Christ, crime, and crocodiles – Egypt through the eyes of early western travelers

Stefan Baumann & Iris Hoogeweij

Abstract

The *Trier Early Egyptian Travel Accounts Project* (EETA) analyses the content of travelogues from Egypt that were written between Late Antiquity and the arrival of the Napoleonic expedition. This first report about the project discusses three key themes that recur in the accounts: legacies from the Bible, the dangers of travelling, and the peculiarities of the local fauna. Through a preliminary survey of these topics, we aim to highlight EETA's rich potential as a research tool for cultural and natural history. Likewise, we outline how it can contribute to current discourses such as "global history".

Keywords

Travelogues; Egypt; database project; Late antiquity; Islamic Egypt; history of travel; reception of ancient Egypt; natural history; pilgrimage; regional studies.

The history of travelogues written about Egypt begins with the dazzling figures of classical antiquity of the likes of Herodotus, Strabo, and Diodorus Siculus. And while works on the lives and reception of these ancient authors fill entire libraries, far less is known about the travelers to Egypt in subsequent centuries. Set within the framework of Cultural Heritage Studies at Trier University and funded by the federal state of Rhineland-Palatinate in Germany, the database project *Early Egyptian Travel Accounts from Late Antiquity to Napoleon* (eetaproject.uni-trier.de) permits a closer look at a corpus of Egyptian travel literature that has received little attention to date. Even though at this first phase of the project, as yet we have been only able to collate and digitally publish a small part (some 20 of circa 300 or more) of the existing travelogues from the period roughly between the fourth and nineteenth centuries, it is already possible to highlight the rich potential of these sources to form the basis for a wide range of research questions.

The Trier EETA project: Time frame and sources

Leaving aside the well-known accounts of classical authors such as Herodotus and Strabo, the project on travelogues describing Egypt focuses on lesser-known sources of the following centuries. The arrival of Napoleon Bonaparte coincides



very fittingly with the end of a century and at the same time marks a shift towards the start of an increasingly scientific interest in the land of Egypt. Consequently, in the nineteenth century, travel accounts slowly lose their primacy to other written sources in the field of regional and cultural studies on Egypt. The chronological scope of Late Antiquity to Napoleon makes sense, therefore, both as regards content and the history of scholarship. From a practical perspective too, this end-date of the eighteenth century makes sense, as the beginning of mass tourism in the nineteenth century triggers an almost unmanageable boom of travel writings.¹

Until very recently, it was difficult and tedious to access individual travel accounts that were hidden in archives around the world.² Luckily, many archives have begun to digitize their collections, so that more and more reports have become accessible. Additionally, as the analysis of historical travelogues has become a branch of research that is growing across disciplines, more sources are coming to light.³ Nevertheless, there is currently no single, cohesive platform that contains all the published travel accounts from Egypt. In 1992, Martin Kalfatovich compiled a list of almost 200 accounts dating between Late Antiquity and the end of the eighteenth century.⁴ However, based on the number of sources collected by the Trier project so far, it appears that in actuality, more than 300 reports have survived from that period. This means that at least one third of the existing sources have not been taken into account in modern scholarship.

 $^{1\,}$ More than 700 accounts were written in the nineteenth century (cf. Kalfatovich, Nile Notes of a Howadji, 79–324), whereas only around 300 accounts are known from the 15 centuries before.

² See the remarks on this subject by Graefe, "Pyramidenbeschreibung", 9.

³ The following are just a few examples of outstanding projects. Of general interest are the publications on European travelogues of the late Middle Ages edited by Paravicini, Europäische Reiseberichte, and the online database https://digiberichte.de, which is based on these works. Serge Sauneron has done great work for the region of Egypt in initiating an annotated edition of many reports in a series founded especially for this purpose: Sauneron, Voyageurs Occidentaux en Égypte. Accounts written in German are particularily well studied, see e.g. Amin, Ägyptomanie und Orientalismus; Khattab, Ägyptenbild, and the project directed by Arno Strohmeyer Travelogues: Fremdwahrnehmungen in Reisebereichten 1500–1876 – Eine computergestützte Analyse (https://www.travelogues-project.info). For travelogues with reference to the region of Greece, a DFG project named Historische Landeskunde des antiken Griechenland was carried out under the direction of Hans-Joachim Gehrke and Peter Funke. The data is currently being transferred to the online platform of the DAI (https://idai.world/).

⁴ Kalfatovich, *Nile Notes of a Howadji*. More recent literature occasionally assumes far fewer sources. According to Toby Wilkinson, only about half a dozen travelogues about Egypt were written between 1500–1650; between 1650–1800, he says, the number increased to more than 50 (Wilkinson, *A World Beneath the Sands*, 13; Reid, *Whose Pharaohs?*, 27).



Fig 1: Main categories indexed in the database.

At the first stage, the EETA project in Trier has worked to search and collect editions of travel accounts with the aim of creating a complete list for the period under consideration. At the second stage, the accounts were read, collated and an extensive index of their content was created. From an Egyptological perspective, descriptions of archaeological sites and monuments were of key interest, but the index is by no means limited to that. Indeed, we have tried to capture the full range of topics covered in the reports and have organized them with a mind to reflect modern research agendas and disciplines. In this way, we have aimed to create a heuristic tool for a wide range of scholars who may approach the travel accounts from different perspectives. It was also our aim to make this data openly accessible to researchers from around the world. The main topics, which are often further divided into several subcategories, cover:

The data is collected in a software (FUD) developed by the eScience center of Trier University and published online in a database that is accessible under "https://eetaproject.uni-trier.de/".

A brief survey of the travelogues collected so far has revealed some information on the individual traveler's background and the reasons that led them to Egypt. Fig. 2 breaks down the travel accounts by century and thereby gives an impression of their chronological distribution. The intention of the trip is coded by color. It is notable, for example, that initially it was mainly pilgrims who went to Egypt. Until the seventeenth century, they formed the largest group, until more and more scientifically-oriented travelers came to explore the country. At the latest in this period, there is a clear shift, a change in the zeitgeist: the Renaissance saw the beginning of a gradual detachment from the Bible as the

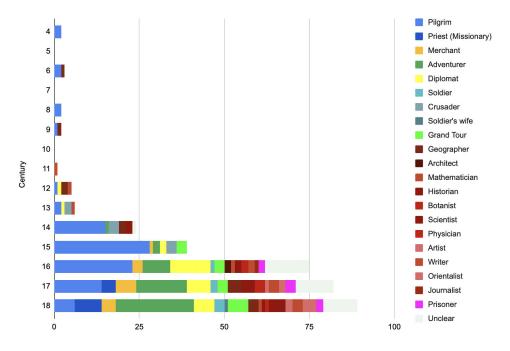


Fig 2: Overview of the motivation of the travelers.

primary source of information for travelers and a stronger orientation towards the works of classical authors describing the land on the Nile.⁵

Christ

For the first Christian travelers from Europe, the land on the Nile was generally not the main destination of their journey. They came to the Holy Land as pilgrims, often passing Egypt on the way there or back, because the harbor of Alexandria was a major port for that region.⁶ The entire route from Jerusalem to Cairo by land could be accomplished in about two weeks.⁷

⁵ Thévenot, *Voyages* directly cites Diodorus Siculus (p.142) and Strabo (p.175). In 1482–1483, Zeebout, *Tvoyage* directly cites Pliny, Diodorus Siculus, Homer and Juvenal (p. 205). Moreover, he accounts a story on basilisks that can be killed by weasels (p.174), which appears already in Pliny's *Natural History* 8.78. However, Zeebout still calls the pyramids "Joseph's Granaries".

⁶ For the different travel options, see Amin, Ägyptomanie und Orientalismus, 71–78.

⁷ Volkov, "Le moin Sophrionius", 7-9; Volkov, "L'archimandrite Gréthenios", 1.

However, Egypt was home to many holy places mentioned in the Bible, which made it a place of great interest for the pilgrims. One significant site, for example, was Mount Sinai, where Moses is said to have received the Ten Commandments. Another religious motivation was provided by the account in the Scriptures that the Holy Family had set out on the flight to Egypt, crossing the land from the north to the height of Asyut in Middle Egypt. Medieval and early modern pilgrims walked more or less in the footsteps of Moses and Christ, but limited themselves to the stations in northern Egypt because of time constraints, among other reasons. Besides Alexandria and the Sinai, Cairo and Matarea were major stops. In addition to such Biblical pilgrim sites, religious Christian travelers had great interest in Coptic monasteries. Italian paintings such as the monumental frescos at the *Camposanto Monumentale* in Pisa from the fourteenth century, which deal with the life of ascetics in the Thebaid, demonstrate vividly the fascination that idealized lifestyle held for medieval society in Europe.

The only ancient Egyptian monuments that had a connection to the Bible are the pyramids. Their sheer size was and remains until today a guarantee for their attraction to travelers from all over the world. According to common misconception that extraordinary circumstances have extraordinary causes (the so-called "proportionality bias"), a connection with a unique event was made to explain the pyramids and they were consequently declared to be the granaries of Joseph.¹⁰ It is therefore easy to understand why so many Christian pilgrims visited these monuments and also recorded their impressions of this experience in writing. Consequently, the large percentage of reports of pilgrimages is one of the reasons that the pyramids are mentioned much more frequently in the travelogues than other ancient Egyptian sites. Moreover, the range of movement of other visitors to Egypt, such as commercial travelers, for example, was likewise limited to the Delta, as goods were brought ashore in Alexandria, from whence they were distributed further.

⁸ Thomsen, Burchards Bericht über den Orient, 334-335.

⁹ Calcea, Museo delle Sinopie del Camposanto Monumentale, 64-66.

¹⁰ Graefe, "Pyramidenbeschreibung", 18–19; Amin, Ägyptomanie und Orientalismus, 186–195, 294–298, 320–321. The biblical story of Joseph was very famous in late antique Egypt. See e.g. the depictions on textiles (Nauerth, "Katalog der koptischen Stoffe", 68–69).

Crime

For western travelers, the inconveniences of the journey to and through Egypt were primarily in two areas: first, the often very hot weather conditions in connection with the restricted drinking water supply and second, the lack of physical security. From early on, restricted access to fresh water had been a challenge for travelers who left the green Nile Valley in order to cross the desert. Ancient Egyptian expeditions to the quarries of the Eastern Desert or to the harbors on the Red Sea were occupied with digging wells to supply their members. Considering that the desert became an even dryer place over the course of time, it is not surprising that travelers kept facing the same challengers to meet their water needs.

The second aspect, the lack of physical security, has likewise been a long-standing theme in Egypt's history of travel. From ancient times to this very day, the Egyptian state has restricted control over the mountainous desert regions bordering the Nile Valley. Thus, travelling over land, especially on the desert roads, has always involved the great risk of being raided. In Pharaonic times, state expeditions encountered this danger with a military escort and later, the Roman emperors constructed watch towers along the most important desert roads to secure the movement of goods. He ut for the most part, there was no protection for travelers, especially not for private ones. It is therefore not surprising that this aspect in particular was highlighted in various reports from antiquity to early modern times. Already in the late third millennium BCE, Egyptian sources describe that travelers were robbed and beaten with sticks, just like travelers in the sixteenth century were beaten and humiliated by Bedouins until they paid the "road toll" when they traveled from Gaza to Cairo. He

Besides the desert roads or the route leading along the Mediterranean Sea to the Levant, another notorious place was Pharos Island, next to the Alexandrian harbor. According to Strabo, the harbor was once "watched and guarded by

¹¹ Cf. Amin, Ägyptomanie und Orientalismus, 73-74, 232-236.

¹² Couyat, Les Inscriptions Hiéroglyphiques et Hiératiques du Ouâdi Hammâmat, 83, pl. 31.

¹³ Baumann, "Seafaring on the Red Sea in pharaonic times", 26.

¹⁴ Couyat, Les Inscriptions Hiéroglyphiques et Hiératiques du Ouâdi Hammâmat, 82–83, pl.

^{31;} Jackson, At Empire's Edge, 95-108.

¹⁵ See e.g., fn 11.

¹⁶ For ancient Egyptian sources, see Gardiner, Admonitions, 44; Fischer-Elfert, Papyrus Anastasi I, 160–161, 202–203; Parkinson, Eloquent Peasant; Köpp, Reisen im Alten Ägypten, 281. For later sources, see e.g. Amin, Ägyptomanie und Orientalismus, 232, n. 66.

herdsmen, who were robbers, and attacked those who attempted to sail into it."¹⁷ Some 17 centuries later, the Danish naval officer and explorer Frederic Louis Norden witnessed very similar circumstances:

This island, opposed to Alexandria [...] is now joined by a narrow road and bridge to the town. In this island are habitations of Egyptians, and rows of houses that in extent resemble a town: and whatever ships, through ignorance, or by stress of weather, have turned a little out of their course; the inhabitants are wont to plunder them like pirates. Without their leave, who are in possession of Pharos, there can be no entrance for ships into the harbour, on account of the narrowness of the passage. ¹⁸

Crocodiles

When it comes to Egyptian fauna, the crocodiles are dwelt upon above all — they are described in numerous travelogues throughout the centuries. Already in the Roman period, the crocodile became the epitome of Egypt. This is expressed visually in various ways, such as in coin images, the famous Nile mosaic of Palestrina and the oil lamps depicting Cleopatra and a crocodile. The fascination that this creature exerted on travelers is not surprising in view of their considerable size, alien shape, and the extreme threat they pose to the inhabitants on the Nile. As becomes clear from the travelogue of the American writer George William Curtis, at least for some of the modern travelers, the archaic nature of the animals may also have held fascination. In the mid nineteenth century, Curtis wrote about his first encounter with a crocodile:

You do not see the crocodile without a sense of neighborhood to the old Egyptians, for they are the only live relics of that dead time, and Ramses the Great saw them sprawled on the sunny sand as Howadji the Little sees them to-day.²⁰

¹⁷ Strabo, Geographika, 17.1.19.

¹⁸ Norden, Travels in Egypt and Nubia, 1–2.

¹⁹ Kockelmann, Der Herr der Seen, 1; Versluys, Aegyptiaca Romana, 265-67.

²⁰ Curtis, Nile Notes of a Howadji, 107.

Through diachronic analysis of travel accounts, it has been possible to establish a relatively clear chronology for extinction of these impressive creatures by the hands of man. While in the eighteenth century, the American Missionary John Antes holds traffic on the Nile north of Cairo responsible for the lack of crocodiles in the Delta, it was especially the travelers of the following nineteenth century who made their significant contribution to the rapid decline of the population. The beginning of mass tourism led to an increasing number of visitors invading the country. These tourists sailed along the river and hunted crocodiles excessively while perched on the tourist boats, just like people in North America shot bison for pleasure while riding the train. During the first half of the nineteenth century, crocodiles could still be spotted at about the height of Sohag in Middle Egypt. Soon they were only settled south of Thebes and by the end of the century they had been pushed back to south of Aswan.²¹ Just how dramatic the decline of the population was becomes clear from the comments in Amelia Edward's travelogue, which report on hunts in which an average of 12 to 18 animals per shooter were killed.²² In his Encyclopedia Brehms Thierleben of 1883, Alfred Brehm proudly claims to have shot more than one hundred of them.²³ Even Jean-François Champollion was obsessed killing a crocodile to present to his expedition team for dinner, but to his great chagrin, this never worked out.²⁴

In addition to information on the first sighting of the animals on the journey south, the travel reports also contain observations on the hunting behavior of the animals as well as descriptions of their appearance. Today, it is more or less common knowledge that there was not only one type of Nile crocodile native to Egypt but two: the Nile crocodile (*Crocodylus niloticus*) and the West African crocodile (*Crocodylus suchus*), a slightly different shaped and smaller species. The difference between these two species is hard to spot for the uninitiated. In recent scientific studies, the honor for their first description is attributed to the French zoologist Geoffroy Saint-Hillaire in 1807. This, however, is untrue and it is time now to set the records straight. In fact, John Antes, who spent 12 years in Egypt (between 1770–1782), is the first person who described the two distinct species of crocodiles in Egypt in his travel account some decades earlier:

²¹ See also Humphreys, On the Nile, 42-43; Eggebrecht, Ägypten, 119.

²² Edwards, A Thousand Miles up the Nile, 358: describing hunts in Nubia.

²³ Brehm, Brehms Thierleben, 124.

²⁴ Champollion, My Journey to Egypt, 161-66, 198.

²⁵ See e.g., the accounts of Sandys, A Relation of a Journey, 100–101, and Schmidt, Westcar on the Nile, 140.

²⁶ Grigg and Kirschner, Biology and Evolution of Crocodylians, 13; Kockelmann, Der Herr der Seen, 3.

I observed two sorts of crocodiles, though I question whether the difference did not consist in the sex only. The one is, in proportion to its thickness, rather longer than the other, but it consists more in the tail; and of this sort are all those which I have seen in the museums at Florence, London, and some other towns in Europe. The other sort is by far more bulky, and the skin much rougher. I brought the skin, stuffed, of one of the latter with me, which is to be seen in a museum at Barby, in Saxony; and this was by far the largest which I have seen in any museum, particularly in circumference. In length it measured near sixteen feet.²⁷

In ancient Egypt, priests kept crocodiles as sacred animals in certain places as is vividly described by Herodotus and Strabo.²⁸ According to the latter, they were well-fed and even forced to eat all kind of sweet and savoury foods when pious visitors brought their rich offering to the crocodile gods. This habit of constant feeding surely kept them rather docile. There was, however, another aspect that safeguarded the priests. Modern DNA-analysis has brought to light that only the West African crocodile has been mummified,²⁹ indicating that only this species was held by priests. As the Nile crocodile is known to be more aggressive, it makes sense that their presence was not desired in the holy districts. In any case, it is evident that the ancient Egyptians already distinguished the two kinds of crocodiles that were later described as two distinct species by another careful observer in his travelogue.

Accessing the past

Classical authors have received the most attention in the history of Egyptian travels, as they provide a rich insight into ancient life that is absent from Egyptian sources. So far, medieval sources have only been consulted in excerpts, in order to shed light on individual aspects relevant to the field of Egyptology. These include obelisks,³⁰ but first and foremost, the pyramids. Erhart Graefe has extensively

²⁷ Antes, Observations, 83.

²⁸ Herodotus, Histories, 2.69; Strabo, Geographika, 17.1.38.

²⁹ Hekkala, "An Ancient Icon Reveals New Mysteries", 4211.

³⁰ Budge, Cleopatra's Needles; Solé, Le Grand Voyage de l'Obélisque; Curran, Obelisk; Swetnam-Burland, "Aegyptus Redacta", 135–53; Iversen, Obelisks in Exile; Versluys, "Exploring Aegyptiaca", 122–144; Pollini, "Contact Points", 211–217; Amin, Ägyptomanie und Orientalismus, 192–193.

studied the reports that provide information on the history of the discovery, the cladding, the inscriptions placed on them, and the incipient destruction of the monuments.³¹ Other monuments described in the early travelogues have not yet been analyzed systematically in this way.³² Although far fewer sources are available for these less frequently visited places, the number is nonetheless higher than is generally known or assumed. The research literature states that the two earliest travelers who journeyed beyond Cairo along the Nile to Upper Egypt were the anonymous 'Venetian Traveler' (1589) and Claude Sicard (1720).33 In fact, the inspection of the entire corpus collected by the EETA project shows that the account penned by the Venetian is by no means the first report on the south of the country.34 Moreover, for the phase between the Venetian's visit and Sicard's in the eighteenth century, several other travel reports about journeys to Upper Egypt can be cited.³⁵ On the one hand, this example shows how fragmentary general knowledge about the history of Egyptian travel still is; on the other, it is evident that there are more travelogues that contain unexploited information about several sites that could be relevant for historians and archaeologists of ancient Egypt.

Another example concerns the lighthouses of Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt. Known as one of the ancient world wonders, the Pharos of Alexandria was the greatest of them. Much of what we know today about its shape and dimensions derives from medieval descriptions. Through its fame, it has influenced the architecture of ancient lighthouses. Although these were not even half its size, at least 17 such buildings have survived in epigraphical and physical form. A similar tower is known to be located 50 km west of Alexandria, at Taposiris Magna. At first, it was thought to be a small lighthouse, but is now interpreted as a funerary monument. In any case, it is certain that its shape was inspired by its big brother in Alexandria. Thanks to the travelogues, however, we know that such a tower

³¹ Graefe, "Pyramidenbeschreibung".

³² The temple of Akhmim was also very famous in antiquity, but it was destroyed in the fourteenth century before western travelers frequently traveled so far south. The monument is only described in Arabic sources, see Gabolde, "La Fin Du Temple d'Akhmîm", 53–64.

³³ Wilkinson, A World Beneath the Sands, 14.

³⁴ Ca. 400 CE: Egeria, "Peregrinatio Egeriae", 82–103; seventh or eighth century: Hagiopolita, "Itinerarium", 119–120; 1165–1171 CE: Tudela, *The Itinerary of Benjamin of Tudela*; 1326 CE: Gibb, *The Travels of Ibn Battuta*; 1580 CE: Anonymous, "A description of the yeerly voyage".

^{35 1630} CE: Fermanel, Le Voyage de l'Italie et du Levant; 1643–1645 CE: Bremond, Voyage en Égypte; 1672–1673: Vansleb, Nouvelle relation; 1692–1708: Maillet, Description de l'Égypte.

³⁶ Deppmeyer, "Der Leuchtturm von Pharos", 7.

³⁷ Deppmeyer, "Der Leuchtturm von Pharos", 7.



Fig 3: View on Damietta. Drawing by C. de Bruyn (Gaspar 2014, 181, fig. 70).

also stood in the eastern delta near Damietta, and that well into the seventeenth century. We owe this insight to the fine observations of a Dutch traveler by the name of Cornelis de Bruyn:

Outside the city one sees a high ruin of a tower which once would have served as a fire beacon for the ships, as well as (not far from there) a round tower; this is all that I have found there being antique, and I showed it in the illustration no. 70, the fire beacon bears the letter A, and the round tower the B.³⁸ (See fig. 3)

³⁸ Bruyn, Reizen, 181 (own translation).

Final remarks

This brief overview on our database in combination with a survey on the topics Christ, crime, and crocodiles, is meant to exemplify the unrecognized potential of travelogues for a whole range of research questions. Whether for Egyptologists, for scholars who are interested in the early history of natural science, for travel or for someone who wants to map the monuments of Egypt in the longue durée, our database will be a fundamental resource. The planned second phase of the project to combine the entire corpus of early Egyptian travelogues in a database will further extend the variety of topics and research avenues. In particular, the vast number of new sources that we have been able to unearth will surely prove to be trove of new historical information and may also serve to re-evaluate long-held views.

Throughout its millennia of cultural history, Egypt has demonstrated astonishing continuity in many areas of life. The reasons that led to the preservation of traditions are complex and cannot be fully discussed within the framework of this paper. In our opinion, however, a very important criterion is the constancy of natural conditions, such as the annual Nile flood that shaped the life in Egypt in a unique manner. This may sound like a banal insight, and yet it is crucial for the relevance of travelogues as a cultural-historical source. The examples presented in the paper confirm once again that natural circumstances cause or at least favor certain behaviors.³⁹ If the external circumstances do not change, there is a good chance that the behaviors will also remain the same. We envision our database as a heuristic tool for scholars to trace traditions and lines of development between ancient, medieval, and modern Egypt. Travelers are on the one hand passive observers, but on the other hand, they also bring lasting changes into this system. The extinction of animal species outlined above is just one example. Thus, the project has the potential to demonstrate continuity and change on an ecological as well as on a socio-cultural level.

In the future, we also intend to discuss the role of travelogues as part of the mnemohistory of Egypt. In other words, it will be a matter not only of exploiting the travelogues as sources about antiquity, but of understanding them as sources for reception, which show us how we remember antiquity and what this memory-making says about us.⁴⁰ The travelers document monuments that have now been lost and thus help us access the past in the historical sense, showing "Egypt

³⁹ Mayer, Dynamik sozialen Verhaltens, 117-118.

⁴⁰ Ebeling and Assmann, "The Mnemohistory of Egypt", 23.

as it was", as for instance the lighthouse near Damietta in Cornelis de Bruyn's account. But the travelogues also act as a "mirror of contemporary society and culture" and can be studied as a document of Egypt reception: "Egypt as it was perceived". Already the macro analysis of the 300 travelogues (Fig. 2) reveals a shift in the European *Zeitgeist*, and it appears promising to study them in more depth. Of great interest is also the fact that our corpus includes non-European reports. This provides an opportunity to conduct cross-cultural studies in terms of differences and similarities. These insights will help us position the project in the currently growing discourse of "global history". We are striving to arrive at a non-Eurocentric reading of global history, but in order to achieve this, we must first understand how travel accounts have shaped the view of Egypt over the centuries.

Finally, the diversity of the topics dealt with as well as the literary genre of the travelogues offer great potential to connect different disciplines such as Islamic, Coptic, and medieval studies, as well as German, English, or media studies. We are open to all forms of cooperation.

The study of travelogues has a long tradition in Egyptology, but increasing digitization allows a targeted and comparative view of the entire corpus. Erich Winter, the founder of the Egyptological institute in Trier, already had a great interest in the early travelogues and recognized their potential for Egyptology. Unfortunately, his recent death prevented him from seeing the fruits of this project. We are therefore all the more pleased to be able to continue this tradition in Trier and now wish to drive it forward with the help of digitization and the questions it enables.

Digital Resources:

https://digiberichte.de https://eetaproject.uni-trier.de/ https://idai.world/ https://www.travelogues-project.info

⁴¹ Ebeling and Assmann, "The Mnemohistory of Egypt", 24.

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