

THE DANISH NAVAL OFFICER

Frederik Ludvig Norden

HIS TRAVEL IN EGYPT 1737-38

AND HIS VOYAGE ... I-II, COPENHAGEN 1755

WITH PLATES BY MARCUS TUSCHER



Three Chapters

by Marie-Louise Buhl, Erik Dal
and Torben Holck Colding

The Royal Danish Academy of Sciences and Letters

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*Frederik Ludvig Norden and his Danish
Predecessors as Travellers in Egypt*

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By

DR. MARIE-LOUISE BUHL

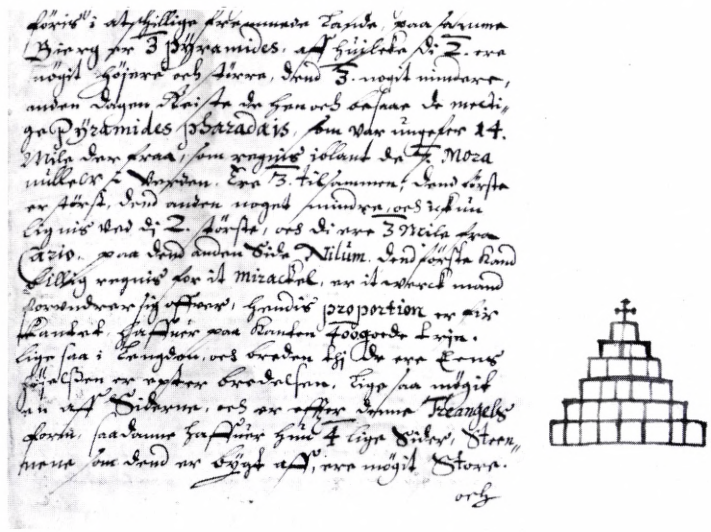
Former Keeper of the Department of Near Eastern and Classical
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In the 16th and 17th centuries many young European noblemen travelled as pilgrims to the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem, and in several cases they also visited Egypt. Among the Danes who went so far, particularly JACOB ULFELDT (1567-1630) and CHRISTIAN BARNEKOW (1556-1612) should be mentioned. They began their long journey to the Orient in 1588, when Ulfeldt was only 21 and Barnekow 31 years old. The latter, according to a legend, became a martial hero during a battle against the Swedes after offering his horse to Christian IV who escaped, while Barnekow was killed by the enemy.

Unlike many other Danish adventurers, Jacob Ulfeldt has given a vivid description of his travels, and a copy of his account is still kept in the Royal Danish Library. In Venice the Danes joined a group of Germans. Their ship visited many islands in the Adriatic and in the Archipelago before arriving in Constantinople. In Rhodes Ulfeldt recalled the Colossus, one of the Seven Wonders of the World. The group also went to Cyprus and Tripoli in Syria, and passing Beirut, Sidon and Tyre they finally arrived in Palestine, at Jaffa, Jerusalem's harbour town, nearly 8 months after their departure from Venice. Many trials did they suffer, and obnoxious experiences did they have with Turkish and Arab customs officers. The narrative of their stay

6 in Palestine gives us a good impression of the ceremonies in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, of the visits to Bethlehem and to other sacred places.

When the group reached Egypt a hurricane in the Delta forced the ship to drop anchor, and the passengers had to swim ashore. Besides, Ulfeldt tells a lot about Egyptian carrier pigeons, the animals in Egypt, and the Egyptian eye diseases. As soon as the Europeans had been installed in Cairo excursions were arranged to the cemeteries where the embalmed bodies of ancient Egyptians were kept, both at Memphis and at Saqqara, and where mummies were sold to foreigners. In the copy of Ulfeldt's report the copyist, probably from the original but without great success, has tried to draw the Step Pyramid of King Djoser of the 3rd Dynasty (2778-2723 B.C.); as a good Christian he put a cross on the top of the pyramid. The architect was the famous Imhotep, who even by the Greeks was later honoured under the name of Imuthes. When Ulfeldt was confronted with the



Drawing in red ink in the copy of Ulfeldt's account, showing the Step Pyramid. Manuscript in the Royal Library, Copenhagen. Reduction 3:5.

Great Pyramid, that of King Cheops of the 4th Dynasty (2723-2563 B.C.), he exclaimed spontaneously that it was a miracle and a surprise. He described the building, outside and inside, and how with great difficulty he passed into the King's chamber and found the sarcophagus empty. When he touched it there was a noise like a bell. But he did not find the stay in the dark interior very pleasant. The air was heavy, and the visitors were constantly disturbed by bats hitting their faces; but when Ulfeldt got out again into the fresh air he enjoyed the sight of the Great Sphinx, made for King Chephren.

Ulfeldt's account has to be supplemented by the information furnished by HANS POULSEN RESEN, Professor of Theology, in his sermon at the funeral of Christian Barnekow on the 26th of March 1612 at Elsinore. Resen mentions that Barnekow went to the Dead Sea, and that he also reached Arabia, but robbers prevented him from going to Sinai, and he could not enter Ethiopia because of the air, the crocodiles and other savage animals. Resen moreover reports that Barnekow came back to Denmark in 1591, bringing with him many rare things which he had found in foreign countries; but unfortunately they have disappeared.

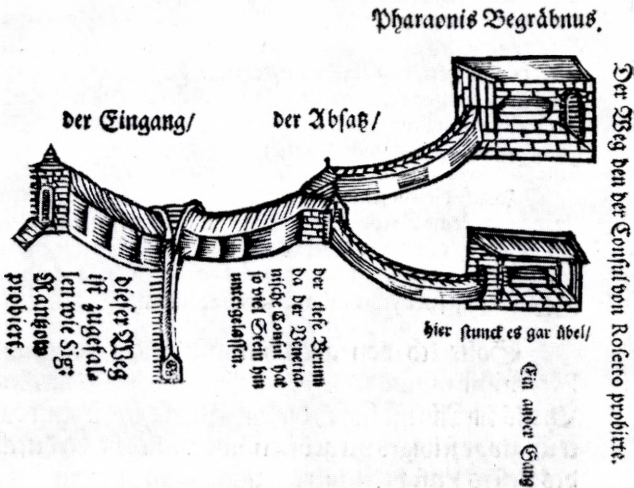
The renaissance castle of Ørbæklunde, which still exists in Hans Christian Andersen's fairy-tale island of Funen, once belonged to the Danish nobleman Colonel JESPER FRIIS. On his journey to the Near East he, too, visited Egypt in 1618, and when he returned to his native country one year later, he was able to establish a real art collection at Ørbæklunde comprising all the objects he had acquired in the Orient. When he died in 1643, the Bishop of Odense Hans Michelsøn in his funeral oration mentioned not only Friis's many glorious ancestors, but also described the exciting monuments and antiquities he had seen. Most of the objects which Friis brought to Denmark have gone astray, but in the Department of Near Eastern

8 and Classical Antiquities of the Danish National Museum there are two lids of Egyptian anthropoid stone sarcophagi that once belonged to his Art Cabinet. Unfortunately, Jesper Friis's diaries are lost, and therefore we know neither where in Egypt he actually got these lids, nor how they were transported to his castle. According to their style they seem to have come from Lower Egypt and should be dated to the 5th-4th centuries B.C.

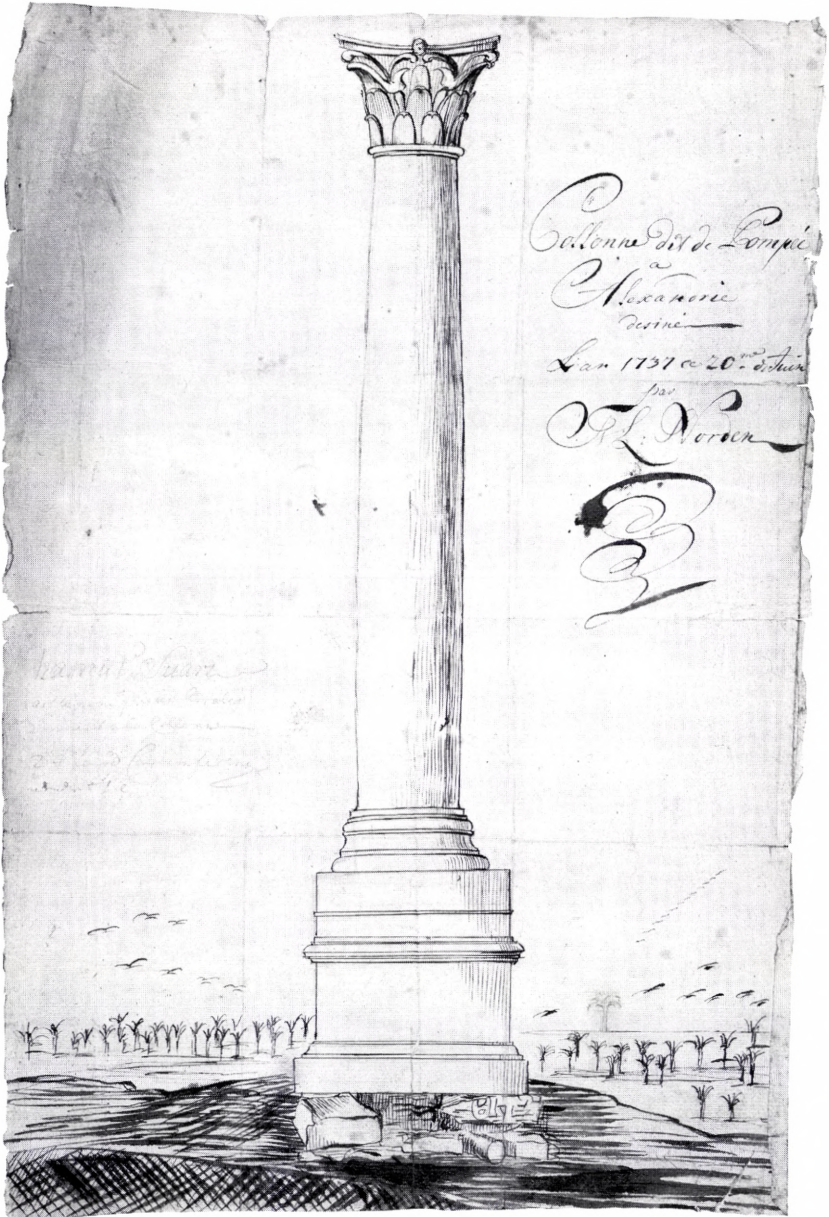
In 1623 another Danish nobleman, Henrik Rantzau, came to Egypt. On his way to and from this country he made many interesting remarks in his diary about the monuments and the nature; but Egypt was of special interest to him. His *Reise-Buch Auff Jerusalem, Cairo in Ægypten un Constantinopell*, published in 1669, contains several noteworthy things, e.g. a description of the Column of Pompey at Alexandria, where he also saw the tall obelisk and nearby the fallen one, both said to be of "Granito orientali" and covered with "Notis Hieroglyphicis". On the fifth day of his stay in Cairo he went to the Pyramids and the Sphinx, and by means of a wood-cut in his book he has delivered a design of the interior of King Cheops's pyramid; under the so-called Queen's Chamber he added the shocking line: "Hier stunck es gar übel." He was highly impressed by the Great Sphinx. Confusing it somehow with the sphinx of Oedipous he called it the image of a god up till then giving oracular answers, and he related that one day, when an Arab with a hammer damaged one of its ears, the Sphinx said: "Formerly people spoke to me with their mouths, and I have answered and served them, but since they have started to speak to me with iron hammers I shall never answer them again." Rantzau also visited the rock tombs, where he found many mummies. On one he loosened the wrappings and found that the nails of the hands and feet were gilded, and he adds: "und eine Schnuer um den Kopff so klar vergulded, alsz wäre es gestern gesche-

hen." Rantzau probably acquired some antiquities, but we know nothing about them. 9

During the reign of Christian IV (1588-1648) the scientist and archaeologist OLE WORM founded his famous Museum Wormianum, then well known all over Europe. In fact his collection was the first systematically arranged one in Denmark, also containing a few Egyptian and Roman objects. When Worm created his collection his great ideal was the museum arranged by Ulisse Aldrovandi († 1605) at Bologna which he had visited; Aldrovandi's botanical collections may still be seen in the University Library of Bologna. After Worm's death in 1654 his antiquities were incorporated in the collection of King Frederik III, originally placed in the Royal Castle of Copenhagen. Among the Egyptian objects was a small so-called Ushabti figurine of light greenish faience with a hieroglyphic inscription containing the name of the owner, Pedi-Her-Hered, and datable to the 26th Dynasty (663-525 B.C.). It is now kept in the Danish National Museum together with Jesper Friis's sarcophagus lids. A colleague of Worm, Professor THOMAS BANG, described the Ushabti statuette in



Wood-cut in Rantzau's *Reise-Buch*, showing the interior of the Pyramid of Cheops. Reduction 3:4.



"The Column of Pompey". Original drawing for Norden pl. XII, see p. 55.
 Reduction 2:5.

1641, and his paper *Exercitatio tertia de hieroglyphicis* is the first Danish contribution to Egyptology in the strict sense of the word. 11

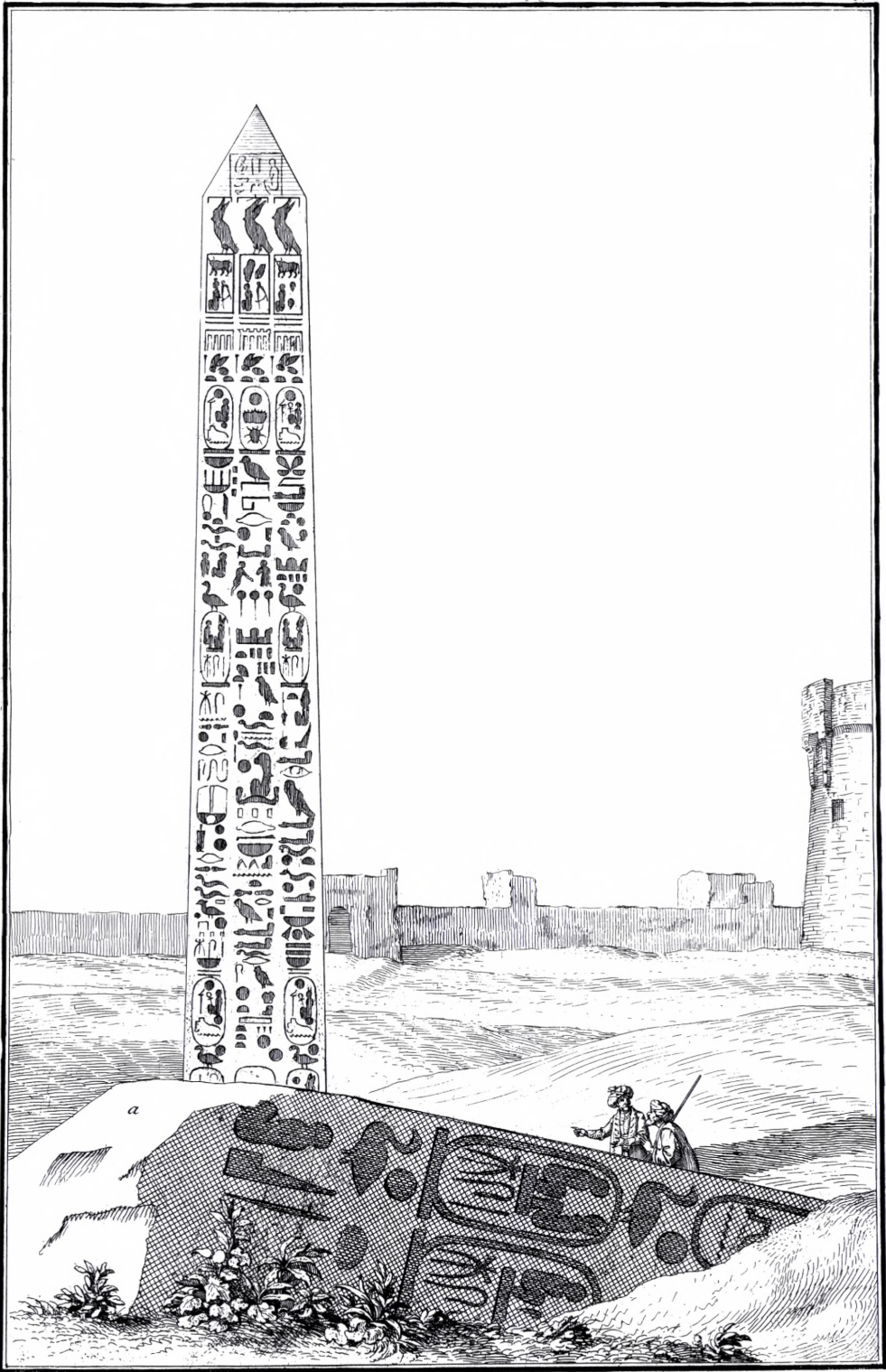
Both Christian V, son and successor of Frederik III, and grandson Frederik IV were greatly praised for their keen interest in antiquities. A French poem from the reign of the latter (1699-1730), inscribed in the Heroic Chamber of the new Art Cabinet, the present building of the Royal Archives, reads as follows: "Tout ce qu'à la nature et l'art de curieux, / par les soins de deux Rois se rassemble en ces lieux: / Christian commença cet illustre assemblage, / Frédéric de nos jours a couronné l'ouvrage. / De tant de raretés les spectateurs surpris, / en benissant le Père admiront le Fils."

Under King Christian VI (1730-46) the first Danish scientific expedition to Egypt was dispatched. The party consisted of a French count, PIERRE JOSEPH LE ROUX D'ESNEVAL, and his wife; a young officer in the Royal Danish Navy, FREDERIK LUDVIG NORDEN, and about sixteen other persons. D'Esneval had to establish commercial relations between the Danish King, the Emperor of Ethiopia, and the Lord of Madagascar. He was a mysterious person, full of phantastic ideas, and with a doubtful background. He had managed to get financial support from Christian VI, and he was even appointed leader of the expedition; but Norden was to travel with him as the King's official representative, which must have been a great disappointment to the somewhat dissolute Frenchman.

Norden was born on the 22nd of October 1708 in the small fortified town of Glückstadt at the southern border of the Danish realm. His father was a captain in the artillery, and he and his wife brought up five sons. Frederik Ludvig was the fourth, and already at the age of 14 he entered the Naval Academy in Copenhagen. Here he was taught many different subjects: dancing, fencing, ship-building,

12 mathematics, French and English. He became very capable in drawing maps for the King, who was delighted to see the fine results. Norden was soon promoted to Naval Lieutenant and got permission to go abroad. He spent a year and a half in Holland, and when he sent reports and drawings home, his work was so highly appreciated that he was told to continue his studies in foreign lands. Therefore, he spent the next three years in France and Italy. He was not only interested in describing naval dock yards and arsenals, but was also attracted by art and ancient history. In Florence he was lucky enough to be introduced to the highly esteemed German diplomat and archaeologist Baron PHILIPPE DE STOSCH. In his home Norden met many outstanding artists and scholars, and it was de Stosch who stirred Norden's interest in ancient Egypt. Among the artists frequenting de Stosch's house was CARL MARCUS TUSCHER of Nuremberg, who worked for the Baron as an engraver. This acquaintance, later renewed in London, was to be of great value to Norden, and it was Tuscher who after Norden's death in 1742 in Paris was called to Copenhagen to make Norden's drawings ready for publication.

The expedition sailed from Leghorn, and after 30 days' voyage the members landed in Alexandria in June 1737. Just like Henrik Rantzau Norden was fascinated when he saw "Pompey's Column" and "Cleopatra's Needles". The column, 27 metres tall and made of granite from Aswan, was called so since the time of the Crusaders, because it was believed that Pompey was buried underneath; but, it was in fact erected in 297 A.D. in honour of the Emperor Diocletian. It had been part of the Serapeum, and it is still one of the best preserved monuments in Egypt. Norden praises the way in which it has been placed and finds that it is an eminent example of the Corinthian style. He measured it and showed how the substructure consisted of blocks from other buildings, and that some of these stones were provided with hieroglyphic inscriptions.

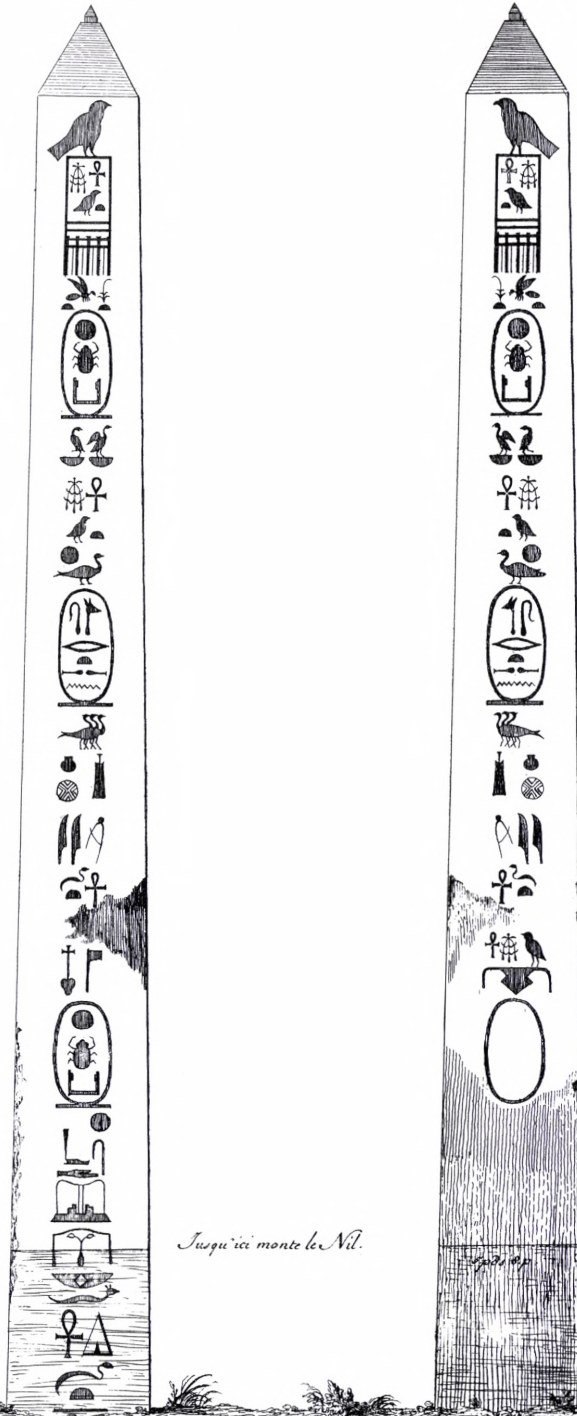


Obélisque, dit de Cléopâtre, à Alexandrie, vu du côté de l'ouest, qui est le mieux conservé.
 a. Obélisque cassé, et couché par terre, à moitié enseveli.

14 The story about the other two monuments, the obelisks, also already described by Rantzau, but measured and drawn by Norden, is a long one. Before going into details it should be mentioned that CARSTEN NIEBUHR, the Danish Lieutenant of Engineers who travelled in Egypt and Arabia between 1761 and 1764, in his *Voyage en Arabie* commended the merits of Norden for making excellent drawings of the obelisks and the column. The former originally came from the Temple of Re-Harakhte at Heliopolis, where the main cult was devoted to the so-called Benben Stone, the prototype of all obelisks. Under the 18th Dynasty (1580-1341 B.C.) this temple contained the royal archives, and the obelisks were erected in front of the sanctuary by King Thuthmosis III (1490-68 B.C.). They were later usurped by Ramesses II (1290-24 B.C.), and still later one of the Tanite rulers, Siamon, about 980 B.C. added his name and royal titles. Since the two monuments are unbroken, they must have been standing at the time of their removal to Alexandria. They also seem to have been among the monuments spared by the Persian King Cambyses, when he sacked Heliopolis in 525 B.C. The geographer Strabo, who between 24 and 20 B.C. visited Egypt, saw them at their original site. It was Augustus who removed them to Alexandria, placing them in front of the sanctuary built to celebrate his 18th anniversary as ruler of Egypt. This event, which happened in 13-12 B.C., was commemorated by two inscriptions, one in Greek, the other in Latin, incised on one of the claws of bronze between the pedestal and the shaft of the standing obelisk. According to a Ptolemaic and Roman custom the obelisks were raised on bases with three steps. The base of the fallen obelisk has disappeared, but it was no doubt identical with that of the standing one. Pliny the Elder (23-79 A.D.) in his *Natural History* mentions the two obelisks as being placed in the Temple of Caesar near the harbour. In the Middle Ages, at least until

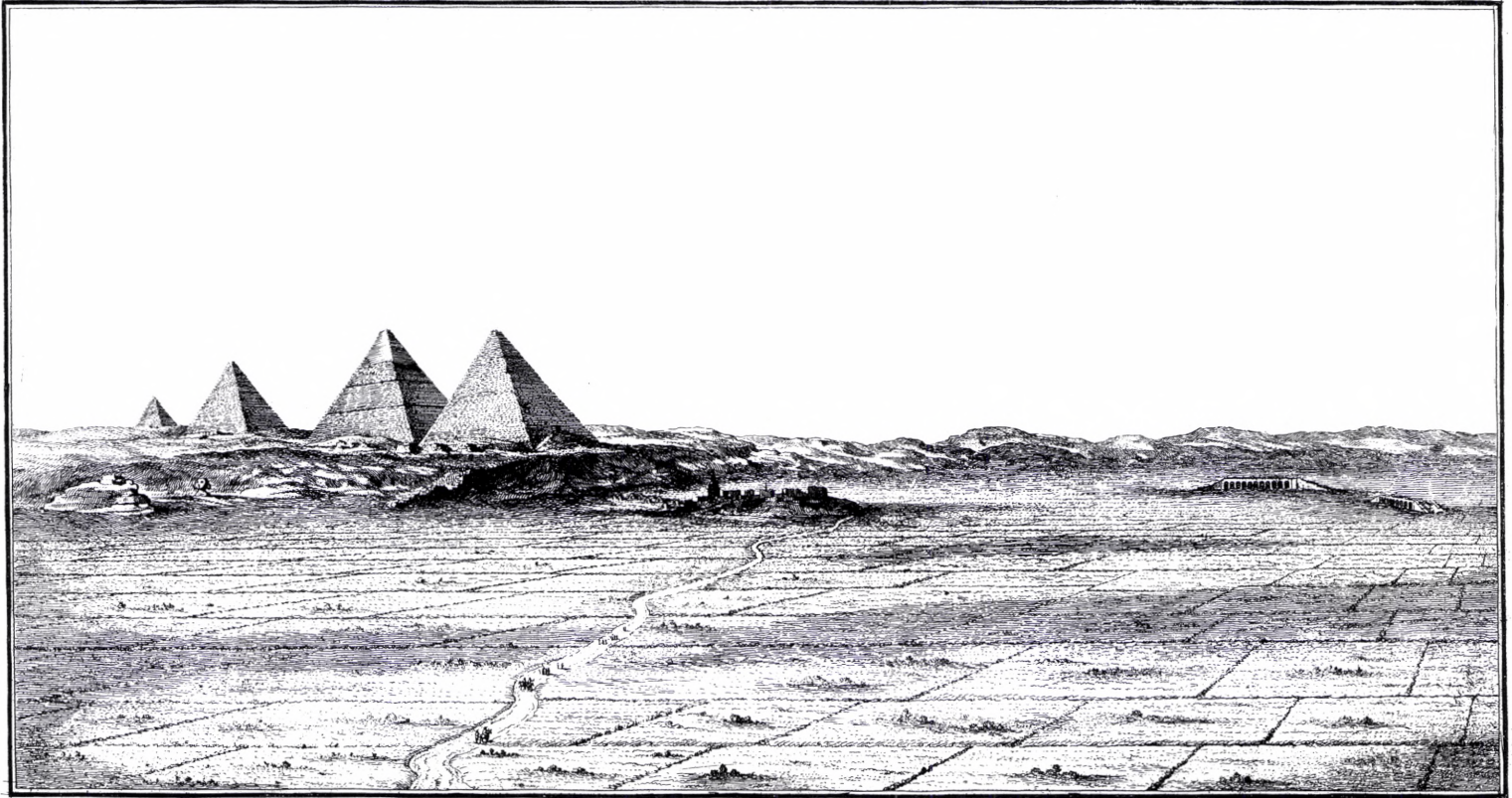
côté du midi

côté du nord



Jusqu'ici monte le Nil.

Obélisque de Matareen, anciennement Héliopolis.
 N'est de même hauteur, que celui de Cléopâtre à Alexandrie.



*Vue des Pyramides de Memphis,
dessinée de la maison du Kaïmakan, à une lieue de distance.*

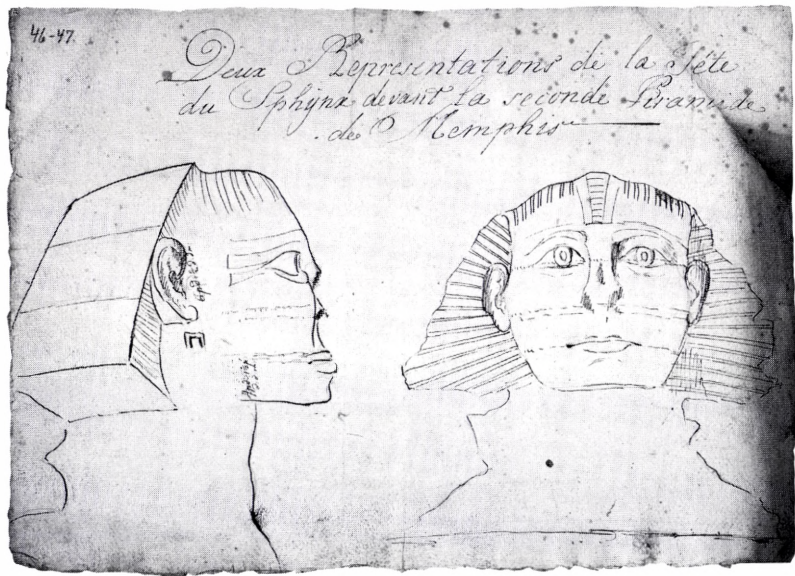
1201, both monuments seem to have been undisturbed; but in 1547 or 1548 the French scientist Pierre Belon noticed that one of them was lying on the ground. In addition to the obelisks in Alexandria Norden has drawn one put up by Sesostris I (1970-36 B.C.), and still preserved in Heliopolis. He also mentions the unfinished and broken obelisk in Aswân, partly covered by sand, cut free from the rock only on three sides, the fourth being part of the rock. In our times no more than five obelisks may be seen in their original places, and fifteen have been taken to Europe and America. The fallen obelisk in Alexandria was sent to London and erected on the Embankment in 1872, while the standing one since 1881 has been admired in Central Park in New York.

Norden rightly describes the Pyramids as belonging to the Seven Wonders of the World, and he engages in speculations concerning their origins and dates. Only the northern pyramid, that of King Cheops, was then accessible. Like Rantzau Norden complains of the difficulties he had in entering its interior through the long corridors. In the King's Chamber he, too, noticed sounds like bells, which the empty sarcophagus gave when touched. Norden has drawn the pyramid with great care, and his measurement of the interior with its rooms and galleries is astonishingly correct (p. 21).

The drawings of the Great Sphinx are quite amusing, but not among his best. A sphinx, of course, is a composite animal, with a lion's body and a human head. The monument at Gizah lies in a large stony quarry. When blocks were taken from there to build the Pyramid of Cheops, a rocky knoll was left, and out of this King Cheferen, also of the 4th Dynasty, had the Sphinx made; the human head is considered a portrait of the king. The monument is 20 metres high and 75.5 metres long. Later it was to be taken for the image of the god Horus, and a rest-house was built in the neighbourhood so that the

- 18 Royal princes could stay there and meditate. Both Amenophis II and Thuthmosis IV of the 18th Dynasty have given accounts of the dreams they had in front of the Sphinx, who told them about the regal power they would obtain if they were willing to dig it out of the masses of sand, and Thuthmosis IV has placed his so-called dream stela with this narrative between the paws of the Sphinx; but the monument was not laid completely free before the Roman epoch.

Due to troubles and fights between the sheikhs all over Egypt and to a severe pneumonia Norden's journey up the Nile from Cairo was postponed for more than four months. During his convalescence he made several drawings and measurements as well as numerous views of Cairo, including a representation of the yearly festival when the Nile floods its banks and puts an end to the spell of drought. Norden



The Sphinx of Chephren. Original drawing for Norden pl. XLVI, se p. 57.
Reduction ca. 1:4.

took special interest in measuring the so-called Joseph's Well, which Sultan Muhammed en-Nasir had constructed in 1311, and which functioned till 1865. The shaft of the well is in two parts and about 87 metres deep. The water was drawn up by a lifting machine, termed a *saqiya* in Arabic.

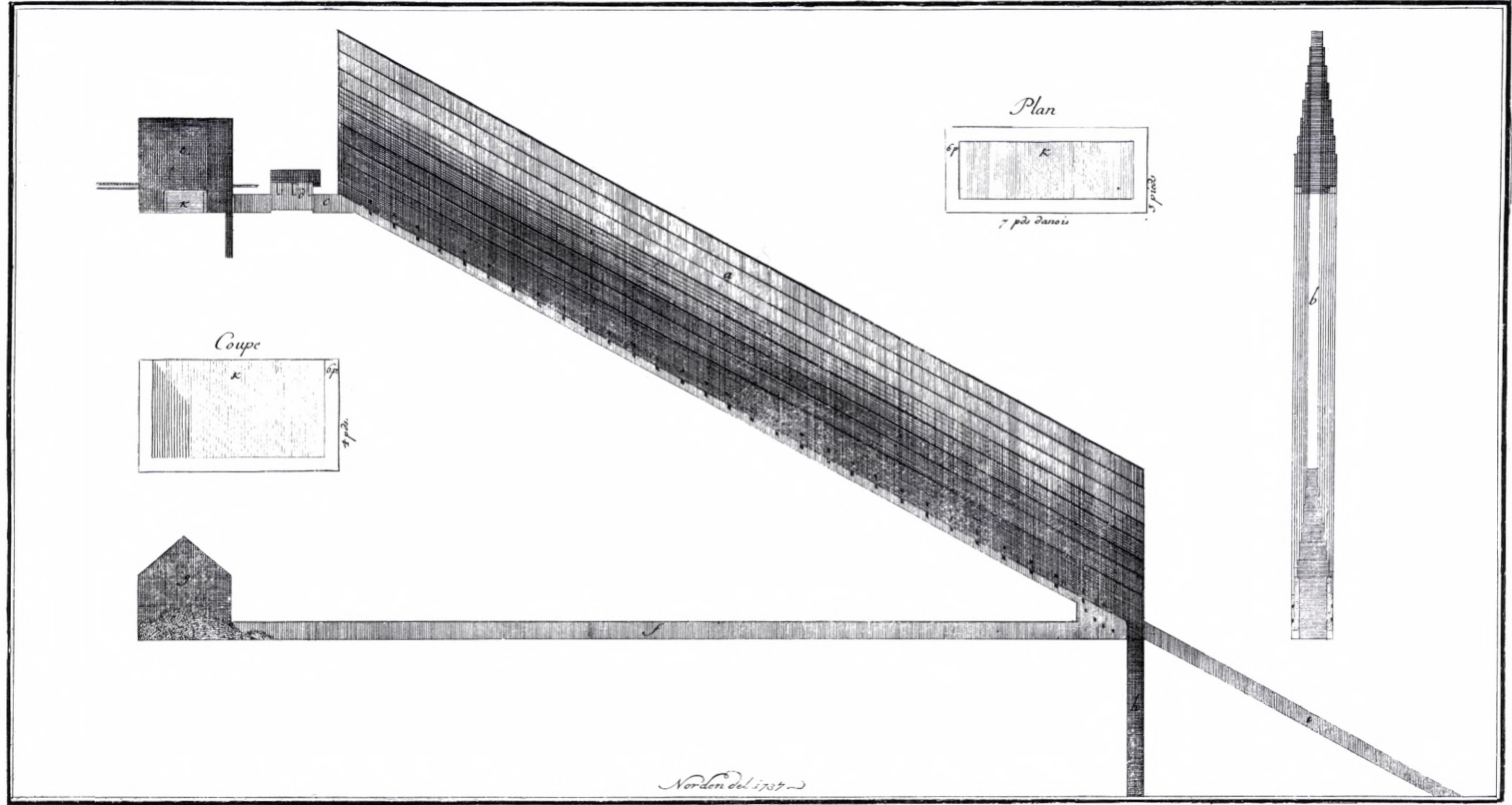
Finally, in November 1737 all members of the expedition embarked a ship at anchor opposite the great bazaar in Cairo. When Norden visited Egypt people still sailed on the Nile in the same way as the ancient Egyptians, judging from the representations on the reliefs from Pharaonic times. A man was placed at the prow with a long sounding pole to measure the depth of the water. Norden's keen interest in such vessels may be seen from a number of drawings. On this long voyage Norden made notes of everything important in his diary, which also contains very finely drawn maps. Besides he had a notebook, in which every day he put down remarks on the towns and villages passed by the ship. The maps he drew when sailing up the Nile are so accurate and valuable that Carsten Niebuhr in his *Voyage en Arabie* was able to write: "Je ne sache pas, que, de tous ceux, qui ont fait le voyage de l'Égypte, personne n'en ait publié d'aussi bonnes cartes, que Père Sicard & le Capitaine Norden – or ni l'un ni l'autre n'ont eu occasion de les vérifier par des observations astronomiques." The French father, whose name should be spelled Siccard, was a missionary and geographer born in 1677. He visited both Syria and Egypt and died in 1726 in Upper Egypt.

When Norden's ship passed Mêdûm, he drew sketches of the pyramids including those at Dashûr. Here he saw some very big wading-birds which he called water camels; but they must have been marabous. During this journey the members of the expedition had more and more troubles with robbers, both on the Nile and ashore, so that they were simply forced to use warning shots to keep uninvited

20 persons away. With only one exception the natives wanted great amounts of money to let the Franks, as all white foreigners were called, visit the ruins and monuments along the river.

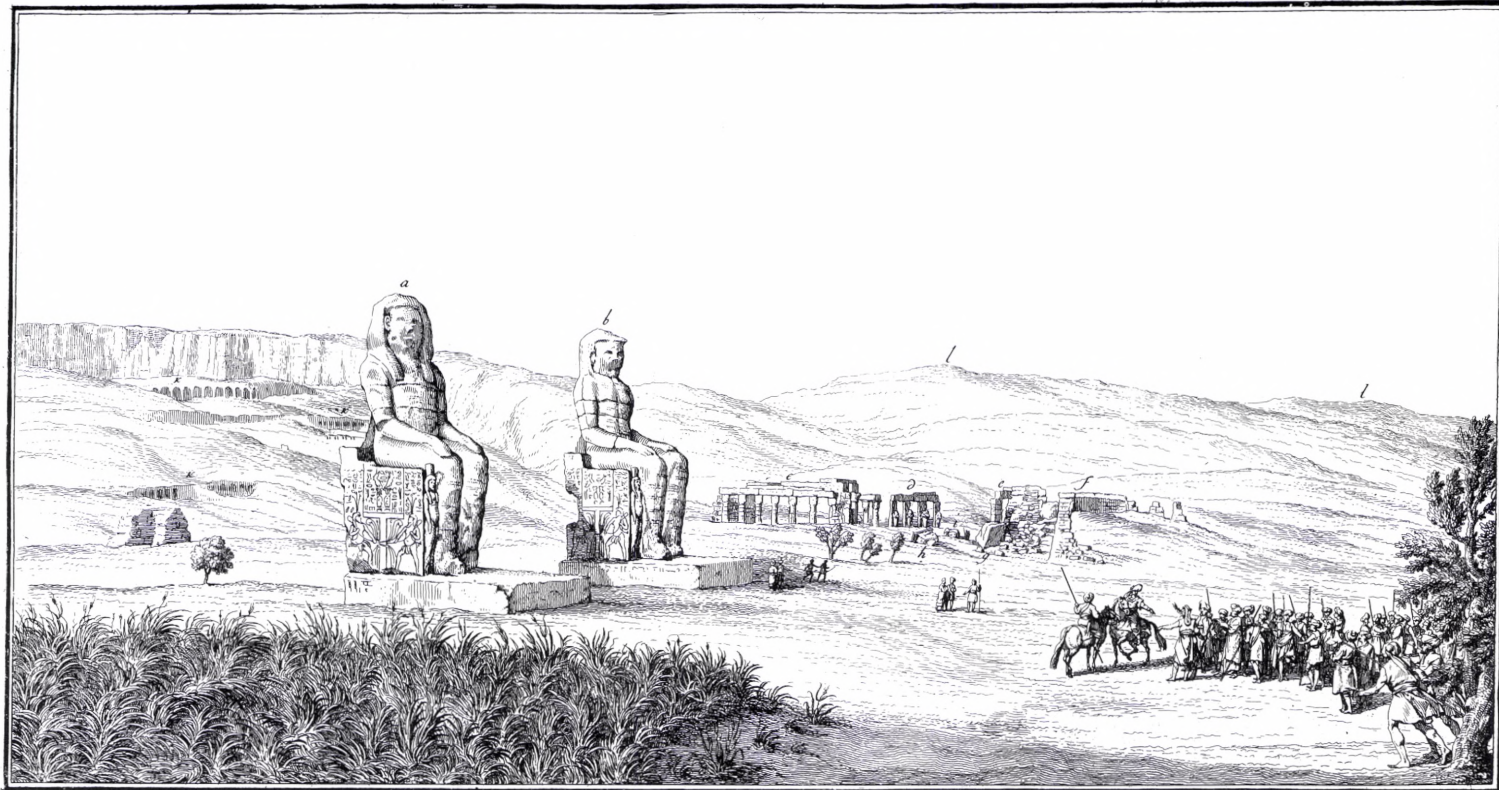
Passing a site north of the town Asyût Norden noticed his first crocodile. This is interesting, because these animals nowadays are found only south of the Egypto-Sudanian border. On the 11th of December Karnak and Luxor were reached. When Norden wished to go ashore, the skipper said it was impossible because of the many sand banks and islands. This was not the true reason, but he and his crew feared the hostile population. So Norden spent his time drawing what he could see from the river, and later, on the way back, he actually succeeded in visiting both sites. In the evening the ship was beached on the west bank, just opposite Karnak, and the next morning Norden and d'Esneval, together with a missionary and one of their faithful helpers, decided to visit Thebes. Here Norden carried out a number of quite unique drawings of monuments, and it is unbelievable that in one day he could manage to do so much work, although he and his companions were incessantly disturbed by beggars. The local people particularly disliked foreigners going to the richest sites, because they themselves wanted to plunder the tombs.

Among other subjects Norden drew the famous colossi representing the seated King Amenophis III; they, too, were reckoned among the Seven Wonders of the World. Since the time of the Greeks these statues were taken for images of the Ethiopian King Memnon, the son of Eos and Tithonos, who in the Trojan war was killed by Achilles. In an earthquake about 27 B.C. the upper part of the northern colossus was thrown down, and since that time every morning at sunrise a sound was said to issue from the statue. It was believed that it was Memnon who greeted his mother, the Dawn (Eos in Greek), and that she answered his complaints with her tears, the morning



Canaux et Chambres sépulcrales de la seconde Pyramide de Memphis.

a. Quatrième Canal qui se termine en dos d'âne de 24 pieds de hauteur. b. Coupe par le travers du même canal. c. Cinquième canal. d. Entrée. e. Chambre sépulcrale d'en haut. f. Troisième canal. g. Chambre sépulcrale d'en bas. h. Puits. i. Second canal. k. Sansfayage.



Deux Statues Colossales avec Les Ruines du Palais de Memnon, vis-à-vis de Carnac et de Luxxor.

a. Statue d'un Homme. b. Statue d'une Femme, toutes deux de 50 pieds Danois de hauteur. c. Ruines d'un Temple. d. Pilastres avec des Termes. e. Pilastres opposés de la même façon. f. Muraille derrière la Galerie. h. Colosse renversé et entier. g. Colosse brisé et renversé, tenu pour la Statue sonante de Memnon. i. Tête colossale. k. Grottes coupées dans les montagnes. l. Montagnes qui separent l'Égypte de la Lybie.

dew. The colossi got so famous that many Egyptians, Greeks and Romans went to see them, and they often engraved their names in the stone. The northern statue even has verses in Demotic, Greek and Latin. The oldest inscription goes back to the year 65 A.D.; but Strabo visited the place already in 24 B.C. and Germanicus in 19 A.D. It is interesting that *still* in those days it was known that the name of Memnon contained a memory of Amenophis. When in 199 A.D. Emperor Septimius Severus came to Thebes, he had the upper part of the northern statue restored by adding five layers of stone blocks. After that time no sound was heard. The acoustic phenomenon has been explained in the following way: The differences of temperature and humidity between night and day caused a break of small particles from the sandstone, thus producing the mourning sound, an explanation which, after all, is not quite satisfactory. The colossi, 17.9 metres tall, were actually the remains of the funeral temple of Amenophis III. The artist who made them was the wise Amenophis, son of Hapu, and he also directed the transport of these giants from the stone quarries at Gebel el-Ahmar near Cairo 800 kilometres away. Norden very carefully reproduced the representations and inscriptions on the thrones of both seated statues, and on the northern one the representation of the unification of Upper and Lower Egypt.

Norden also measured and drew what he called the “Memnon-Palais”, but this is the temple complex called the Ramesseum, the enormous funeral sanctuary of Ramesses II of the 19th Dynasty (1308-1172 B.C.). In the ruins Norden found a gallery around an open court, and he thought the building was identical to what the Graeco-Roman philosopher Flavius Philostratus (born about 170 A.D.) described as the Temple of Memnon. He therefore believed the court was the place where the Memnon colossi had been erected,

“The Palace of Memnon”, Ramesseum and the fallen statues which Norden held to be the Colossi of Memnon, by him marked G and H. Norden pl. CX. See p. 53.

24 and since he found fragments of a huge black granite statue representing a seated person and another complete statue, both turned over, he thought they were the colossi. He also tried to knock at the better preserved statue with a big key, but had to admit that the sound was not different from that heard when knocking on other granite blocks. What Norden actually saw here were the images of King Ramesses II. Studying all the beautiful reliefs with their colours he was delighted, and he eagerly copied the hieroglyphs, hoping to squeeze a meaning out of the mysterious signs.

After a visit to some of the tombs Norden and his companions reached the village of Madīnat Habû south of the Memnon Colossi. It was founded in the Coptic Period, when the early Christians established themselves around the ancient Egyptian temple. In the second court of the temple they had built an impressive church, and Greek and Coptic inscriptions have been found around the temple and in its



The Colossus fig. 9H knocked at by Norden. Photo M.-L. Buhl 1982.

neighbourhood. The local Christian community was one of the largest and most important in Upper Egypt. Madīnat Habû has a long history, beginning in the 18th Dynasty and thus covering a period of about 2500 years. With joy and admiration Norden describes what he has seen among the ruins. He mentions the exquisite coloured reliefs, the fine hieroglyphs, and also Greek and Roman works of art such as the heads of Diana and Bacchus, and from his hand we still have a drawing of the almost intact town gate. The site is enormous, and even to-day it is an extremely exhausting task to walk around among the ruins; moreover, Norden had to guard himself against robbers all the time while he was occupied by recording the wonders he saw.

As the Europeans, after this day full of impressions and not always agreeable experiences, returned to their boat, they discovered that it had left the beach and cast anchor rather far away. At last the party



Part of the Ramesseum with the head fig. 9I. Photo M.-L. Buhl 1982.

26 came on board, where they were met with congratulations from the skipper. Although he had been sailing for more than twenty years on the Nile, he had never dared go ashore in this region, because the population had the most horrible reputation; nevertheless he did not mind having caused Norden and his group to walk rather longer than expected in that dangerous area. In his diary Norden states how physically demanding the day had been, and immediately he got a severe paroxysm of fever and had to stay on the ship for some days. The writer of these lines, who herself at the same age during a stay in Egypt contracted an incipient pulmonary tuberculosis without knowing what was wrong, and had to visit Madīnat Habû in spite of feeling deadly tired with a high fever fully understands Norden's situation and deeply admires his nearly superhuman efforts.

Although still weak, Norden could not stop himself from leaving the boat at Esneh, and hidden behind a column he made drawings of the temple, which dates from the Ptolemaic and Roman periods. It was dedicated to the ram-headed god Khnum. The front hall has twenty-four columns with fine composite capitals. Unfortunately the local people caught sight of Norden, and both he and his companions were bombarded with stones and had to run back to the ship. Here they grasped their guns and pistols, but luckily, as soon as the pursuers saw the weapons, they immediately disappeared.

Norden furthermore mentions Edfû on the western bank with its remains of a temple built during the reign of Ptolemy III in 237 B.C., but only finished in 57 B.C. It resembles that of Denderah. At Gebel Silsila, i.e. the Mountain of the Chain, also on the west bank, where the Egyptians from the earliest times had quarried the greater part of their reddish sandstone, Norden made sketches of a remarkably shaped rock. Here the Nile narrows very much, and according to tradition the river could be barred by a heavy chain fastened to the

Fig. 1

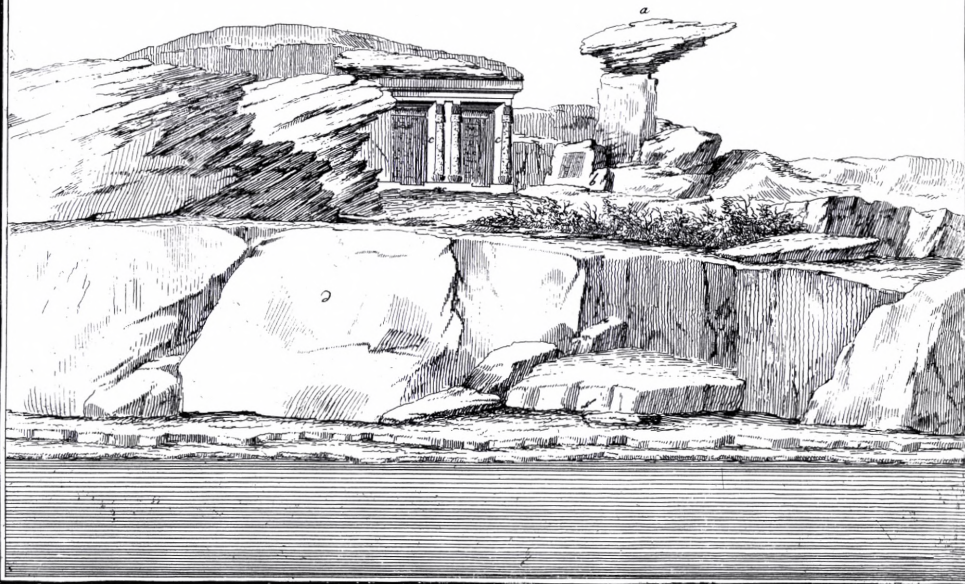


Fig. 2

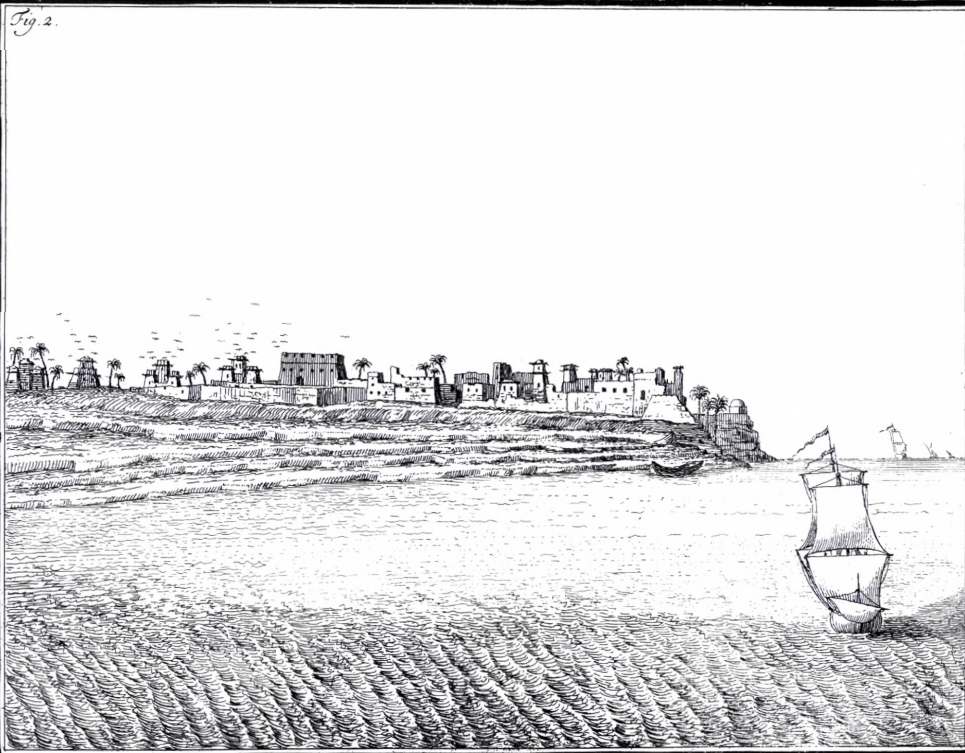
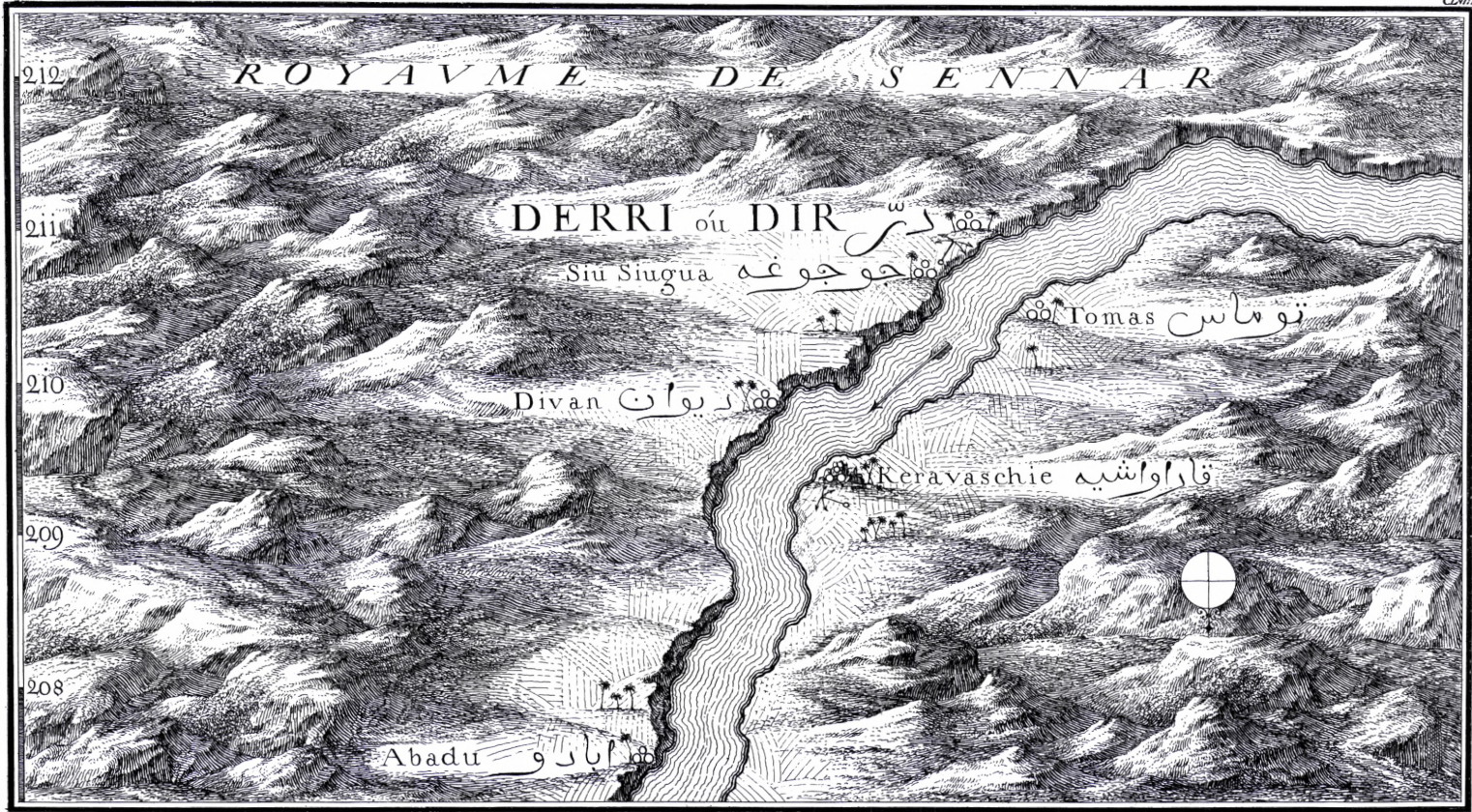


Fig. 1. a. Représentation de la Pierre à laquelle selon la tradition étoit attachée une chaîne pour fermer le Nil. b. Masse de Granit pleine de hiéroglyphes. c. Pièces Chapelles. d. Rochers de Granit.
 Fig. 2. Vue de la Ville d'Enay, dans l'Egypte Supérieure.

28 top of the rock, which had been “taillé en carré irrégulier”; holes were made as steps for those who wanted to climb to the top. In the neighbourhood Norden found large stones covered with fine hieroglyphs. It was at this spot that Akhenaton of the 18th Dynasty according to an inscription had an obelisk carved for his Sun Temple at Karnak. Norden also drew a relief with two men and two women, all seated, and was quite disgusted when he discovered how the natives had mutilated it, especially the faces of the figures.

In those days Aswân, at the First Cataract of the Nile, marked the southern border of Egypt. The waterfall could only be passed by land. Norden and the other members of the expedition, who arrived there on the 18th of December, were accordingly supposed to continue southwards by another ship; but not till the 27th were all the formalities settled. In the meantime Norden reconnoitred the island of Elephantine, north of the waterfall, the southernmost place visited by Herodotus. The island is full of ruins, and Norden became eagerly occupied by drawing what he called the Temple of the Serpent God Knuphis; but in his description he adds that it is probably that of the ram god Khnum, the deity of the First Cataract and the god of creation. The walls of the sanctuary were richly decorated with hieroglyphs.

Unfortunately d’Esneval, who was anxious to get to Ethiopia, prevented Norden from investigating more ruins and making further drawings. When they reached Philae and Norden wanted to go ashore, the skipper stopped him, so that he could only make notes and sketches from the boat. The frontier between Egypt and Nubia was at Kalâbsha. Here the people ordered the ship to land so that “the Franks could distribute their riches”. Nevertheless, the voyage continued, while shooting began from ashore and was answered by the passengers on board. At that time d’Esneval and the Countess



Vingtneuvième Partie de la Carte du Nil, depuis Kudjuhed, jusqu'à Derri.

30 were both ill. Farther south navigation on the Nile was extremely difficult. The river was very narrow and full of whirlpools, and the ship ran aground; but luckily a wind arose and the boat got free. However, the situation of the Europeans turned from bad to worse, and at Dêrr, on the 6th of January 1738, the ship had to be put about. D'Esneval, still suffering, was obliged to give up his plans to reach Ethiopia by way of the Nile, which, of course, was an enormous disappointment to him, while to Norden the exploration of Egypt had been the main purpose. Without his firm resolution and courage it would perhaps have been quite impossible for the members of the expedition to get away from Dêrr, where Norden, in spite of all trouble, took time to make a sketch. Actually Norden was now the leader of the expedition.

On its way back the ship landed opposite Philae, and during the night Norden went ashore with only one companion. In the moonlight he admired the temples, and without being disturbed he made surveys and drawings, of a.o. the Temple of Isis, richly embellished with reliefs of a number of Ptolemaic sovereigns. The colonnades and capitals are in fact very beautiful, and before the night was over Norden had finished a series of drawings of capitals. At dawn, however, a crowd of natives had gathered and prevented him from finishing the examination of the temple.

At Morada, the upper harbour of the First Cataract, the expedition had to change ship, and again the members were to suffer many hardships and difficulties until they got another boat a fortnight later, on the 27th of January. Returning, Norden succeeded in finishing some details in his drawings of the Chain Mountain, Gebel Silsila. At Esneh the expedition had to have the ship repaired, and here Norden and his companions tried to get information about a ship with Europeans, which that same night had passed up the Nile bound for

Aswân. It was later found out that it was the English explorer 31
RICHARD POCOCKE who had passed the Danish expedition.

Before reaching Luxor, and in order not to miss the occasion this time, Norden had prepared everything for a visit ashore. On the 3rd of February the ship landed a little south of the site, and for three hours after midnight Norden was deeply engaged in measuring most of the ruins he saw, and at sunrise he checked his work in details. Norden's magnificent representations of the gigantic monuments make us fully feel his enthusiasm. Among others he drew the amazing temple pylon of Ramesses II, in front of which the seated statues of the king, 14 metres high, are placed. At that time they were half buried in sand. Of the two obelisks the western one is still standing; but the other one has since 1836 adorned the Place de la Concorde in Paris. That same morning Norden reached Karnak. Also here many temple ruins were partly under sand. Although tired from his nightly



The Temple Pylon at Luxor with one of the obelisks and the two seated statues of Ramesses II, from which the sand masses have been removed. Photo M.-L. Buhl 1982.

32 work Norden accomplished some very detailed and exact plans and drawings; but time was limited, and beggars came running and screaming for bakhshish.

Because of the heavy north wind the navigation down the Nile turned to be very difficult, but at last, on the 3rd of February, the ship came to anchor at the same place in Old Cairo from where the expedition had left four months earlier, a voyage of 2000 kilometres. In Cairo, Norden may have met Pococke, for in his diary the former mentions that the Englishman had not been able to penetrate the land south of the First Cataract. Norden also remarks that Pococke did not make drawings, but preferred to see, think and tell people about his impressions.

The stay in Cairo and Alexandria lasted four more months, before Norden and his party could leave for Europe; but Norden took advantage of the occasion to revisit the Pyramids and to finish his work there. He also made drawings of ships and helped the Roman-Catholic priests with plans for building new churches and monasteries.

When Norden returned to Denmark the King was greatly impressed when hearing about the dangerous journey and seeing the many drawings Norden had made. He asked the young officer to make his manuscripts and drawings ready for publication as soon as possible. In addition to the diaries Norden had kept a daily register, taken many notes and produced more than 200 drawings and sketches, 29 detailed maps of the Nile, and 2 survey maps. Norden often refers to a "ledger" in which he described the remains of ancient Egypt in detail, but unfortunately this work has disappeared. In the course of 1739 he perused his material and finished the greater part of the drawings, and he also translated into French his notes on Lower

The Temple Pylon at Luxor with the two obelisks and statues of Ramesses II, partly covered by sand. Norden pl. CVI.

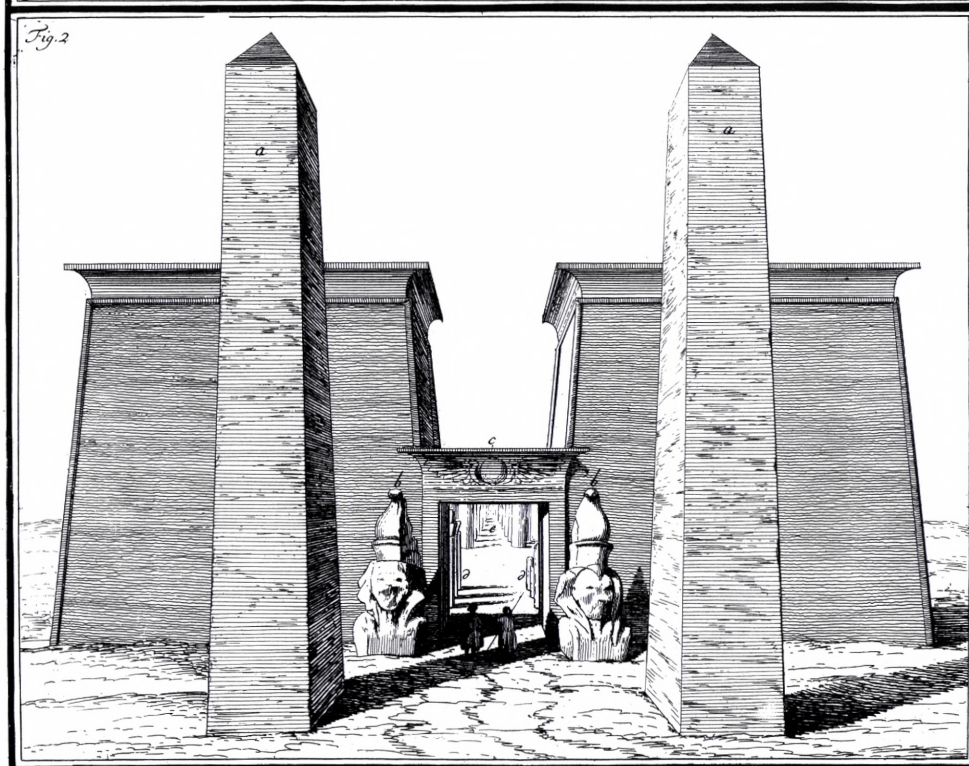
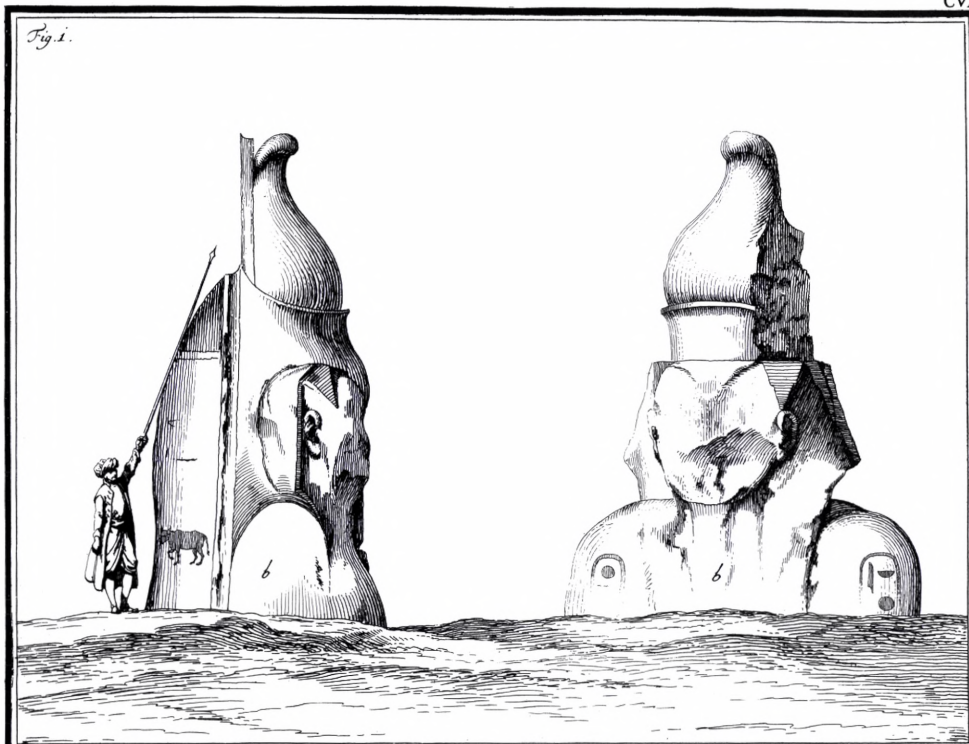


Fig. 1. Les deux Colosses . b. en particulier.
 Fig. 2 Vue du Portail principal des Antiquités de Luxxor.
 a. Obélisques. b. Colosses. c. Portail. d. Partie d'un Portique. e. Grande Colnade.

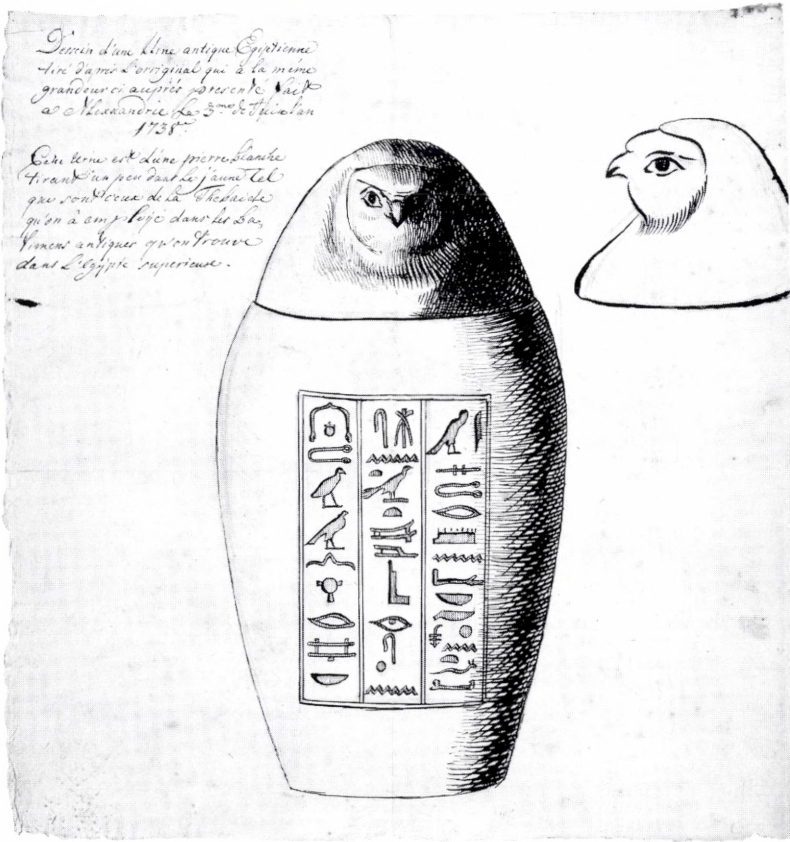
34 Egypt, including Alexandria and the Pyramids. He frequently corresponded with his old friend Baron de Stosch in Florence about the Egyptian antiquities, and he asked him to whom he should entrust the etching of his drawings.

In spite of his archaeological interests Norden does not seem to have been a collector of antiquities. Perhaps he did not like to take things out of Egypt, having seen how people robbed and sacked the tombs. At least, we know of only one object which he brought to Denmark. It is a so-called canopic jar, pretended to be an image of the god Canopus. This piece is of a yellowish white sandstone and should be dated to the 26th Dynasty (663-525 B.C.). Such vases were used as containers for the intestines of the dead and embalmed Egyptians, and they were placed under the protection of the Four Sons of Horus: Hapi, Duamutef, Qebksenuf and Amset. The inscription on Norden's jar mentions the owner, one Tefnakht, as well as the god Amset, but the lid represents the falcon's head of Qebksenuf. Norden has made a drawing of the vase, and it is published in his *Voyage* with the following, rather laconic text: "Urne antique, que l'auteur a apportée avec lui." The sandstone is the same as that employed for building in Upper Egypt. Together with a canopic jar which Carsten Niebuhr acquired in Egypt the piece is exhibited in the Department of Near Eastern and Classical Antiquities of the Danish National Museum.

Although from Vienna Count d'Esneval tried to interest King Christian VI in financing a new journey to reach Ethiopia, he did not succeed this time. In Madrid he had more luck in influencing the King of Spain; but notwithstanding all his endeavours he never got to Ethiopia in order to establish commercial relations with the Emperor of this land of his dreams. He died in 1756 in Paris.

Norden had been promoted Captain of the Royal Danish Navy

and was now fully occupied with duties in the Royal Dockyard in 35
 Copenhagen. However, already in 1739 he and some other naval
 officers, including ULRICH Count of DANNESKIOLD-SAMSØE, were
 asked to serve under British flag. In London the Danish officers were
 received, and Norden was even invited to the Royal Court, where the
 Prince of Wales expressed his great interest in the Egyptian journey
 and was shown some of Norden's drawings. In the summer of 1740
 the Danish officers in Britain were called up for service as "volun-



Canopic jar, by Norden brought to Denmark, now in the Danish National Museum, Copenhagen. Original drawing in Indian ink in the Royal Danish Academy of Sciences and Letters, Copenhagen, like the figures pp. 10 and 18.

36 teers”, but nevertheless Norden found time to work on his Egyptian material. He made some comments upon a paper about the Pyramids written by Professor JOHN GREAVES in Oxford. From Portsmouth he sent his remarks to the President of the Royal Society in London, Sir MARTIN FOLKES, whom he had met already, and in whose care he had left part of his archives from Egypt. His criticism of the Oxonian treatise was so well founded that in January 1741 he was elected member of the Royal Society. It was a great honour, both to him and to Danish scholarship, but at that time Norden and his Danish colleagues were far away in the West Indian waters. After many events, war and hard weather, Norden returned to England, where he resumed his work and translated into French his Egyptian diary and notes. In London he was again awarded a distinction by being admitted as an honorary member of the Society of Antiquaries. At the same time Richard Pococke, who had passed the Danish expedition on the Nile, was appointed member, and when the two men met, they started a collaboration with other persons who had visited Egypt. Thus “The Egyptian Club” was founded, the purpose of which was to examine the Egyptian antiquities. In January 1742 Norden published his paper *Drawings of some Ruins and Colossal Statues at Thebes in Egypt*. It attracted great attention in the learned circles of London; see the last chapter.

Norden and Ulrich Danneskiold-Samsøe remained in London during the winter of 1741-42, but Norden was very weak, suffering from consumption, and so he and his friend decided to go to southern France. In Paris he fell seriously ill and was unable to continue the journey. He spent his last days by thinking of his scholarly work, which, as he now realized, had to be completed by others. Norden died on the 22nd of September 1742, only 34 years old. He was buried in Paris, but we do not know where.

During his illness Norden had asked Ulrich Danneskiold-Samsøe to hand all the drawings and notes over to the latter's uncle, the Commander-in-Chief of the Royal Danish Navy, General-Admiral-Lieutenant FREDERIK Count of DANNESKIOLD-SAMSØE. He had also expressed the wish that Marcus Tuscher should engrave his drawings in copper, because this friend of his was already informed of how he thought it should be done. Norden's two wishes were fulfilled, and Tuscher was asked to come to Copenhagen, where he made a remarkable achievement. After seven years of work Tuscher had finished the last but one copper plate, when he got ill and died on the 6th of January 1751 at the age of 45.

King Frederik V, successor of Christian VI, entrusted the Royal Danish Academy of Sciences and Letters with the final publishing of Norden's magnum opus. It appeared in 1755 as two volumes in folio bearing the title *Voyage d'Égypte et de Nubie, par Mr. Frederic Louis Norden, Capitaine des Vaisseaux du Roi. Ouvrage enrichi de Cartes et de Figures dessinées sur les lieux, par l'Auteur même.* A Copenhague, de l'Imprimerie de la Maison Royale des Orphelins. MDCCLV.

Some years ago a professor of archaeology told one of his students that scholarship was a sacrifice, and the young man answered: "I hate the word sacrifice." Luckily, Frederik Ludvig Norden knew the value of sacrifice. He devoted himself to the exploration of Egypt, he risked his life, and more than anybody at that time he prepared the way for the deciphering of the hieroglyphs. In the annals of archaeology Napoleon's military expedition in 1798 is the great divide within Egyptology, and among the pioneers of the preceding centuries only Pococke is usually referred to; but as already mentioned, instead of making exact notes and drawings this scholar preferred to see, think and tell people about his impressions. Norden's enormous import-

38 ance lies in the fact, that 60 years before the French expedition he made excellent maps of the Nile valley as well as precise descriptions and representations of as many monuments and landscapes he was able to, often under very difficult and dangerous circumstances. Besides, his drawings of houses, local people, utensils and other objects of the Arab Egyptian household have supplied ethnographers with valuable information. Looking through his material we feel that Norden's motto rightly was *La verité seule me guide*. His remarks on the hieroglyphs and the obelisks were, however, surpassed by those of another, more famous Dane, the archaeologist, numismatist and egyptologist GEORG ZOËGA (1755-1809), whose important work *De origine et usu Obeliscorum* appeared in 1797, at the threshold of the new epoch.

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