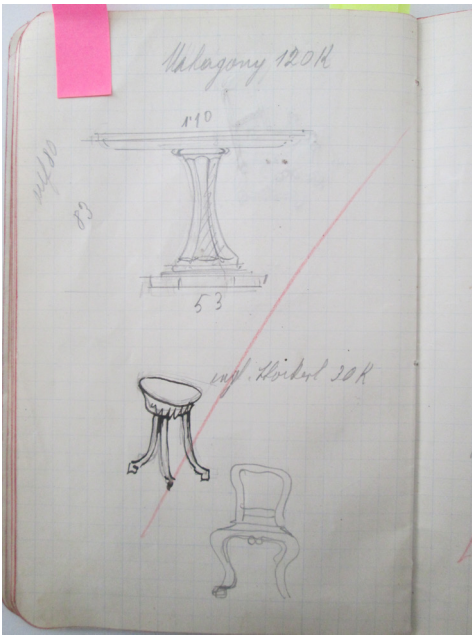


Figure 5. Viktor Kovačić, Egyptian tripod, drawing in a sketchbook, *c.* 1905 (private collection, Zagreb).

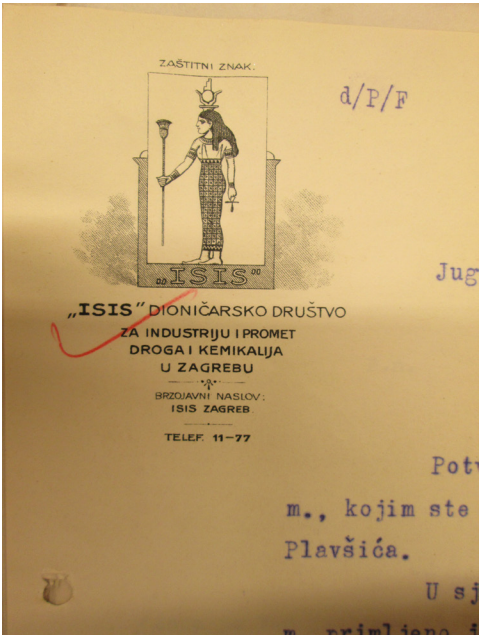


Figure 6. Letterhead for the *Isis* Pharmaceutical Company, 1918 (State Archives, Zagreb).



Figure 7. Dionis Sunko, the *Isis* commercial and residential building, Zagreb, *c.* 1925 (private collection, Zagreb).

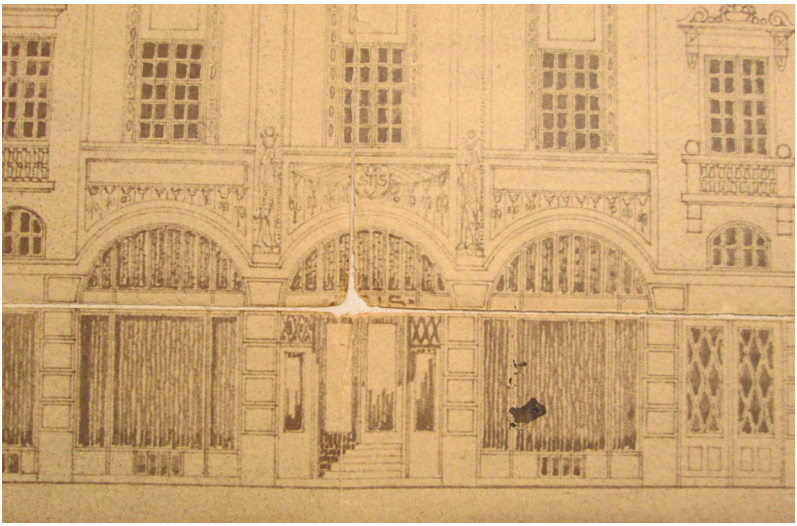


Figure 8. Dionis Sunko, the *Isis* commercial and residential building, Zagreb, design for the main entrance, 1920 (State Archives, Zagreb).

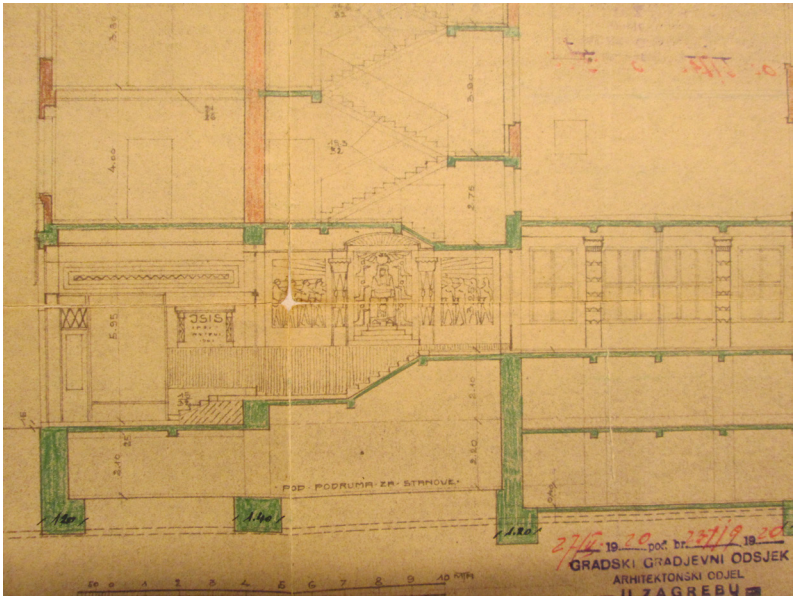


Figure 9. Dionis Sunko, the *Isis* commercial and residential building, Zagreb, design for the hallway, 1920 (State Archives, Zagreb).



Figure 10. Dionis Sunko, the *Isis* commercial and residential building, Zagreb, detail of the main facade (photo: Marina Bagarić, 2018).



Figure 11. Atelier Tri, design for *Brunsov pamuk*, Zagreb, *c.* 1930 (Museum of Arts and Crafts, Zagreb).



Figure 12. Atelier Tri, design for *Saharin*, Zagreb, *c.* 1930 (Museum of Arts and Crafts, Zagreb).



Figure 13. Atelier Tri, design for greeting card, Zagreb, *c.* 1935 (Museum of Arts and Crafts, Zagreb).

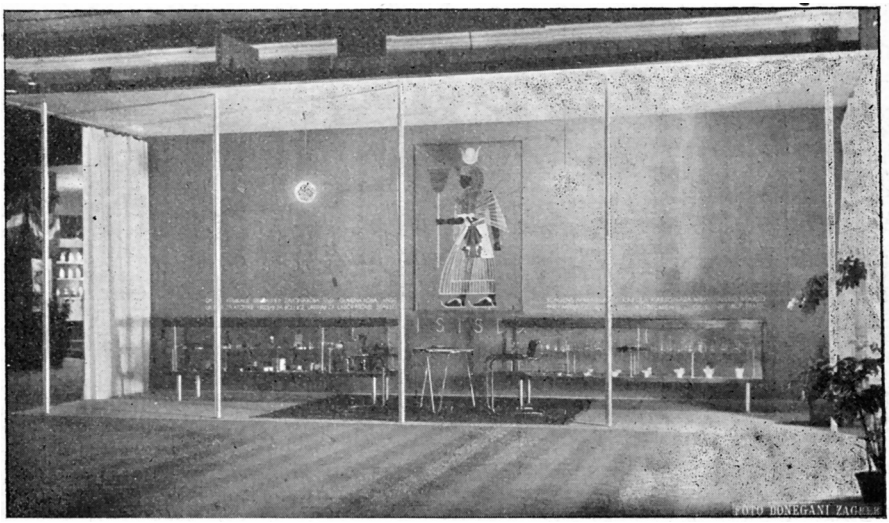


Figure 14. Drago Korbar, stand design for the Zagreb Fair, 1934 (photo from *Apotekarski vjesnik*).



Figure 15. Mausoleum of the Cabas family, Mirogoj Cemetery, Zagreb (photo: Marina Bagarić, 2018).



OVO JE BILA SMJELA SNIMKA: KRVOLOČNI »PAŠA« GLEDA U FOTOGRAFSKI APARAT U KAVEZU

NASTANBA ZA ŽIRAFE U STILU EGIPATSKOG HRAMA

Figure 16. Giraffe enclosure in the style of an Egyptian temple, Maksimir Zoo, Zagreb, 1931 (sketch from the *Jutarnji list*).



Figure 17. The statue of a Pharaoh, Maksimir Zoo, Zagreb, *c.* 1938 (Zagreb City Museum).



Figure 18. The sculptor Ivo Kerdić and architect Aleksandar Freudenreich with the the 'Croatian Falcon', Zagreb, *c.* 1925
(Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts, Fine Arts Archive, Zagreb).



Figure 19. Aleksandar Freudenreich, 'Croatian Falcon Society' monument, Maksimir Park, Zagreb (photo: Marina Bagarić, 2018).

IVAN MEŠTROVIĆ – CREATING ART FOR ETERNITY: MEŠTROVIĆ'S FASCINATION WITH ANCIENT EGYPT AS ILLUSTRATED IN THE FAMILY MAUSOLEUM IN OTAVICE

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Abstract: The paper will present the journeys of Croatian sculptor Ivan Meštrović (1883-1962) who in 1927 travelled to Egypt, Palestine and Greece, and the many effects they had on his art, as well as his new philosophical thinking. He left a record of his impressions in his *Memoirs from a Journey in the Orient*. A year after the journey, the building of the Meštrović mausoleum in Otavice began, known as the Church of the Most Holy Redeemer. Here the impressions of Egyptian art are manifested in the formal rendering of the sculpture, the monumentality of the architecture, and in the fascinating iconographic programme he intended to show on the underside of the dome. In a study of the drawings for the decoration of the dome, it is possible to comprehend Meštrović's broadminded understanding of faith and religion, resulting precisely from the meeting with other cultures during the 1927 journeys.

Keywords: Ivan Meštrović, fascination with Egypt, mausoleum, the Church of the Most Holy Redeemer, Otavice, iconographic programme.

Meštrović's Egyptian journey, May 1927

In May 1927, the Croatian sculptor Ivan Meštrović travelled through Egypt, Palestine and Greece. He had set off with a group of theologians and clerics and with a parish priest from Zagreb, Msgr. Svetozar Rittig, who took photographs recording the trip.[1] The journey lasted a whole month, from May 1 to June 1 1927, with Meštrović and several of his fellow travellers visiting Egypt, Palestine and Greece.[2]

[1] The photographs in the album from the journey were taken by Svetozar Rittig. They are kept in the Meštrović Gallery in Split (inv. no. FGM-1174). On each of the 39 photographs, Rittig's handwriting records and signs the time and place of the visit.

[2] Judging from the depiction of the journey, via the photographs that document most of the places visited, Meštrović and his travelling companions visited Egypt, Jerusalem, some sites in today's Israel, Palestine, the Lebanon and, finally, Greece.



Figure 1. Ivan Meštrović by the Great Sphinx in Giza, in company with a local guide, a Bedouin. 4 May 1927 (FGM-1174/02).

The first stop was Egypt, where they spent eight days, from May 4 to May 11 (Figures 1-3). Lodging in Cairo, the group travelled around the country looking at the antiquities of ancient Egypt. The first day they visited the Pyramid of Cheops and the Great Sphinx at Giza, after which they headed for Memphis. A few days later, on May 8 and 9, a group of the travellers visited Luxor (the Temple of Luxor, the Valley of the Kings, the Temple of Queen Hatshepsut, the Ramesseum and the Colossus of Memnon), as well as the Temple of Amon in Karnak. The last places visited in Egypt were the Elephantine at Aswan and the Temple of Isis on the island of Philae (May 10 and 11).

Meštrović had studied ancient Egyptian art since his student days and became more fully acquainted with it during a stay in Paris (1908/1909) and many visits to the Louvre. However, direct contact with the greatest artistic achievements of ancient civilisation during his visit to Egypt in 1927 prompted him towards a more subjective interpretation of Egyptian religion. In his *Memoirs from a Journey in the*

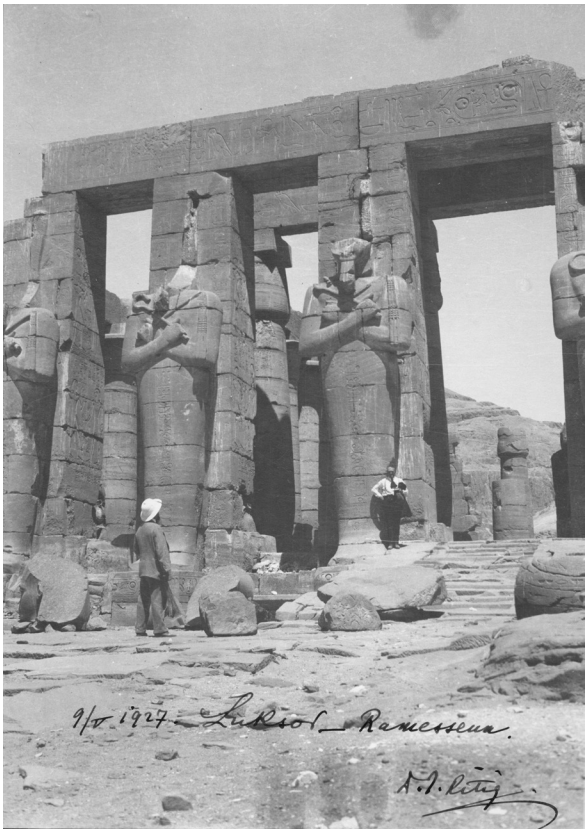


Figure 2. Ivan Meštrović in the Ramesseum in Luxor, 9 May 1927 (FGM-1174/12).

Orient[3], which he wrote just after returning from the trip, he dedicated a whole chapter to the 'Sphinx at Giza'. The vast, stone and 'godlike animal' had a very marked effect on him and set off thinking of a philosophical and theological nature. Gathering together his own impressions, Meštrović started with an interesting debate on the theme of eastern religions, equating them equally with western theological thinking: 'Content and sense? Oh my Lord, I said, seeking, invoking, paying respect to the invisible, which gives and holds all. One era has looked and honoured this way, another that way, but in essence it is the same, the source is the same, the purpose is the same'.[4]

The journey continued with a visit to the Holy Land and the wellsprings of Christianity, which additionally deepened the sculptor's specific conception

[3] Meštrović 1962: 405-411.
[4] Meštrović 1962: 406.



Figure 3. Ivan Meštrović (third on the left) in front of the Colossus of Memnon in Luxor, 9 May 1927 (FGM-1174/13).

of faith and religion. After Egypt, Meštrović and the group of clerics headed on towards Jerusalem. In the Holy City, they spent five days (May 15-19), touring the most important sites: the Dome of the Rock, the Antonia on the square of the former Temple of Herod, the royal tomb, Gethsemane, Jericho, and the place of Jesus' baptism in the River Jordan. On May 21, the group set off northwards to the place of Jesus' birth in Nazareth, halting at the city of Nablus. In Nazareth they spent two days, May 22 and 23, and a day after that they visited the temple complex in Baalbek. As their journey approached its end, the group decided to visit Greece, having taken ship from Turkey. In Greece they took time to explore Athens and Corinth, looking around the antiquities and ancient temples. On their way home they embarked from the Greek port of Salonika.

Impressions of ancient Egypt in Meštrović's artworks

Immediately on returning from his journey, Meštrović set about continuing the work he had started earlier. He completed the 'Monument to Gregory of Nin' (1927)[5] for the city of Split, echoing in the new version his immediate experiences of monumental Egyptian statues. Although at first designed as a figure 5.5 m high, the model made was a good deal bigger. The ultimate size, with a height of almost 8 m, was clearly a surprise to Svetozar Rittig when he visited Meštrović's studio in Zagreb: 'A few days after returning I visited Meštrović in his studio. I was really taken aback: "Good Lord, brother, your Gregory of Nin, while we were on the road, grew to the size of the Colossus of Memnon." "Yes, well – we saw there the way one ought to work. These are monuments. Thousands of years and all the barbarians of this world have not managed to destroy the statues of Egypt, and yet those of Phidias have vanished."'[6]

By placing of the monument on the peristyle of Diocletian's Palace in Split, Meštrović clearly expressed his political views and his resistance to the then current Italian encroachments into Dalmatia. Although the public and art historians criticised the siting of the huge statue in the very heart of Diocletian's Palace, thinking that by this act the value and integrity of a unique monument of ancient culture was diminished, Meštrović persisted in his intention. It is very telling that he shaped the monument according to the specific givens of the immediate surroundings, incorporating the view of it into the semi-circular arches of the ancient colonnade. Rather fittingly, much earlier an Egyptian sphinx had found its permanent lodging under the same arches, giving Meštrović's monument a symbolic backdrop (Figure 4).

[5] The 'Monument to Gregory of Nin' was first unveiled in 1929 in the peristyle of Diocletian's Palace, after much debate. During the Second World War, the Italian occupying authorities decided to disassemble it (in 1941). It was placed in its current position only in 1954, overlooking the Golden Gate – the northern entrance to the Palace. Grgur Dobre was the Bishop of Nin, with authority over the then Kingdom of Croatia. Together with the first Croatian king, Tomislav, he took part in the Church Councils in Split in 925 and 928, at which, among other things, there were discussions on the use of the Old Slavonic liturgy, which was opposed by the Pope and the Latin clergy. Understood and interpreted as a fighter for the preservation of the national language, during the 19th and early 20th century, Grgur Ninski, or 'Gregory of Nin', became a symbol of the aspiration for the independence of the Croatian church. Putting up a monument to the 'defender of the Glagolitic script' was aimed at marking the 1000-year battle for the preservation of the national patrimony and the continued existence of the nation. See: Jurić Šabić 2016.

[6] Rittig 1929: 34-38.



Figure 4. The original positioning of Meštrović's *Monument to Gregory of Nin* (1927) on the peristyle of Diocletian's Palace, Split, from 1929 to 1941 (photo: FotoStühler Split, FAM).

The Creation of 'Art for Eternity': the family mausoleum in Otavice

While the 'Monument to Gregory of Nin' was a direct impression of Egyptian art, continued meditation on it was to be manifested in another project of Meštrović's. In this he was to show far greater uninhibitedness in the free interpretation of the powerful impressions he had absorbed during his visit to Egypt, Palestine, and Greece. Since 1922, when his father, Mate, had died, the sculptor had been thinking of building a family mausoleum in their home village of Otavice. There is little surprise, therefore, that the pharaonic tombs he had wondered at in Egypt, calling them 'stone tents', should have left a profound impression on him. In the *Memories from a Journey in the Orient* he mulled over the interpretation of eternity and eschatology: 'They [the pharaohs] were of the same mixture as us now. They were troubled by the thought of their personality, of their self beyond the grave... Few of them know, that the All Being is common, and that His Being is in Intransience and his Eternity in incessant change and [his] calm is in non-vanishing, for non-vanishing and coming into being are one and the same.'[7]

[7] Meštrović 1962: 411.



Figure 5. Church of the Most Holy Redeemer – Meštrović family mausoleum in Otavice, 1930 (photo: by Zoran Alajbeg, FGM-2815).

The building of the family tomb began in the summer of 1928, and the hundred drawings that he had worked on thus far achieved their final form. Designing the outer envelope of the building, Meštrović insisted on simple geometrical forms and the cleanness of the surfaces, on which the structure and massiveness of the stone would best come out. In this manner he achieved a marked monumentality for the building, which in this case had nothing to do with the dimensions, since the chapel was no more than roughly 13 m broad and high (Figure 5).

In the interior of the church, Meštrović created an uninterrupted harmonious and centrally organised space. The wall surface was articulated by alternating square and semi-circular niches, in which stone reliefs were gracefully located (Figure 6). The muted lighting and the meticulously worked-out and refined sculptural programme create a special feeling, completely unusual for the space of a Christian church. As against the tradition of the iconography of western Christianity, which takes as its central visual motif the theme of Christ's passion, Meštrović achieved an atmosphere of optimism and meditative calm. This is particularly visible in the depiction of Christ on the altar. *The Eternally Crucified* (Figure 7) is not actually racked on the cross, but is borne on the wings of seraphim. The mild expression on the face of Christ and his youthful body, together with the archaic smile and serenity on the face of the seraphim, can be compared with depictions of oriental deities.



Figure 6. Church of the Most Holy Redeemer – Meštrović family mausoleum in Otavice, a view of the interior (photo: Zoran Alajbeg, FGM-2823).



Figure 7. *Eternally Crucified* (1930), a relief by Ivan Meštrović, altar of the Church of the Most Holy Redeemer (photo: Zoran Alajbeg, FGM-2933).



Figure 8. *John the Evangelist* (1931), a relief by Ivan Meštrović, Church of the Most Holy Redeemer (photo: Zoran Alajbeg).

The four *Evangelists* (Figure 8) placed in the semi-circular niches that fill up the space of the diagonal axes of the cruciform ground plan of the church are characterised by a different visual language. The bas-reliefs are graced by geometrical stylisation and are subordinated to the architectural frame, in harmony with the formal and compositional characteristics of the Art Deco style. But what is still more apparent is the clearly visible inspiration in the art of ancient Egypt. Having drunk directly from the source, Meštrović here faithfully applies his impressions of Egyptian art. Judging from the many photographs that he brought from Egypt, it was the Egyptian reliefs that attracted his attention the most (Figure 9). Standing out among them are depictions of the Egyptian gods, which we can recognise as the immediate sources for Meštrović's Evangelists. He was particularly moved by the way in which figures were depicted on ancient Egyptian reliefs, the compositional canon of which he partially adopted: the face is shown in profile, but the body frontally.



Figure 9. Commercial photograph acquired by Ivan Meštrović on his journey around Egypt, published by Photoglob (FGM-805).

In his work on the ceiling of the dome (Figure 10) Meštrović was to show a further elaboration of his entirely individual approach to the design of the iconographic programme.[8] For it he devised an elaborated programme in fresco technique, but unfortunately he was never able to finish it. However, he did leave behind a large number of drawings, studies and sketches for the decoration of the ceiling. Instructed precisely by the felt experience of different cultures and religions, in his iconographic programme Meštrović intended to pay his respects to the founders of the great world religions. The large number of these sketches (72 drawings) tells us how deeply he reflected upon a proper iconographic programme, and for how long he searched for a solution he would be most pleased with.

In the literature to date, Meštrović's iconographic programme of the dome has always been interpreted in the same way: 'Above the cornice at the base of the

[8] An elaborate description and identification of Meštrović's unfinished programme for the decoration of the dome of the church of the Most Holy Redeemer was first published by Jurić Šabić (2015).



Figure 10. The uncompleted ceiling of the dome of the Church of the Most Holy Redeemer, with subsequently placed fresco prototypes (photo: Zoran Alajbeg, FGM-2934).

cupola are portrayed the founders of the great religions. Above them are three levels of planets and three levels of great-winged archangels, rising symbolically to the universe, whereon stands the Redeemer in triumph.'[9]

However, a more precise identification of the seated figures will show who, why and how Meštrović chose to portray them, and how the concept can be viewed within his theological and philosophical discourse. From Early Christianity, the dome was reserved for the representation of the heavenly vault, its base being supported by gospel writers, apostles or prophets, the very foundations of religion. Meštrović abided by the metaphorical depiction of the heavens, but went beyond the boundaries of a single religion.

Alongside representatives of Judaism, Islam, Confucianism, Christianity and Hinduism, an important place was to be occupied by the religion of ancient Egypt, embodied in its 'this-worldly' representative, the figure of a pharaoh. Meštrović worked the representatives of ancient Egyptian religion in several versions (Figure 11). We can recognise him principally according to the ancient Egyptian head covering, the *klaft* (*nemes*?) kerchief. In some drawings he additionally decorated the traditional

[9] Rice 1948.



Figure 11. Ivan Meštrović, *Study for the Decoration of the Dome of the Church of the Most Holy Redeemer – Pharaoh* (Galerija Meštrović, GMS-271; photo: Zoran Alajbeg).

kerchief with the head of the asp (*uraeus*), symbol of the pharaoh's divine origin. Sometimes in his arms the pharaoh will hold the disk of the sun, symbol of the supreme god of Egypt – Ra. In so doing he additionally confirms the identity of the Egyptian ruler, the symbol of divinity that rules through him and in him is embodied.

How telling is the set up that Meštrović applies on the only completed part of the prototypes for the frescos: Moses sitting opposite a pharaoh. They are juxtaposed as equally matched opponents in a conflict in which ultimately Moses was victorious on behalf of the Jewish people, whom he liberated from the fetters of Egyptian slavery.

Apart from Moses (whom we recognise by the horns at the top of his head) and a Pharaoh, other historical founders can be identified through their recognisable attributes. For example, one can discern Mohammed with traditional Arabic kerchief, or Confucius having a long beard and slanting eyes.

One of the drawings, entitled *Seated Female Figure* (Figure 12), is not easily identified. She is dressed in an unusually heavy cloak wrapping the body, and thus



Figure 12. Ivan Meštrović, *Study for the Decoration of the Dome of the Church of the Most Holy Redeemer – Rabindranath Tagore* (Galerija Meštrović, GMS-264; photo: Zoran Alajbeg).

separating it from all the other figures. At this point one has to consider the notion of whether we must look also for a representative of Hinduism. Any such figure, however, could not appear as a prophet, or founder of a religion, for in this respect it is a mythic religion. There is no founder of Hinduism as such, and it revolves around ancient sacred texts – the Vedas. We only know of the ancient poets, called *rishi*, who wrote the Vedas.

According to an article from 1925, Meštrović intended to travel to India, where he was to make the acquaintance of Rabindranath Tagore, the famous Indian writer.[10] It was interesting to learn on another occasion that Meštrović had the poet's works in his library. Also, he might have seen the photographs of Tagore that were published in 1925 in the American magazine *Life*, where he is portrayed wearing an identical heavy robe. A photograph of the young Tagore showed many similarities with the figure on the drawing. All this leads to the conclusion that it is Tagore, a poet, who is the worthy representative of Indian culture.

[10] S.Ć. 1925: 3.



Figure 13. Ivan Meštrović, *Study for the Decoration of the Dome of the Church of the Most Holy Redeemer – Michelangelo* (Galerija Meštrović, GMS-269; photo: Zoran Alajbeg).

There is another difficulty when trying to identify the seated figures. The Church of the Most Holy Redeemer is dedicated to the Redeemer – the Son of God, Jesus Christ. Naturally, his place in the iconographic programme should be in the very centre of the dome. Therefore, placing him among the prophets would be illogical. However, if one takes into consideration the iconographic principle, already known from the Middle Ages, whereby God the Father and the Son of God were depicted similarly, but with a distinguishing attribute – globe in the hands of the Father, and the Book (the New Testament) in the hands of the Son – then everything becomes much clearer. Indeed, in the centre of the dome Meštrović placed a figure with no attributes other than a globe in its hands, the symbol of all humankind. It is truly a central deity in which all the religions of the world are embodied.

Among the representatives of the great world religions, places of honour were allocated to artists – Michelangelo (Figure 13), and Meštrović himself (Figure 14), as constructor of his own funeral edifice. Such an equating of artists with prophets is in line with his thinking that the artist is directly inspired by God and that the



Figure 13. Ivan Meštrović, *Study for the Decoration of the Dome of the Church of the Most Holy Redeemer – Self-Portrait* (Galerija Meštrović, GMS-270; photo: Zoran Alajbeg).

artistic idea and its physical manifestation are reflections of the divine nature.[11] Judging from them, Meštrović's intention was to depict all the great world religions, as well as to combine the profane and the sacred, in the wish to do honour to the greatest spiritual achievements of humanity, in art and religion.

A reconstruction of Meštrović's extremely complex iconographic programme will reveal the artist's highly personal and, above all, idiosyncratic worldview. And certainly, a particular impression had been made on him by the *Journey in the Orient* of 1927, and by the direct contact with the visual language of ancient cultures, expanding the horizons of his spiritual comprehension. Delving into the secrets of the unfinished dome we can conclude that Meštrović's last resting place – the Church of the Most Holy Redeemer – was his dedication to the greatest spiritual and artistic teachers, which surmounted the borders of geography, culture and religion, and became a shrine to art and faith and tolerance.

[11] Meštrović 2010: 9.

Abbreviations

FGM – Photographic Archives of the Meštrović Gallery, Split
FAM – Photographic Archives of the Meštrović Atelier, Zagreb
GMS – Art Collection of the Meštrović Gallery, Split

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A NEW APPROACH TO OLD SOUND RECORDINGS FROM MOROCCO

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Abstract: Austria, like other European countries, hoards thousands of original sources from Africa, written and pictorial, as well as films, videos, sound recordings and objects. At the same time, we still lack detailed information about African 'informants' who interacted with Austrian scholars to produce and disseminate knowledge about African languages, music and cultures. In this contribution, I would like to draw the reader's attention to the meaning of a 'south-up' perspective for the production and distribution of knowledge by reporting on a project that has just begun. It perfectly fits the general topic of this conference, which is about 'Current Research'. I will illustrate my thoughts by taking one particular collection of historical sound documents, which the Phonogrammarchiv of the Austrian Academy of Sciences has preserved since 1928.

Keywords: Sound documents, Morocco, Phonogrammarchiv, Vienna.

Introduction

The capital of Austria has always been a centre of Africa-related research. Thus, it is hardly surprising that the Phonogrammarchiv of the Austrian Academy of Sciences in Vienna preserves a key collection of language and music recordings from Africa. Since its foundation in April 1899, the Phonogrammarchiv, an institution preserving audiovisual heritage from around the world for future generations, has been a port of call for Austrian researchers, especially from the fields of cultural studies and the humanities.

The so-called 'Historical Collections' of the Phonogrammarchiv consist of sound documents stored on mechanical sound carriers. In 1999, they were included in the UNESCO Memory of the World Register as *Documents of Universal Significance*. On its 100th anniversary, the Phonogrammarchiv started to release its Historical Collections in a complete and commented edition on CD, the *Gesamtausgabe der Historischen Bestände 1899-1950 (The Complete Historical Collections 1899-1950)*.

However, in this article, I will refer to unpublished sound recordings from Morocco dating back to 1928. The Phonogrammarchiv staff has already digitised it but the contextual approach has only recently begun. The author ('Urheber') of

the recordings that I refer to was Deputy University Assistant at the Institute of Egyptology and African Studies at the University of Vienna. Apart from the fact that we still know little about Max[imilian] Karl Feichtner (1905-1977), he is not in the focus of this paper. The reason for this lies in an attempt here to approach his sound collection from a 'south-up' or an 'upside-down' perspective rather than from the perspective of hagiographic historiography. These two catchphrases ('upside-down' and 'south-up' research) came to me when looking at so-called 'upside-down' or 'south-up-oriented world maps', also known as reversed maps, which both literally and metaphorically turn the viewer's world upside-down. This can help people to viscerally experience the frequently disorienting effect of seeing something familiar from a different perspective and confront our general propensity for culturally biased perceptions. Within the context of the conference title, my thoughts are that this type of change in perspective could also be used to listen to and interpret historical sound recordings differently.

Notes on the sound recordings of Omar Mohámmed běn Saïd

In July and August 1928, the Phonogrammarchiv received a Moroccan-born man as its guest. Feichtner recorded some songs, calls, tales and dance melodies – which Omar Mohámmed běn Saïd spoke, sang and played on his flute ('lerá') and a drum ('tăréža') – on discs.[1] The voice and music of the African was inscribed on wax plates with a phonograph needle. The texts and sound recordings Feichtner collected formed the basis of his dissertation of 1930,[2] which Gertrud Thausing, who later became Professor of Egyptology and African Studies at the University of Vienna, described as groundbreaking in her autobiography.[3] According to a document in the archive of the University of Vienna, the Phonogrammarchiv even intended to publish the results of Feichtner's dissertation.[4] However, that did not happen for unknown reasons.

According to the written notes that accompany every recording, at the time Omar Mohámmed běn Saïd was 25 years old. He spoke a Berber language.[5] This language belongs to the Afroasiatic language family and consists of various sub-dialects specific to each clan. The majority of speakers lives in the Rif region, a large mountainous area of northern Morocco, others in the western part of neighbouring Algeria. Which Berber language/dialect Omar Mohámmed běn

[1] Cf. Phonogrammarchiv of the Austrian Academy of Sciences, Vienna: protocols ('Protokolle'), i.e. the written documentation accompanying the sound recordings Ph 3230-3238.
[2] Cf. Feichtner 1930.
[3] Cf. Thausing 1989: 30.
[4] Czermak 1930.
[5] Cf. Phonogrammarchiv, Vienna: protocol Ph 3238; Feichtner 1930: 169, 182.

Saïd spoke is still questionable at this time, according to linguists from Leiden University, who had the chance to listen to parts of one of the sound recordings.[6]

With audio recordings, critical commentaries on European research practices and current events by speakers from colonised regions arrived in European archives. The translation and interpretation of sound recordings may provide historical sources on the experiences of Africans, which were unknown until now. This is also the case with recording Ph 3232. I quote a few excerpts from it: 'I have left my home country and it is four years since I have seen [it]. My father is dead. My mother is dead. I have two brothers and two sisters. [...]. I do not know if they are alive or dead. I will not return to my homeland (for I ran away from the French) [...]. I was a soldier, I fled to Germany, the French are fighting my homeland, I will stay with the Germans [...] (if I go back to my homeland, the French will catch me and shoot me [...].'[7]

Sound recording Ph 3233 contains some interesting details about his escape route from Casablanca in Morocco via Marseille in France to Griesheim and Mainz in Germany and about the historical context. The regiment that Omar Mohámmed běn Saïd belonged to was largely made up of indigenous Berber soldiers. It was to be used against Abd el-Krim, the famous leader of the anti-colonial resistance movement in Morocco.[8] I quote: 'While we were in Mainz, we learned that Abd el-Krim was at war. Abd el-Krim is a hero; he fought the French and drove them out of Fez. However, Abd el-Krim had no cartridges. In addition, the Spaniards came to fight together with the French. Abd el-Krim fled from Fez. The French caught him and took him to prison.'[9]

Abd el-Krim surrendered to the French on 27 May 1926. This ended the so-called 'Rif War'. The Rif War (1921-1926), also known as the Second Moroccan War, was a war fought by Moroccan nationalists in the Rif region to drive first

[6] Cf. Kossmann 2018; Mourigh 2018.

[7] Cf. Phonogrammarchiv, Vienna: protocol Ph 3232. The original quote reads as follows: 'Ich bin weg (gekommen) von meiner Heimat und es sind bei mir vier Jahre (dass) ich meine Heimat nicht gesehen habe. Mein Vater ist tot, meine Mutter ist tot. Ich habe zwei Brüder und zwei Schwestern. [...]. Ich weiss nicht, ob sie (noch) leben oder (ob sie schon) gestorben sind. Ich kehre nicht (mehr) in meine Heimat zurück (denn ich bin den Franzosen davongelaufen [...]. Ich bin (nämlich) Soldat gewesen. Ich floh nach Deutschland. Die Franzosen bekriegen meine Heimat. Ich werde bei den Deutschen bleiben. [...] (wenn ich wieder in meine Heimat zurückgehe, werden mich die Franzosen ergreifen und erschiessen [...].' Compare a different transcription in Feichtner 1930: 144.

[8] Cf. Feichtner 1930: 145, fn. 5.

[9] Cf. Feichtner 1930: 151. The original quote reads as follows: 'Wir waren in Mainz (da) erfuhren wir (dass) Abd el Krim Krieg führte. Abd el Krim ist ein Held, er bekriegte den Franzmann und vertrieb ihn aus Fez. (Aber) Abd el Krim hatte keine Patronen. (noch dazu) kam der Spanier dem Franzmann zuhilfe. Abd el Krim floh aus Fez. Der Franzmann packte ihn und brachte ihn ins Gefängnis.'

the Spaniards and then the French out of Morocco and secure independence. The colonists had to deal with continued armed native opposition to European control of Morocco. This was particularly true with the Berber tribesmen in the Rif. In 1923, Abd el-Krim proclaimed the Republic of the Rif. He endeavoured to create a centralised Berber government. Airpower played an important role in the war. During the fighting, the Spanish Army of Africa employed up to 150 aircraft to drop conventional weapons and considerable quantities of German-developed mustard gas on Riffian villages.[10]

I would like to open up the field to some other historical context, which might become relevant in the further content-related evaluation of the sound recordings. I still must clarify why Omar Mohámmed běn Saïd was in Vienna at the time in question. The sound recordings and unpublished documents provide us with some traces that could contribute to a more accurate picture. Sound recording Ph 3237 is unfortunately missing from our collection. However, the corresponding notes from 25 July 1928[11] and some remarks in Feichtner's dissertation provide the following information:[12]

Omar Mohámmed běn Saïd had received a letter the day before from his wife in Berlin, in which she told him that he had become the father of a son. His wife wrote that he should send her money to dress the child. He replied that he currently has no money but next Sunday he would get some. In this context, Feichtner's comment in one of the footnotes to the text is interesting, according to which, the artists got their salary on Sundays.[13]

During the summer semester of 1928, Omar Mohámmed běn Saïd was also 'presented to the students'[14] who attended the Berber Lecture at the Institute of Egyptology and African Studies at the University of Vienna, which was held by Professor Wilhelm Czermak.[15] In one of the texts that resulted from the language course, the Moroccan reported the following about his current job: 'At 4 o'clock in the afternoon we start to work in the circus. I sell different things; that's not good, I do not make any money with it. We will stay in Vienna for another 2 weeks.'[16]

[10] Cf. Kunz and Müller 1990; Tucker 2018: 299-301.
[11] Cf. Phonogrammarchiv, Vienna: protocol Ph 3237.
[12] Cf. Feichtner 1930: 167-168.
[13] Cf. Feichtner 1930: 167, fn. 4. The original quote reads as follows: 'Sonntags ist Auszahlung der Artisten.'
[14] German: 'den Hörern dieser Vorlesung vorgeführt'.
[15] Cf. Feichtner 1930: 169.
[16] Cf. Feichtner 1930: 169. The original quote reads as follows: 'Um 4 (Uhr) (nachmittags beginnen) wir im Zirkus (zu) arbeiten. Ich verkaufe (verschiedene) Sachen; (das) ist nicht gut, denn ich verdiene kein Geld damit. Wir werden noch 2 Wochen in Wien bleiben.'

Feichtner also commented on this information in a supplementary footnote: 'Omar was alternately a fire eater, sword dancer, flute player, seller of bric-a-brac, et cetera.'[17]

It is quite possible, that, at the time in question, the organiser of a so-called 'Arab village', which was set up near the Circus Zentral in the Vienna Prater,[18] had employed Omar Mohámmed běn Saïd. Therefore, we should understand the reality of Omar Mohámmed běn Saïd's life during his stay in Vienna in the context of a long-lasting, racist tradition of human zoos.[19] In this same context, I would understand the above-mentioned critical or even resistant statement that the African made concerning his presentation to Czermak's students.[20]

Conclusion

To this day, the circumstances of Omar Mohámmed běn Saïd's later life remain unknown. What remains of him are fragments of his life story on sound recordings and transcriptions in Feichtner's dissertation. We get the impression of an ambivalent, charged relationship between an individual whose human traits become visible, at least in outlines, among the multitude of Africans recorded on sound-recording media, and the same individual shortly afterwards disappearing into anonymity.

For some time, academics have been discussing the problematic nature of the 'colonial archive', which is frequently the only source of European knowledge production in general, and of (colonial) historiography in particular. So far, however, historical sound recordings, which had been produced, collected and archived all over the world since the last third of the 19th century in order to study languages and cultures, were hardly ever included in these discussions. As for sound recordings from the first half of the 20th century, like the ones in the Phonogrammarchiv of the Austrian Academy of Sciences, these strongly force us to approach the subject with a focus on content and context while being critical of the sources. I hope that this short contribution has been able to demonstrate that sound recordings may also provide historical sources on the experiences of Africans – sources that have been unknown until now.

[17] Cf. Feichtner 1930: 169, fn. 8. The original quote reads as follows: 'Omar war abwechselnd Feuerfresser, Schwerttänzer, Flötenspieler, Verkäufer von allerhand Krims-Krams etz.' Cf. Feichter 1930: 173-180.

[18] Cf. Anonymous 1928: 17.

[19] German: 'Völkerschauen'.

[20] Cf. footnote 14 above. A similar quote in footnote 2 of Feichtner's dissertation (Feichtner 1930: 169) reads as follows: 'Omar wollte lieber Sprachaufnahme machen, wie gewöhnlich, und nicht den Hörern vorgeführt werden.'

This shows their immense and yet disregarded potential for the documentation of contemporary (post)colonial criticism.

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