



EVA GREGOROVÍČOVÁ

THE FATAL ERROR OF CHAMPOLLION: "FOR ME, THE WAY TO MEMPHIS AND THEBES LEADS THROUGH TURIN"

Motto

"Je veux faire de cette antique nation une étude approfondie et continuelle. L'enthousiasme où la description de leurs monuments énormes m'a porté, l'admiration dont m'ont rempli leur puissance et leurs connaissances, vont s'accroître par les nouvelles notions que j'acquerrai. De tous les peuples que j'aime le mieux, je vous avouerai qu'aucun ne balance les Égyptiens dans mon cœur!" (Champollion J.-F., une lettre à ses parents en janvier, 1806, de la Brière 1897: 36, Lacouture 1988: 91)

ABSTRACT: This study does not fully fit into the usual topics of the journal of Anthropology, the National Archives in Prague would nevertheless like to pay tribute to the lifetime work of our world-renowned archaeologist and anthropologist, professor Strouhal, by analysing as yet unknown documents depicting the first expeditions to Egypt, thus fittingly contributing to interdisciplinary research in Egyptology.

The present article analyses unknown and scientifically unexplored autographic letters from the founders of Egyptology – Jean-François Champollion (France) and Ippolito Rosellini (Tuscany) – addressed in the years 1826–1831 to the Tuscan ruler Leopold II, Grand Duke of Tuscany, who co-financed the Franco-Tuscan scientific and literary expedition into Egypt in the years 1828–1829. The correspondence is stored in the Family archive of the Tuscan Habsburgs in the National Archives in Prague. In total, 8 autographic letters from Champollion (1826–1831), 7 drafted replies of the Tuscan Grand Duke to Jean-François Champollion, 12 original reports by Rosellini from the years 1827–1831 and 5 papers (1828–1829) from the famous Tuscan natural scientist and expedition member, Giuseppe Raddi, are stored in the archive. Combined information from all the investigated letters from the three scientists and the personal diary records of Leopold II, Grand Duke of Tuscany, allows us to create a very detailed mosaic of the exploratory enterprise – from Champollion's visit to Italy, to the first idea of the joint expedition, Rosellini's research fellowship in Paris connected to the frenzied preparation of the expedition, through the course of the expedition itself until the publication

Received 7 May 2017; accepted 12 November 2017.

© 2018 Moravian Museum, Anthropos Institute, Brno. All rights reserved.

DOI: <https://doi.org/10.26720/anthro.17.11.12.1>

of "Monument". The documents can be evaluated both quantitatively and qualitatively as a revealing contribution to the history of Egyptology.

KEY WORDS: Egypt - Nubia - Egyptology - Champollion Jean-François - Rosellini Ippolito - Raddi Giuseppe - Family archive of the Tuscan Habsburgs - France - Tuscany - Leopold II Grand Duke of Tuscany

THE MEMBERS OF THE HISTORICAL EXPEDITION

When he wrote the above quote (Hartleben 1909, I, VI), Jean-François Champollion already knew that his Italian journey to discover and study ancient Egyptian monuments would deepen his knowledge of ancient Egypt and Nubia. It was preparation for an expedition to his "Promised Land". What he had not expected, was that he would gain so mighty an ally and a patron in Italy who would help him to realize his journey, supporting him financially, politically, powerfully, and also scientifically. He did not suppose that his journey would not go through Turin but through Florence, and that it would not be the Savoy dynasty to protect him but a representative of Habsburg-Lotharingian secundo-geniture Leopold II, Grand Duke of Tuscany (Gregorovičová 2013), without whose protection Champollion would have found it difficult to carry out his scientific expedition (Gregorovičová 2014a, 2014b). He did not anticipate these steps of fate, not even during his stay in Turin where he arrived on 7th June 1824 to see the Egyptian collection and to study ancient Egyptian relics, which had just come from Egypt to the capital of Piedmont-Sardinia Kingdom (Curto 1979, Ridly 1998). Champollion was so enthusiastic about the precious findings that he spent nearly nine months examining them (Robinson 2013: 143–150). But at this stage he was yet to meet his biggest supporter, collaborator and life-long friend.

In the spring of 1825, the French Egyptologist set out on a journey to the south via Milan and Bologna to Rome, which he reached on 12th March. Among the Roman monuments that originated from different historical periods, Jean-François (Champollion) looked for Egyptian antiques both in the open air and behind the ramparts of the Vatican to confirm his theories. Thanks to the connections of the French envoy to Naples and Rome, shortly after his arrival in the Eternal City, he visited Naples where he was introduced to the royal couple, the King in Naples allowed Champollion to investigate Egyptian vessels deposited in the royal palace (Robinson 2013: 150–153).

From a distance in central Italy, the Grand Duke of Tuscany Leopold II (1797–1870) of Habsburg-Lotharingian (Pesendorfer 1987a: 223; Pesendorfer 1987b) carefully followed Champollion's scientific mission, and also the career of a young and promising orientalist from Pisa: Niccola Francesco Ippolito Baldassare Rosellini (1800–1843) (Bardelli 1843, Benvenuti 1987, Betrò 2010a; see References Source of archives), who was appointed associated professor in 1824–1825 of Oriental Languages at the University of Pisa by the Tuscan ruler. Rosellini successfully took advantage of the expedition of the French scholar to get to know him and form a tight collaboration. Rosellini and Champollion were inseparable from this point on (Robinson 2013: 153).

Champollion arrived in Florence at the beginning of July 1825. Soon after his arrival in the capital city of the Tuscan Grand Duchy, Champollion was received at the Pitti palace by his great admirer and later patron and sponsor Leopold II, who supported Oriental Studies and Egyptology at the University of Pisa (Bresciani 2010).

Leopold's aim was to establish an Egyptian museum, following the example of London, Paris and Turin, in Florence for collecting old-Egyptian artefacts from different places in Tuscany, was fulfilled in 1855 (Nizzoli 1859). But in the meanwhile, the objects brought by Rosellini were displayed in the Accademia delle Arti e Mestieri in S. Caterina.

It was a great experience for the Tuscan ruler, every inch a scientist, to meet Champollion. The Grand Duke welcomed Champollion with great respect as is evident from the entry in Leopold's diary: "3 Luglio 1825. Venne da me Champollion Le jeune, interprete di Caratteri Egiziani: una statura bassa, spalle grosse, collo piuttosto corto, capelli neri, tinta che pende nell'Olivastro: cigli neri folti diritti, occhi turchini, vivaci, grandi, affusati: ossi della guancia [guancia] prominenti, bocca grande aperta verso gli orecchi; formano un insieme che unito alle Idee e le Rimembranze Egiziane: danno all'Erudito non so che di quel Paese." The autographic note continues with a description of Champollion's deciphering of the hieroglyphs with the help of inscriptions on the Rosetta

stone: *L'iscriz.[ione] di Rosetta mezza Greca e mezza Egizia dà alle ricerche il Pe [Presente?].filo: furono classati i segni in fonetici, simbolici: ideali: furono letti i primi interpretati gli altri. Le dinastie de Re rimesse con i loro propri documenti verificati i passi contraddetti delli storici: Champollion lette le cose di Londra (Robinson 2013: 142–143), e Parigi: Torino e Firenze: torna in Patria*

a Pubblicare: va quindi in Egitto a leggere i Templi di Tebe: L'uomo molto ingegnoso e molto erudito non si è potuto spogliare del Francese. Lesse subito il vaso che è in mia stanza. (Leopold II./1, Diary IX/5, inv. no. 5, fol. 49 v; Pesendorfer ed., 1987: 223).

With this audience, Jean-François Champollion gained a great ally in Leopold, who would help realise



Figure 1. The photo of the Tuscan Grand Duke Leopold II., National Archives in Prague, Archive of the Tuscan Habsburgs, series: Photographs Archives.

his expedition to Egypt. This becomes evident from the correspondence (See references sources of archives) of the French scholar and the Tuscan admirer of Egyptology. In Florence, the French Egyptologist set to work with enthusiasm on listing and cataloguing original ancient Egyptian Medici collections as well as newly acquired collections deposited in the Uffizi gallery (Daris 2005).

Champollion then wrote to Leopold about cataloguing the collection when he returned home, in the letter dated in Bologna on 5th October 1826 and informed him: "*Le catalogue raisonné des monuments Egyptiens de la gallerie de Florence [Uffizi sic!], que j'avais commencé l'année dernier a été terminé pendant le séjour que je viens de faire dans cette capitale. Je regrette vivement qu'il ne m'ait point été possible de donner à ce travail tout le temps nécessaire pour le développer davantage et laisser ainsi une plus digne marque des profonds sentiments de reconnaissance....*" (Champollion, letter, Bologna, 1826/10/5, 2pp).

During this work Champollion became acquainted with an interesting personality: the Egyptologist, expert in embalming techniques and Egyptian magical power, Girolamo Segato (1792–1836) (Bresciani 1984, 2013; Pocchiesia, Fornaro 1992), who took part in an expedition to Egypt between 1818–1823 (Menu von Minulotoli, Berlin 1924), where he participated in the research of pyramids in Saqqara as a member of the expedition of the Prussian Academy of Sciences. Information from Segato and the study of Girolamo's drawings, sketches and plans of the interior of the Pyramid of Djoser (Segato 1827), as well as the documentation and objects discovered by Segato during his work on Saqqara helped Champollion and in many ways served as a guideline for his own Egyptian expedition.

After listing of Egyptian relics in Florence, Champollion and Rosellini hurried to Livorno (Leghorn) (Bresciani 2000), a port town, which had become the transit centre for these unbelievable treasures (D'Amore 1984). A collection of Egyptian artefacts belonging to English consul Henry Salt arrived this Tuscan port in 1825. The collection was examined by Champollion, who had been appointed by the French commission to purchase Egyptian antiques for the Louvre Egyptian Museum. He then passed the descriptions of some rare artefacts to Leopold II/1 (Diary 1826–1827, IX/7, inv.no.7, fol. 16v–17v). The French government bought Salt's collection, which became the basis of the Egyptian collections in the Louvre.

Both for Champollion and Rosellini it was a researcher's paradise as the Frenchman wrote in the letter to the Tuscan Grand Duke, where he appraised the knowledge and cooperation with Rosellini: "*Que Votre Altesse Impériale daigne agréer aussi l'expression de toute ma gratitude pour l'aimable compagnon de voyage que Sa Bonté m'a donné en permettant à Mr. Rosellini de se joindre à moi pour me seconder soit dans les travaux relatifs à la collection Egyptienne de Livourne, soit dans les recherches que j'ai du faire à Rome et Naples. J'ai pu ainsi connaître l'ardent amour du jeune professeur pour les études solides, son entier dévouement à la science et apprécier en même temps les qualités attachantes qui le distinguent. L'Archéologie Egyptienne vient de faire en lui une conquête fructueuse.*" (Champollion, letter, Bologna, 5/10/1826, fol. 1v). In the following lines of the letter Champollion also praised the collaboration with Tuscan scholars as well as the support of Leopold II. All of which helped him to broaden his knowledge of antique civilizations.

The French Egyptologist Jean-François, before his return to France was appointed in 1826 to the scholarly institution of Accademia Labronica (Brandi 1823, Pistolesi 1825). The mission of the Father of Egyptology drew to an end because he had to go back to Paris, where a new position of responsibility was waiting for him, in line with his skill set – at last. He oversaw the organization of the Egyptian department in the museum and was appointed the head curator of the Egyptian collection in the Louvre as he informed Leopold in the above-mentioned letter dated in Bologna on 5th October (Champollion, letter, Bologna, 5/10/1826, fol. 1r).

Champollion's words show his interest in cooperation with Professor Rosellini who he took as his assistant and wanted to bring to Paris to enhance his knowledge of the topic, to meet important scholars and materials: "*Un séjour de quelques mois à Paris achèverait ce que les Bontés de Votre Altesse Impériale, ont si bien commencé. Mr. Rosellini trouverait dans nos professeurs de Littérature Orientale des hommes empressés, de lui ouvrir les trésors littéraires de notre capitale.*" (Champollion, letter, Bologna, 5/10/1826, fol. 2r).

PARIS. A YEAR OF BIG PREPARATIONS

In the spring of 1827, Ippolito Rosellini set off for Paris to meet Jean-François and to get to know prominent figures from the scientific world of French oriental studies and Egyptology, so that both

Am.
M. L. P. Champollion le jeune
à Paris.

Pisa le 6 Nov^r 1831.

Monsieur. Le Directeur
Rosellini m'a remis
votre lettre du 10. Sept. de
l'année dernière: j'ai
appris avec une
satisfaction que vous aviez
d'arrêter de commun accord avec
M. le Prof. Rosellini les
conditions pour la publication
des résultats de votre voyage
scientifique en Egypte. J'ai
à peine lu quelques lignes de
cette publication entreprise, que
je me suis senti d'être accablé
par le nombre de lettres avec l'avis
que m'ont vos zèles, recherches,
et vos illustrations savantes.

Dans ce regard la rédaction
de l'ouvrage que vous m'avez
présenté, quoique j'en aie
aucune difficulté d'avoir une
entreprise à laquelle la circonstance
m'a permis de prendre quelque
part, je ne dépose l'ouvrage de
vous faire connaître dans le

temps par l'intermédiaire
de votre collaborateur Rosellini
ma détermination définitive
de ce sujet. Recevez
cependant, Monsieur,
l'assurance renouvelée
de mon dévouement et de
mon attachement distingué.

FIGURE 2. Draft of the answer of Leopold II. to Champollion, Pisa, 6/11/1831, National Archives in Prague, Czech Republic, file of the Family Archive of the Tuscan Habsburgs, series Leopold II./1, personal correspondence: Champollion.

protagonists could devote time for preparations of the planned research expedition at the same time. This was the beginning of a friendship, collaboration and the idea for a joint project for a Franco-Tuscan expedition to Egypt, which Leopold II supported with his royal authority and generously financed so that it could be realised in the summer of 1828. In the second preserved letter dated in Paris on 3rd March 1827, Champollion in detail informed his Tuscan patron about Rosellini's arrival in Paris, about Ippolito's studies of oriental languages and old manuscripts in the Royal library to deepen his knowledge, about the cooperation of both scholars, about Champollion's activities in the Louvre, his lectures and scientific activities, and about preparations for expeditions to Egypt and Nubia (Champollion, letter, Paris, 3/3/1827).

été au dessus de la tâche qui nous était imposée.

Votre Altesse Impériale pourra juger par Elle-même du
résultat de nos travaux, lorsque M. Rosellini mettra sous son
yeux les dessins, coloriés en grande partie, de tous les bas-reliefs
historiques sculptés soit dans les temples soit dans les Palais.
C'était là le but principal de notre expédition. Ces immenses
Tableaux ont dû être copiés en grand, et je puis affirmer
que l'Europe savante, à la vue de ce précieux recueil de dessins,
se formera pour la première fois, une idée exacte de ces
magnifiques décorations, comme de l'extrême importance des
légendes, gravées sur ces bas-reliefs, pour l'histoire de l'Egypte
et celle des Empires Africains ou Asiatiques.

Plusieurs centaines de dessins de moindre proportion, ont un
rapport tout aussi direct avec l'Histoire. Ils constituent la
succession des Souverains de l'Egypte, leur généalogie, la
composition des leurs familles, leurs costumes et divers actes
de leur vie publique ou privée. Un grand nombre enfin,
représentent les traits du visage des plus célèbres Souverains
de l'Egypte et forment un recueil, unique jusqu'ici, une
véritable Iconographie Pharaonique terminée par une
série de portraits des Rois et des Reines de la Dynastie
Grecque des Lagides.

Une troisième section se compose de trois à quatre cents
dessins représentant toutes les divinités de l'Egypte, leurs
formes générales ou locales, des Adorations et toutes les
cérémonies religieuses.

On a formé un quatrième recueil de copies exactes
des bas-reliefs ou des peintures tirés des Tombeaux et relatifs
aux différents arts et métiers pratiqués par les anciens Egyptiens.

FIGURE 3. Champollion's letter to Leopold II., Alexandria, 14/10/1829, 1v, National Archives in Prague, Czech Republic, file of the Family Archive of the Tuscan Habsburgs, series Leopold II./1, personal correspondence: Champollion.

The most important tasks facing our protagonists was the preparation of the project: a Franco-Tuscan scientific expedition to Egypt and Nubia. In the spring of 1827, a detailed plan of research neared completion helped by Champollion's brother, Ippolito Rosellini and his uncle Gaetano. They had made a draft of the project: "Mémoire sur le projet de voyage littéraire en Egypte" (Champollion 1833: 1-19), which they put forward to the King Charles X and Grand Duke Leopold II. The project had been a rather unique initiative in terms of its contents, size and organization: by today's standards, it was an immense project of international scientific collaboration, not only archaeological. How much more impressive when we realise that it originated in the first half of 19th century!

In a personal letter dated on 26th July, Champollion informed Leopold about the problems connected with organization of the expedition, praising its high magnitude and patronage provided by both sovereigns and he evaluated the importance of Tuscan – French cooperation in the following words:

"Cette consideration dit assez hautement combien il importe à la science et combien je serais heureux en particulier, si Votre Altesse Impériale e Royale daignait associer la Toscane à la France pour me aussi belle entreprise littéraire, en permettant au professeur Rosellini de faire ce voyage honorable et glorieux pour les deux pays, soit pour la noblesse des motifs soit pour l'importance des résultats." (Champollion, letter, Paris, 26/7/1827, 3pp, fol. 1r-v, 2r).

Leopold reacted with swift support both financial and diplomatic. Thus he surpassed the hesitation of Charles X and the French government, not only that he authorised the expedition but paid for it, too. He appointed members of the Tuscan part of the expedition, the so called scientific-literary commission.

As well as the head of the commission Ippollito Rosellini, there was his uncle, Gaetano Rosellini, an engineer and an architect; Gaetano Galastri, assistant to Raddi; an experienced member of the expedition, Alessandro Ricci (1792–1834), a draftsman and a medical doctor who had already participated in excavations in Egypt in the years 1817–1822 (Sammarco 1929: 293–326, 1930, Salvoldi 2009: 113–119); equally experienced from his Brazilian expedition Giuseppe Raddi, a natural scientist and a botanist; a painter Giuseppe Angelelli and as the last member of the expedition a drawer Salvador Cherubini was chosen, brother of Ippollito's wife Zenobia.

The French part of the expedition was composed of: Jean-François Champollion; an architect Antoine Bibent; Charles Lenormant, a historian and archaeologist; draftsmen and painters Nestor L'Hôte, Alexandre Duchesne, Albert-Henry Bertin and Pierre François Lehoux. But before all organizational preparations had been ready, impeded by bureaucratic delay, Autumn came. It was rather late to set off so the departure had to be postponed until the following summer. Champollion explained to the Tuscan Grand Duke all the reasons for the postponement of the journey to Egypt in his letter from 20th November and expressed his sincere thanks to the Tuscan Grand Duke for his support and the cooperation of the Tuscan commission in the support of his expedition, as he was well aware of the fact that without Leopold II his dream of an expedition would not be fulfilled: *"C'est avec pleine conviction que les Etudes*

Egyptiennes avaient trouvé un honorable et zélé protecteur, que j'ai osé compter sur la coopération active d'une commission Toscane pour l'exploration des monuments historiques encore existans en Egypte. La lettre dont Votre Altesse Impériale et Royale a daigné un honorer met la comble à tous mes vœux en m'annonçant l'adoption d'un plan qui assuré." (Champollion, letter, Paris 20/11/1827, 3pp). On one hand, he reminded him of the bureaucratic delay from the French side, on the other hand, of the uncertain political situation in the Orient, which could not guarantee a peaceful and safe course for the expedition. Last but not least, the climatic conditions made the voyage on the Nile to Upper Egypt impossible due to lack of water. The departure was then postponed until July of the following year. In his letter, Champollion asked Leopold not to call Rosellini back to Tuscany but to let him stay in Paris up to the departure of the expedition.

In June and July of the following year, Leopold obtained from Paris a written report from both the scholars to announce the long awaited message that all was settled and prepared for departure to Egypt.

The first one of the two was Champollion's letter where he joyfully wrote that he finally gained a sum of money from the French king to cover the expenses of the expedition and:

"Le départ pour l'Egypte aura lieu à la fin du mois de juillet prochain ou dans les premiers jours d'août." (Champollion, letter, Paris, 11/6/1828, 2pp).

In the following month, Leopold received a message, dated in Paris on 14th July, from the head of the Tuscan part of the expedition, Ippollito Rosellini. He enthusiastically described what the prolonged stay in the capital of France had meant for him: deepening his knowledge and how he had forged close collaboration with Parisian scientific institutions (Rosellini, letter, Paris, 14/7/1828, 2pp).

But the most important information in the letter was the announcement of the start of the journey to Egypt (Robinson 2013: 166–207). A group of scientists set off on the journey from Paris to Toulon (Rosellini, letter, Paris, 14/7/1828, 2pp). Members of the expedition embarked on 31st July on the corvette L'Eglé and headed for Alexandria where they landed on 18th August, having no idea that their expedition could finish sooner than it had started (Robinson 2013: 1, 70–71).

FINALLY EGYPT

A few days after arrival, Rosellini wrote a letter to Leopold from Alexandria in which he informed his

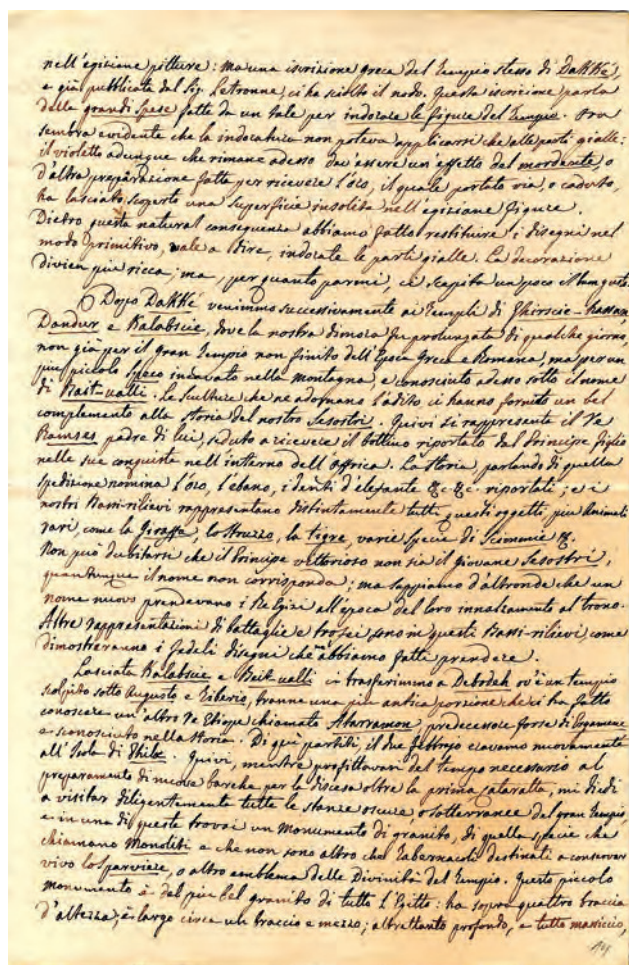


FIGURE 4. Rosellini's letter to Leopold II., Ombôs (Kom-Ombo), 15/2/1829, 2r, National Archives in Prague, Czech Republic, file of the Family Archive of the Tuscan Habsburgs, series Leopold II./1, personal correspondence: Rosellini.

patron about research in another part of Giuseppe Nizzoli's collection, along with the description of individual rare ancient Egyptian artefacts (Rosellini, letter, Alexandria, 26/8/1828). The expedition stayed in this ancient seat of learning until 14th September and spent days organizing further trips, examining collections of consuls and buying Egyptian antiquities in the local shops and markets. From 16th to 17th September, a group of scientists, on the way to Cairo, stopped at Sá el-Hagar. The expedition went on to Cairo, which they reached on 30th September. Rosellini wrote about buying various Egyptian antiquities gained in Alexandria for favourable prices, among them being a beautiful limestone sarcophagus with hieroglyphs

carved both outside and inside and beautifully carved sculptures. In this letter Rosellini wrote to Leopold about his favourable purchases of Egyptian antiques in Alexandria and described luxurious pieces in detail with specification of the period of their origin according to the rulers, with the names of Pharaohs, with the description of other ancient Egyptian places they visited between Alexandria and Cairo. He also gave information about visiting pyramids in Giza and described wall paintings inside the tombs with the particulars of how hieroglyphic inscriptions broadened Champollion's vocabulary of old Egyptian script. Then he described the following journey on boats on the Nile towards Thebes. From there, they set off to the pyramids and spent almost 2 months examining them and the pyramidal fields in the area of Saqqara, Giza and Memphis (Rosellini, letter, Giza, 10/10/1828, 3 pp, fol. 1 r).

The expedition stayed in the area of middle Egypt in Beni Hasan el-Quadim (also Beni Hasan) from 22nd October to 4th November. The place, an ancient Egyptian locality, of which the members of the expedition had not had much information, completely amazed them.

According to the initial lines of the letter of Rosellini, members of the expedition wanted to stop there only for a few days on their way to Luxor to find out if the little examined burial place would be interesting to research on the way back or to give it a miss. But what they had found there filled them with such enthusiasm that the research was extended by 15 days. "Arrivati però a Beni-Hassan el-Qadim che è uno dei presenti più centrali dell'Eptanoinide e più precisamente del Nomo Ermopolitane credemmo neccessario di mutar consiglio e di fermarsi qui quanto occorresse per profittare della stagione che mostravasi in quel momento favorevole a quel soggiorno. Il quale fu prolungato per quindici giorni alle radici della Catena Arabica, dove sono scavate nel masso calcareo, molte tombe appartenenti alla Provincia d'Ermopoli" (Rosellini, letter, Thebes, 24/11/1828, 4pp).

It is obvious from this quotation that Ippolito considered Leopold to be an educated man and so he informed him of the findings in detail. Not just that Leopold was the patron, sovereign and employer, to whom he would have had to send a report in any case, but a report full of detail. From a scientific point of view, the passage at once presents also the method which Rosellini and Champollion used in describing and classifying the newly-discovered ancient Egyptian relics and artefacts, which was later used in their

Monuments: *"Le tombe di Beni-Hassan appartennero per lo più alla classe dei militari. Le pareti interne sono tutte ricoperte di pittura, la maggior parte ben conservate e rappresentanti in tutti i suoi particolari, la vita civile e domestica di questa distinta classe della Nazione Egizia. Le scene diverse possono essere succintamente divisa nell'ordine seguente: 1° Grandi quadri rappresentano più centinaia di coppie d'uomini che lottano tra loro...*

2° Vi si osservano rappresentazioni di battaglie, assalti di fortezze e per conseguenza avvenimenti diversi, armatura e costume di soldati e di Duci.

3° Grandi caccie fatte con arco e strali ad ogni genere di quadrupedi rappresentanti coll'arte la più perfetta. Caccie agli uccelli con reti di grandissime dimensioni. Pesca nel Nilo e nelle Paludi, colla forca o col tridente: i pesci sono dipinti con tanta verità che l'arte del tempo nostro non saprebbe che aggiungerli.

4° Quadri diversi rappresentano la navigazione degli Egizi, fatta con grandi bastimenti condotti da remi e da grandi vele latine quadrate.

5° "Una scena di grandissimo interesse si trova nella tomba di un certo Nevôthph, uno dei capi della classe militare. Il personaggio dipinto grande come natura e vestito delle sue insegne, sta in piedi. Davanti a lui è rappresentata in figura cubitali la scena seguente: Diciotto o venti uomini con qualche donna e bambino procedono; vanno tra loro due somari carichi d'armi e di spoglie. La faccia degli uomini è tutta diversa da quella degli Egiziani: portano grande capigliatura e barba, gran naso aquilino e in generale altezze, come le chiamano i francesi "très-prononcée...." 6° "Una grande quantità di arti e mestieri sono rappresentati sopra altre pareti delle medesime Tombe. ... Le iscrizioni geroglifiche sovrapposte rappresentano allo spirito quello che vien dimostrato agli occhi per le pitture.

7° Altre scene ci rappresentano il Tribunale non pubblico..."

8° Le scene di vita domestica sono molte e variatissime..." (Rosellini, letter, Thebes, 24/11/1828, fol. 1v-2r).

But before the researchers stood in front of the temple complex in Luxor, they stayed a short time in Hathor's town on the right bank of the river Nile, in Dendera where their stopover took one day, 17th November. Finally they stopped in Thebes from 20th-25th November (Rosellini, letter, Thebes, 24/11/1828, fol. 2r).

The aim of the expedition was to go up the river Nile and map antique Egyptian sites as far as the temple in Kalabsha in Nubia, the name of which in Arabic is Bab al-Kalabsha. During the research at

individual stops, the members of the expedition wanted to find out, too, if they would visit the chosen locality again or whether they would give it a miss on the way back. Therefore on 29th November they stopped at a place called Esna to see the temple of the god Khnum. One day later in Edfu they examined the temple of the god Hor, his wife Hathor and their son. On 2nd December, they reached the ancient Egyptian temple complex in Kom Ombo in Upper Egypt. As the relief shows, the temple site was dedicated to the gods Sobek and Hor, and a small chapel to goddess Hathor.

Another one of Ippolito's 7 letters sent to Leopold II directly from Egypt was written after the arrival of the expedition to Ibsambul (Abu Simbel) in Nubia (Rosellini, letter, Nubia-Ibsambul, 8/1/1829, 4pp).

Every line of the letter brings very precise information according to which with relative certainty we are able to map the course of the journey along the Nile, in the period from 24th November 1828 to 8th January 1829, from Thebes to Abu Simbel, which they first had seen between 26th-27th December. They continued to the objective of their journey, the second cataract near Wadi Halfa. On the 4th December they embarked to examine monuments built by a mighty ancient Egyptian civilisation in Aswan (Syenne). Then they went on to examine buildings on the small island of Philae from the 5th-16th December, where, as the Tuscan writes, the French scientific and research commission accompanying Napoleon's army in 1799, finished its expedition. Then, with great transport difficulties, they were forced to overcome the first Nile cataract near Aswan on the 16th day of that month and as Rosellini writes they entered rocky Lower Nubia. Here the members of the expedition were overwhelmed by the big differences in temperature: during the day the temperature rose to 44°C and at night fell to only 5°C. As Rosellini writes, they suffered from cold at night because they were accustomed to the sun and high temperatures. In the morning of 30th December, they reached Wadi Halfa and had also passed the second Nile cataract, having the same problem with boats, which they had to manage over stony obstacles. All the monuments were rendered in written form and drawn, the inscriptions were copied and their only wish was to get back to Abu Simbel, where they wanted to devote themselves to other research work. Then on the New Year, the boats made their way to the unbelievable complex of Abu Simbel where they arrived on 3rd January. Only then, intensive work began to provide documentary evidence and draw monuments of this vast complex, its buildings, steles, bas-reliefs, sculptures,

wall-paintings, to write down all inscriptions, explain the sense of depicted scenes, mythological figures and religious rites. Champollion started to seek for the tomb of the pharaoh, Ramesses II. There were almost 14 days of continuous and exhausting scientific research and documentation work for all members of the expedition. On the 16th January, all of them boarded the boats and the stream of the Nile led them through Derr and Amada again to Kalabsha where they stayed from 26th to 27th January 1829 (Rosellini, letter, Nubia-Ibsambul, 8/1/1829, fol. 1r-4 v).

After a short rest among the now familiar monuments, they again stopped on the Island of Philae for six days (2nd-7th February). From the 13th to the 15th of the same month, they disembarked on the Nile bank at Kom Ombo in Upper Egypt. From there, on 15th February, Rosellini wrote a comprehensive letter to Tuscan Grand Duke Leopold II, where he described the voyage on the Nile and enumerated the stops between Abu Simbel and Kom Ombo. (Rosellini, letter, Ombôs, 15/2/1829, 4 pp). On the basis of previous research and its results, Rosellini put these places in the area between Ethiopia and Nubia, which was under the supremacy of pharaohs and the architecture corresponded to it. But he was fascinated that from this part of Nubia further on they had not found any traces of a monument which would correspond to the Ptolemaic period, except for the temple in el-Dakka (Rosellini, letter, Ombôs, 15/2/1829, fol. 1r).

Rosellini informed Leopold II of his teacher's opinions and conclusions, not only as to the above-mentioned temple but also in general of the confirmation of Champollion's opinions, which brought new scientific knowledge that redressed outdated and not entirely accurate archaeological and historical knowledge: *"Il Tempio di Dakké infatti è in massima parte opera del Re Tolomeo Euergete II° più vari ornamenti di scultura aggiunti sotto l'Impero di Augusto, i quali portano il carattere della più triste decadenza. Il Sig. Champollion aveva già da qualche anno stabilito, contro le teorie già ricevute tra gli Archeologi, che l'Arte Egizia, e massime la scultura, è più bella a misura che si ritrova su più antichi monumenti; che comincia a decadere sotto le ultime dinastie faraoniche; che sotto i Greci imbastardisce sempre più di Regno in Regno, e che sotto i Romani finalmente ha perduto ogni grazia ed ogni disinvoltura. La visita e lo studio dei monumenti ha confermato pienissimamente questo giudizio [of Champollion]"*. (Rosellini, letter, Ombôs, 15/2/ 1829, fol. 1r-v).

In such a way modern Egyptology had been formed, by observations and experience on the spot, face to

face with the fascinating remnants of ancient Egyptian civilisation and in confrontation with enormous theoretical knowledge of both Champollion and Rosellini.

The information in the letter is so detailed that they can be a valuable source of specified knowledge even for today's researchers. They show how Rosellini informed his Tuscan ruler also in connection with the historical context: *"In Dakké e in qualche altro tempio della Nubia costruito sotto il Regno dei Lagidi, abbiamo osservato per la prima volta varie figure di Dei colorite con una specie di violetto in quelle parti che sogliono essere costantemente colorite di giallo. Dapprima una simile singolarità ci ha alquanto sorpresi, molto più che il violetto è colore non praticato mai nell'egiziane pitture: Ma una iscrizione greca del tempio stesso di Dakké, e già pubblicata dal Sig. Letronne (Lefronne 1825) ci ha sciolto il nodo. Questa iscrizione parla delle grandi spese fatte da un tale per indorare le figure del tempio. Ora sembra evidente che la indoratura non poteva applicarsi che alle parti gialle. Il violetto adunque che rimane adesso dev'essere un effetto del mordente, o d'altra preparazione fatta per ricevere l'oro, il quale portato via, o caduto, ha lasciato scoperto una superficie insolita nell'egiziane figure. Dietro questa natural conseguenza abbiamo fatto restituire i disegni nel modo primitivo, vale a dire, indorate le parti gialle. La decorazione divien più ricca, ma, per quanto parmi, ci scapita un poco il buon gusto"* (Rosellini, letter, Ombôs, 15/2/1829, fol. 1v-2r). In the final part of the letter he describes other temples from the Graeco-Roman period, monuments and other antiques, reliefs depicting various historical events and rulers, which were scattered in the near or remote surroundings of el-Dakka in Nubia in front of the first cataract. (Geff Hussein, Dendur, Kalabsha, Beit el-Wali, Dabod... in the letter these names are in the form of Ghirschie-hassa, Dandur, Kalabscie, Beit-ualli, Debodeh.)

Equally interesting is the information about the securing and organisation of excavations in Thebes and the safeguarding of findings and mummies, about the covering or closing of uncovered tombs for the time between the first stay of the expedition and their return on the way back, on 8th March 1829 according to the data, to throw themselves into digging again with a new energy (Rosellini, letters, Thebes, 30/5/1829 (10pp) and 2/7/1829, 4pp).

They stopped in Esna again one day before, on 6th March.

Then a five month uninterrupted stay followed in Thebes and Luxor from 8th March until 7th August, full

of archaeological work, routine and study, reading hieroglyphs, excavations, finding new tombs and uncovering them, making their plans and copying their decorations, as well as the found objects, also identification of Egyptian rulers, gods, putting together the Egyptian pantheon, characterising individual castes of Egyptian society, description of the role and position of clergymen, religious rites, assembling the collection for transport to the homeland, arranging found objects, their cataloguing and division into basic groups according to four basic principles which Rosellini states in the letter of 30th May. The most important tasks were deciphering the hieroglyphic inscriptions, their copying, the redrawing of reliefs and paintings in the king's tombs, and a whole new ground-breaking view of these paintings in the interpretation of depicted scenes to understand the life and after-life of old Egyptians. In this case Rosellini's evaluation of Champollion's contribution for Egyptology is important: *"Il quarto aspetto finalmente, sotto del quale debbono considerarsi le tombe reali, è la significazione di tutte queste differenti scene: e questa è una conquista tutta propria del nostro secolo ed un nuovo frutto della scoperta del Sig. Champollion"* (Rosellini, letter, Thebes, 30/5/1829, fol. 3r-v, fol. 4r; Hari 1982, 75-80).

After mooring, the researchers settled at first on the bank of the Nile close to the temple of Karnak, from where they could examine the monuments in Luxor more easily. At the end of March, they set off to the opposite side of Thebes to Biban el-Mouluk (Robinson 2013: 198-199; Rosellini, letter, Thebes, 30/5/1829), where they took lodgings right inside the tomb of Ramesses IV in the necropolis, as Rosellini wrote to the Tuscan Grand Duke in the letter from 30th May (Rosellini, letter, Thebes, 30/5/1829, fol. 3r-v, fol. 4r; Hari 1982, 75-80).

Rosellini wrote in the same interesting way about how they got inside the tombs which had not yet been uncovered: *"Durante il nostro soggiorno a Luxor traversammo il Nilo per recarci alla Necropoli di Tebe a vedere una tomba scavata inlatta, e non per anco visitata da alcuno. Vi si penetrava per un pozzo di circa otto braccia, fabbricato di mattoni crudi: nel fondo era una cameretta quadrata, rotto il suolo della quale scendevaci in un secondo pozzo profondo quasi al pari del primo, e fabbricato nello stesso modo. Nel suo fondo era un'apertura, la quale introduceva in una specie di grotta di cinque braccia quadrate, scavata a forza di scalpello nel cuor del monte, o catena libica, dentro alla quale gli Egiziani di Tebe avevano posto il loro Cimiterio. Dentro la grotta giacevano al suolo quattro casse di mummie, la*

prima delle quali racchiude il corpo d'una femmina, e la seconda quella del marito che fu Sacerdote d'Ammone in Tebe. Le altre due appartennero, come sembra, alla medesima famiglia, ma non hanno titoli" (Rosellini, letter, Thebes, 30/5/1829, fol. 3r-v4).

Rosellini wrote to Leopold the last letter dated in Thebes on 2nd July, shortly before they sailed back to Cairo, where Rosellini summarises research in Luxor and Theban necropolis in comparison to the knowledge of French engineers Jean-Baptista Prosper Jollois (1776-1842) and Edouard de Villiers du Terrage (1780-1855), who participated in the French Scientific-Literary expedition to Egypt, in connection with the Napoleonic expedition in 1799 (Rosellini, letter, Thebes, 2/7/1829). The expedition reached Cairo on 15th September and did not stay long because five days later, the researchers came to Alexandria where they expected to ship out for their homeland (Robinson 2013: 205).

They were promised to be transported by the French maritime shipment at the beginning of October but in the end it was postponed by two months (Rosellini, letter, rada in Livorno, 28/11/1829, fol. 1r). Rosellini and his Tuscan fellow travellers, except Cherubini, finally boarded a merchant ship of Aristide which took them to Livorno at the end of November (Rosellini, letter, rada in Livorno, 28/11/1829, fol. 1r).

The French painters L'Hôte, Bertin and Lehoux stayed working in Egypt. Champollion and Cherubini waited almost 60 days for suitable transport to France, till 6th December. They arrived in Toulon as late as 23rd December. During the wait, Champollion became friends with Egyptian viceroy Muhammad Ali (Rosellini, letter, rada in Livorno, 28/11/1829, fol. 1r). Finally, Jean-François, had time to write to his Tuscan patron, the only but essential and comprehensive four-page letter about the importance and success of the expedition, scientific findings and knowledge, about the contribution of the Italian group and classification of gained artefacts into four groups: 1) recording of iconographic documentation 2) history and genealogy of the first sovereigns ruling in Egypt, identification of family members, recognizing their activities, customs, private and public life 3) religion, pantheon of Gods, religious rites, religiosity 4) making boards after bas-reliefs and wall-paintings divided according to arts, matters, practical activities of ancient Egyptians. (Champollion, letter, Alexandria, 14/10/1829, 4pp).

The quotation above about results: *"Votre Altesse Impériale pourra juger par Elle même du résultat de nos travaux, lorsque M^r Rosellini mettra sous ses yeux les dessins, coloriés en grande partie, de tous le Basreliefs*

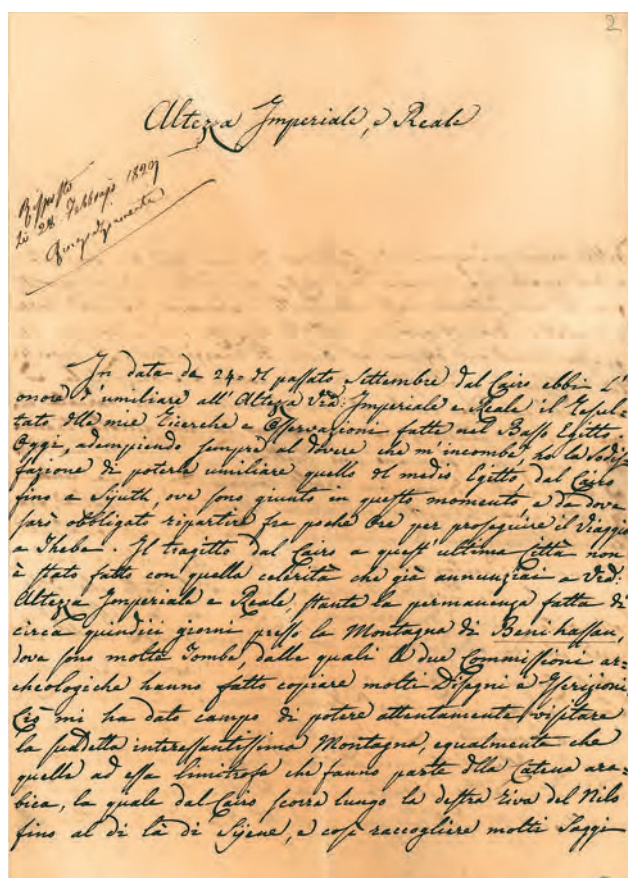


FIGURE 5. Raddi's letter to Leopold II., Asyut Lycopolis 9/11/1828, 1r, National Archives in Prague, Czech Republic, file of the Family Archive of the Tuscan Habsburgs, series Leopold II./1, personal correspondence: Raddi.

historiques sculptés soit dans les temples soit dans les Palais, c'était là le but principal de notre expédition. Ces immenses Tableaux ont du être copiés en grand, et je puis affirmer que l'Europe savante, à la vue de ce précieux recueil de dessins, se formera, pour la première fois, une idée exacte de ces magnifiques décorations, comme de l'extrême importace des légendes, gravées sur ces basreliefs, pour l'histoire de l'Egypte et celle des Peuples Africains ou Asiatiques" (Champollion, letter, Alexandria 14/10/1829, fol. 1v).

THE RETURN OF ROSELLINI FROM THE EXPEDITION

Ippolito, after disembarking in Livorno on 28th November, had to undergo a 40-day quarantine in one

of the three quarantine stations, so called Lazzaretti, situated on the coast near Livorno port. Rosellini spent the whole of December in Lazzaretto di San Leopoldo (NA, RAT, Maps, inv. no. 285) to recover, sort his notes, excerpts, to put drawings in order and other documentation brought with him from Egypt. He also wrote letters there. At the end of his stay he compiled a comprehensive written report for his patron (Rosellini 1830, Betrò 2013) with four enclosures. The four lists record the division of results from Franco-Tuscan scientific-literary expedition to the ancient Egyptian monuments and these are the only originals of this kind, which bring the most valuable data on the collections of artefacts and documentation of the relics acquired during the journey to ancient Egyptian monuments (Rosellini, letter with 4 enclosures, Livorno Lazzaretto di San Leopoldo, 29/12/ 1829):

- 1) Report on the number and quality of drawings brought from Egypt.
- 2) Report on the division of work among individual members of the expedition.
- 3) Catalogue of antique relics and artefacts taken from excavations.
- 4) Catalogue of antique relics and artefacts acquired by acquisitions and purchases during the expedition.

From Rosellini's summation of results, they made 1,325 drawings altogether, he bought 218 pieces of antique Egyptian artefacts either. In Alexandria, he also bought from other dealers of antiquities: I would eliminate "from the collection of consul Nizzoli". During the journey – he himself acquired 660 objects during the excavations in Thebes and Abydos by their own force. In total, he brought about 1,878 Egyptian antiques, which now create a beautiful and rare collection of the Egyptian Department of the Archaeological Museum in Florence.

COMMON JOURNEY-COMMON WORK

After returning from the expedition, both Egyptologists started working intensively. Jean-François Champollion was appointed a member of Academy of Sciences in Paris in 1829–1832, he was appointed to the head of the Department of Egyptian Antiques at Collège de France, gave lectures, wrote, selected Egyptian documents and in the years 1829–1832 was preparing his greatest work on the Egyptian Monuments.

Similarly to that was Ippolito Rosellini, but he preferred working on his Egyptian Monuments and restricted his functions and activities at the university in Pisa. He reserved himself lectures from Egyptology only within his academic activities in the years 1829–1840, where he presented an explanation and application of Champollion's method of reading royal cartouches from the Graeco-Roman period in Egypt. His fame, especially after Champollion's death in 1832, had grown in European centres of education. Limiting his university activities, Rosellini (Bresciani, Donadoni, 1993) gained time and strength to devote to working on Monumenti dell'Egitto e della Nubia in the years 1829–1843 (Biblioteca Universitaria di Pisa, Rosellini; (eds.) Betrò 2010a, b) the voluminous opus in nine volumes supplemented with three separate volumes published in Pisa 1832–1845.

However the process to the completion of the final publication had not been as simple as it would seem. The Champollion's and Rosellini's other letters will convince us about it, from those addressed to the Tuscan ruler in 1831. We learn from them details about the emerging agreement on collaboration in parallel editorial projects – Egyptian Monuments.

The French Egyptologist informed Leopold II in the letter from Paris, dated on 14th May 1831 about the course of processing results of the research and of the problems (Champollion, letter, Paris, 14/5/1831). Therefore, he asked the Grand Duke for permission to send Rosellini to him to Paris, in order to continue, to prepare and coordinate sources for parallel publishing of Monuments. Leopold answered more than a month later (Champollion, draft of Leopold, Florence, 25/6/1831) and in his letter appreciated the processing of results from the expedition to Egypt, agreed to Rosellini's stay in Paris for the both scientists to work together on preparation of such important work. Rosellini left for Paris and stayed there several long months. After intensive and exhausting studies and talks they finally came to the agreement on the contents, form of the Monuments and progress of work on their publication. On 10th October 1831, half a year before his death, Champollion wrote to his long-standing Tuscan admirer and patron the last letter from Paris, with the message that with Rosellini's participation the work on preparing the publication about the expedition was finally finished. At the same time, he asked Leopold for his approval with the title of the work: "Monuments de l'Égypte et de la Nubie" (Champollion, letter, Paris, 10/9/1831).

Shortly after that the Tuscan Egyptologist returned to Florence and also brought the Champollion's letter

with him, the last one dated on 10th September: "*Les conventions, entre M^r le Professeur Rosellini et moi, pour la publication des résultats de notre voyage en Egypte et en Nubie, sont définitivement arrêtées et vont être soumises à votre approbation préalable; ...Le prospectus de l'ouvrage au quel nom donne le titre de Monuments de l'Égypte et de la Nubie, va paraître incessamment et présentera une idée complète du but de l'ensemble et de l'étendue de notre publication*" (Champollion, letter, Paris, 10/9/ 1831, fol. 1r–v).

Champollion did not live to see a single an edition of his work. He died in Paris on 4th March 1832 of apoplexy (Rosellini 1832). Rosellini outlived his teacher, collaborator and a friend the whole eleven years and passed away in Pisa on 4th June 1843, the result of malaria. But at least he could see his work through, almost to the final form, and could be pleased with publishing individual volumes.

GIUSEPPE RADDI – NATURAL SCIENTIST, MEMBER OF FRANCO-TUSCAN EXPEDITION

The image of the expedition would not be complete if we did not at least in short mention one more of its members, at least in short, whose letters from Egypt are preserved in the National Archives in the correspondence of Leopold II. (See References Source of archives) Giuseppe Raddi (1770–1829), a renowned Tuscan natural scientist and botanist (Bargagli Petrucci, Firenze 1922). He was already a well known traveller and researcher whom Leopold himself chose as an experienced expert to be a member of the Tuscan commission for the expedition to Egypt. Another reason for him to be chosen was that the Tuscan Grand Duke wanted to use the expedition to broaden its focus with the exploration of the natural environment, flora, fauna and living conditions in Egypt and Nubia. There are five letters to the Tuscan Grand Duke preserved with the detailed description of natural environment, flora and fauna but also of an everyday life of ordinary Egyptians. He then writes that he identified more than three kinds of bats, various kinds of reptiles that he caught in pyramids of Giza and Saqqara. In Beni-Hasan he caught besides reptiles some birds and a lot of samples of insects belonging to the Orthoptera order (Raddi, letter, Cairo, 24/9/1828, 5pp, fol. 1 r, 2, r "Syuth" (= Asyut), (Asyut), 9/11/1828,).

Raddi's letter to the Tuscan Grand Duke is very valuable in providing documentation of the course of the expedition from Asyut Lycopolis, dated on 9th

November. It is the only proof of the stopover in this interesting locality, with a description of the landscape, natural environment and vegetation (Raddi, letter, Ajût Lykopolis, 9/11/ 1828, 3pp). (Rosellini speaks of Asyut in his Journal published by Gabrieli 1925: 87–90.)

The experienced researcher Raddi, continued in his observations of nature and collecting activities, also at his last stopover in Upper Egypt, in Abú Simbel, from where he sent a comprehensive and detailed seven-page report to Leopold II. His interesting observations from the areas of Nubia, besides his main mission of a natural scientist to collect zoological and botanical samples, will please everyone who is not only interested in ancient-Egyptian monuments but also the natural environment of the 1920s. In a very interesting, colourful way and, somewhat irreplaceable, Raddi described also the area of the 2nd, so called Big Cataract, nowadays lying at the bottom of Nasir's lake: *"La Nubia, sebbene sterlissima e quasi senza vegetazione alcuna, meno una interrotta strisciola, che scorre sopra e luogo le due rive del Nilo a guisa dei casi da noi chiamati canapè ed anche grottoni, ella però è d'un aspetto assai più ameno dell'Egitto. Ella non offre quella noiosa monotonia di quest'ultimo, ma bensì di tratto in tratto dei superbi e variati quadri, in particolare quello che offre la seconda ovvero gran cateratta (Scallal Kebir o Scallal ouadi), dove un gran laberinto di scogli e piccole isole di varia grandezza e figura traversano ed imbarazzano il letto del fiume (ciò che costituisce la così detta cateratta), e che formano con le montagne che bordeggiano e sovente rinchiudono il fiume medesimo, il più ameno contrasto che mente umana possa mai immaginare. Questo gran bel quadro della natura è, a mio credere, impossibile esattamente ben descriverne e delinearne la imponente bellezza. Solo questo merita la pena d'intraprendere il viaggio"* (Raddi, letter, Isambul (Abu Simbel), 11/1/1829, fol. 1r–v).

Raddi completed almost the whole journey of the expedition, as far as returning to Thebes. There the natural scientist left the expedition and set off to examine the Nile Delta, as Rosellini wrote to Leopold in the letter from 30th May. According to new reports it seemed that Raddi visited also the area of the Red Sea (Rosellini, letter, Thebes, 30/5/1829, fol. 4v).

Unfortunately, Giuseppe Raddi did not return from the expedition. He died of dysentery on 6th September 1829 on the way back to homeland, on Rhodos (Rosellini, letter,—at anchor in Livorno, 28/11/1829, fol. 1r). His collection came to Livorno on board the Sardinian ship Cleopatra on 22nd December 1829. He could not process the collection himself. Raddi's

botanical collections are now deposited in the Botanical garden in Pisa and the zoology collection in the museum in the former Carthusian monastery at Calci near Pisa. The herbarium "Herbarium Horti Pisani" is made up of them, having 427 plants and seeds and it represents a unique source of flora of northern Africa up to today (Rosellini, letter, in Livorno, 28/11/1829, fol. 1r). (Alla memoria ...1830; Catalogo di piante egiziane 1830: 29–33, 90–100; Amadei *et al.* 2005: 167–173).

The examined letters of all three participants of the expedition are interconnected in the Tuscany Family Archive along with the diary entries of the Grand Duke Leopold II in one documentary whole and is a unique image of the whole excellent Franco-Tuscan expedition, as to how they put together information for a very detailed and complete idea.

IN CONCLUSION

In this short analysis of discovered letters written by Jean-François Champollion, Ippolito Rosellini, Giuseppe Raddi and diary entries of the Tuscan Grand Duke Leopold II, we have shown an unknown source and a considerably large number of original documentation. Altogether in the Tuscan Family Archive, there are 8 Champollion's autographs (1826–1831) preserved, 7 drafts of replies of the Tuscan Grand Duke to Champollion, Leopold's diary entries about Champollion and Rosellini; 12 original letters from Rosellini written in the years 1827–1831; and finally 5 Raddi's letters from the expedition to Egypt. These documents covering preparation of the expedition to Egypt, its course and the circumstances of editing Monuments, as well as observations of natural science by Tuscan botanist are possible to be evaluated both quantitatively and qualitatively as a pioneering contribution to the history of Egyptology which should not be neglected by historians.

On the contrary to a comprehensively explored and processed historical Franco-Tuscan scientific-literary expedition to ancient Egyptian monuments, even today nearly after 150 years it is still possible to find documents in the archives which are not known and can bring a number of new views on the facts which are for many decades subject to the systematic research of historians, Egyptologists, archaeologists, linguists and scientists of other scientific disciplines.

Thus, the professor of Egyptology, Marilina Betrò, from the university in Pisa succeeded in identifying

many of the finds of Rosellini in the Florence Museum and the last one of 11 mummies, carried by Rosellini from the Egyptian expedition and not given to the Tuscan Grand Duke Leopold II because it was damaged during transportation to Livorno. In 2012, it was found in the box inside the depository of the Natural Science Museum at Calci near Pisa, but the identification was made only on the basis of Rosellini's lists, made in late 1829 for his Tuscan patron, deposited in the Family Archive of the Tuscan Habsburgs (Rosellini, letter with 4 enclosures, Livorno Lazaretto di San Leopoldo, 29/12/1829; Betrò 2014, 2016). From the quoted passages of the correspondence and diary entries we revealed only 'the tip of the iceberg' of information and documentary value of these records that are preserved in the fond of the Family Archive of Tuscan Habsburgs, in the National Archives in Prague.

SOURCE OF ARCHIVES

National Archives in Prague, Czech Republic, file of the Family Archive of the Tuscan Habsburgs, series Leopold II./1 – abbr.: NA, RAT, Leopold II./1, Diaries:

- 1) NA, RAT, Leopold II./1, Diary 1825, IX/5, fol. 49v, 3/7/1825
- 2) NA, RAT, Leopold II./1, Diary 1826–1827, IX/7, inv. č. 7, fol. 16v–17v, [before 22/ 4/ 1826]

National Archives in Prague, Czech Republic, file of the Family Archive of the Tuscan Habsburgs, series Leopold II./1, personal correspondence – abbr.: NA, RAT, Leopold II./1:

- 1) Champollion, Jean-François, 1826–1831; 8 lettres and 7 drafts of Leopold's replies dated: Bologna, 5/10/1826, 4pp; answer of Leopold: 8/11/1826, 1p; Paris, 3/3/1827, 3pp; answer of Leopold Paris, 26/7/1827, 3pp; answer of Leopold: 8/9/1827, 2pp; Paris 20/11/1827, 3pp; Paris, 11/6/1828, 2pp; answer of Leopold: Florence, 1822, 2pp; Alexandria, 14/10/1829, 4pp.; answer of Leopold: Florence, 22/12/1829, 1p; Paris, 14/5/1831, 4pp; answer of Leopold: Florence, 25/6/1831, 1p; Paris, 10/9/1831, 2pp; answer of Leopold: Pisa, 6/11/1831, 1p.
- 2) Rosellini Ippolito: 12 lettres + 4 enclosures from the years 1827 – 1831. There is not any draft of Leopold's answer to Rosellini in the collection of letters as it was in the case of correspondence with Champollion. Paris, 20/11/1827, 3pp; Paris, 14/7/1828, 2pp; Alexandria, 26/8/1828, 3pp; Giza, 10/10/1828, 3pp; Thebes, 24/11/1828, 4pp; Nubia-Ibsambul, 8/1/1829, 4pp; Ombôs (Kom-Ombo), 15/2/1829, 4pp.; Thebes el-Biban el-Mouluk/Valley of the Kings, 30/5/1829, 10pp.; Thebes, 2/7/1829, 4pp.; Livorno, port, 28/11/1829, 3pp.; Livorno, S.Leopoldo, 29/12/1829, 4pp; + 4 enclosures of inventories 28pp: 1) drawings, 4pp; 2) drawings divided according to the authors, 3pp; 3) artefacts

from acquisitions, 12pp; 4) objects from excavations in Thebes and Abydos, 11pp.; Paris, 23/9/1831, 2pp.

- 3) Raddi Giuseppe, 1828–1829, 5 letters dated: Cairo 24/9/1828, 6pp; Asyut Lycopolis 9/11/1828, 3pp; Ibsambul 11/1/1820, 6pp; Rosetta (el-Rashid) 6/6/1829, 7pp; Rosetta (el-Rashid) 9/6/1829, 2pp. These are unique autographs exclusively deposited in National Archives in Prague, Czech Republic.
- 4) National Archives in Prague, Czech Republic, file of the Family Archive of the Tuscan Habsburgs, series: Maps, inv. no. 285., The plan of Lazaret of Saint Leopold [Pianta dimostrante il Lazzeretto S. Leopoldo].

REFERENCES

- AMBAGLIO D., LANDUCCI GATTINONI F., BRAVI L., 2008: *Diodoro Siculo: Biblioteca storica: commento storico: introduzione generale*. Storia. Ricerche. V&P, Milano. Pp. X, 145.
- AMADEI L., BALDINI R. M., GARBARI F., MACCIONI S., 2005: *Herbarium Horti Pisani: i Tipi delle specie di Giuseppe Raddi (1770–1829)*. *Atti della Società Toscana di Scienze Naturali*, B, CXII: 167–173.
- BARDELLI G., 1843: *Biografia del professore Ippolito Rosellini dal suo discepolo e amico D. Giuseppe Bardelli*. Piatti. Firenze.
- BARGAGLI PETRUCCI G., 1922: *Giuseppe Raddi, naturalista e viaggiatore fiorentino, nato a Firenze nel 1770, morto a Rodi nel 1829*. Ricci. Firenze.
- BENVENUTI G., 1987: *Vita di Ippolito Rosellini, padre dell'Egitologia italiana*. Giardini. Pisa.
- BERUTTI S., 2009: *Nascita e formazione del Museo Egizio di Firenze*. *Archeologica Toscana* dicembre 17. (<http://www.archeologikatoscana.it/nascita-e-formazione-del-museo-egizio-di-firenze/>. 30. 9. 2018)
- BERTOLONI A., 1830: *Rapporto sulla collezione di piante raccolte in Egitto dal naturalista Giuseppe Raddi del Prof. Cav. Gaetano Savi*. *Annali di storia naturale* IV: 90–100.
- BETRÒ M., 2010a (Ed.): *Ippolito Rosellini and the Dawn of Egyptology. Original Drawing and Manuscripts of the Tuscan Expedition to Egypt (1828–1829) from the Biblioteca Universitaria di Pisa*. Cairo.
- BETRÒ M., 2010b: *Ippolito Rosellini e la nascita dell'egitologia. La spedizione franco-toscana in Egitto tra 1828 e 1829*. *Athenet online*, 31, Aprile 2010, Pisa. (https://www.unipi.it/athenet/31/art_1.htm, 30. 9. 2018)
- BETRÒ M., 2013: *The Lorena Archive in Prague and the collection from the Tuscan Expedition to Egypt in the Florence Museum*. In: Betrò M. and Miniaci G., *Talking along the Nile*. Pp. 43–58. Pisa.
- BETRÒ M., 2014: *Kenamun l'undicesima mummia*. Pisa.
- BRANDI A., 1823: *La descrizione compendiosa della Piramide di Giza*. Livorno.
- BRESCIANI E., 1972: *L'expédition franco-toscane en Égypte et en Nubie (1828–1829) et les antiquités égyptiennes d'Italie*. *Bulletin de la Société française d'Égyptologie* 64: 5–29.

- BRESCIANI E., 1978 (Ed.): *Lettres à Zelmire/Jean-François Champollion*. Paris.
- BRESCIANI E., 1984: Gerolamo Segato e le sue carte inedite presso la Biblioteca Statale di Lucca. *La conoscenza dell'Asia e dell'Africa in Italia nei secoli XVIII e XIX*. Vol. I, Pp. 871-880. Napoli.
- BRESCIANI E., DONADONI G., 1993: *L'antico Egitto di Ippolito Rosellini nelle tavole dai "Monumenti dell'Egitto e della Nubia"*. Bologna.
- BRESCIANI E., 2000 (Ed.): *La Piramide e La torre. Duecento anni di archeologia egiziana*. Pisa.
- BRESCIANI E., 2008: I Lorena e l'Egitto svelato. In: Coppini P. R., Tosi, A., (Eds.): *Sovrani nel giardino d'Europa*. Pisa e i Lorena. Pisa/Ospedaletto. Pp. 162-174.
- BRESCIANI E., 2010: L'Egittologia nell'Università di Pisa. *Annali di Storia delle Università italiane* 14: 175-180.
- BRESCIANI E., 2013: Girolamo Segato e l'esplorazione della Piramide di Gioser a Saqqara (dicembre 1820 - marzo 1821). In: Betrò M., Minici G. (Eds.): *Talking along the Nile*. Pp. 59-64. Pisa.
- de la BRIÈRE L., 1897: *Champollion inconnu lettres inédites*. Plon.
- CURTO S., 1979: *Storia del Museo Egizio di Torino*. Torino.
- DARIS S., 2005: *Giuseppe Nizzoli un impiegato di consolare austriaco nel Levante agli albori dell'Egittologia*. Napoli.
- D'AMORE P., 1984: *Il collezionismo vicino orientale in Italia nel XIX secolo e la figura di Riccardo Colucci, diplomatico*. Napoli.
- GRERGOROVIČOVÁ E., 2013: *Po stopách Lorenza Medicejského v Rodinném archivu toskánských Habsburků*. In: Gregorovičová E.: *Kapitoly z dějin Rodinného archivu toskánských Habsburků*. Pp. 160-169. Praha.
- GREGOROVIČOVÁ E., 2014a: Protnutí vědy. Francouzsko-italská expedice za tajemstvím starověkého Egypta. Příspěvek ke kulturní spolupráci. *Paginae historiae* (Praha) 22, 2: 86-111.
- GREGOROVIČOVÁ E., 2014b: Champollionův osudový omyl: "Pro mě vede cesta do Mennoferu a Théb přes Turin". *Zprávy Vlastivědného muzea v Olomouci* 308, 14: 36-66.
- HARI R., 1982: I. Rosellini et J.-F. Champollion: deux vies pour l'Égyptologie. In: Ippolito Rosellini: *passato e presente di una disciplina*. Pp. 75-80. Atti del congresso Internazionale. Pisa 30-31 maggio 1982. Pisa.
- HARTLEBEN H., 199: *Jean-François Champollion, Sa vie et son œuvre, 1790-1832*. [« Champollion. Sein Leben und sein Werk »], Paris.
- HARTLEBEN H., 1909: *Lettres de Champollion le Jeune, 1.-2. vol. Lettres écrites d'Italie*. Paris.
- CHAMPOLLION J.-F., 1827: *Notice descriptive des monuments égyptiens du musée Charles X*. Paris.
- CHAMPOLLION J.-F., 1828: *Précis du système hiéroglyphique des anciens Égyptiens ou Recherches sur les éléments premiers de cette écriture sacrée, sur leurs diverses combinaisons, et sur les rapports de ce système avec les autres méthodes graphiques égyptiennes*. 2 ed. Paris.
- CHAMPOLLION J.-F., 1833: *Lettres écrites d'Égypte et de Nubie en 1828 et 1829*. F. Didot (Ed). Pp. 1-19. Paris.
- CHAMPOLLION J.-F., 1835-1845: *Monuments de l'Égypte et de la Nubie*. Paris.
- LACOUTURE J., 1988: *Champollion, une vie de lumières. Richement documenté (planches, notes, chronologies)*. Paris.
- LEPSIUS K. R., 1837: *Lettre à M. le Professeur H. Rosellini sur l'alphabet hiéroglyphique*. Rome.
- LETRONNE J.-A., 1822: *Mémoire sur le tombeau d'Osymandyas*.
- LETRONNE J.-A., 1825: *Tabulae octo nummorum, ponderum, mensurarum apud Romanos et Graecos*.
- MENU VON MINULOTOLI H., 1824: *Reise zum Tempel des Jupiter Ammon und nach Oberägypten*. Berlin.
- NIZZOLI G., 1858: *Le Piramidi d'Egitto: Osservazioni di Giuseppe de Nizzoli*. 2. ed. Paris.
- NIZZOLI G., 1859: *Le piramidi d'Egitto*. Paris.
- PANAJIA A., 2000: *Ordine del Merito sotto il titolo di San Giuseppe*. P. 168. Pisa.
- RADDI G., RIDOLFI C., 1830. *Alla memoria di Giuseppe Raddi*. Firenze.
- PESENDORFER F., 1987a: (Ed.) *Il Governo di famiglia in Toscana. Le memorie del granduca Leopoldo II di Lorena (1824-1859)*. P. 223. Firenze.
- PESENDORFER F., 1987b: *Zwischen Tricolore und Doppeladler. Leopold II. Grossherzog von Toscana (1824-1859)*. Wien.
- PISTOLESI F., 1825: *Discorso sullo studio delle antichità egiziane*. Livorno.
- PODHORNÝ R., 2013: *Toskánští Habsburkové a Egypt*. In: J. Mynářová, P. Onderka, R. Podhorný, R. Vrtal: *Poklady starého Egypta*. Pp. 9-11. Olomouc.
- POCCHIESA I., FORNARO M., 1992: *Gerolamo Segato, esploratore dell'ignoto, scienziato, viaggiatore, cartografo (1792-1836)*. Belluno.
- RIDLY R. T., 1998: *Napoleon's Proconsul in Egypt: The Life and Times of Bernardino Drovetti*. Rubicon Press. London.
- ROBINSON A., 2012: *Cracking the Egyptian Code. The revolutionary life of Jean-François Champollion*. Oxford.
- ROBINSON A., 2013: *Muž, který rozluštil hieroglyfy*. Bratislava.
- ROSELLINI I., 1825: *Il sistema geroglifico del Signor Champollion dichiarato ed esposto alla intelligenza di tutti*. Pisa.
- ROSELLINI I., 1826: *Illustrazione di un bassorilievo egiziano della I. e R. Galleria di Firenze*. Firenze.
- ROSELLINI I., 1830: *Breve notizia degli oggetti di antichità egiziane riportate dalla Spedizione letteraria toscana in Egitto e in Nubia eseguita negli anni 1828 e 1829 ed esposti al pubblico*. Firenze.
- ROSELLINI I., 1832: *Tributo di riconoscenza e di amore reso alla onorata memoria di J. F. Champollion il minore*. Pisa.
- SALVOLDI D., 2009: *Alessandro Ricci's Travel Account: Story and Content of his Journal Lost and Found. Egitto e Vicino Oriente* 32: 113-119.
- SAMMARCO A., 1929: *Alessandro Ricci da Siena e il suo giornale dei viaggi recentemente scoperto. Bulletin de la Société Royale de Géographie d'Égypte*. Le Caire (Égypte) 17: 293-326.
- SAMMARCO A., 1930: *Alessandro Ricci e il suo giornale dei viaggi. 2. Documenti inediti o rari, Il Cairo. Société Royale de Géographie d'Égypte*.
- SAVI G., 1830: *Rapporto sulla collezione di piante raccolte in Egitto dal naturalista Giuseppe Raddi*. In: RADDI G.,

- RIDOLFI C., *Alla memora di Giuseppe Raddi*. Pp. 17–21. Firenze.
- SALVOLDI D., 2009: *Alessandro Ricci's Travel Account: Story and Content of his Journal Lost and Found*. *Egitto e Vicino Oriente* 32: 113–19.
- SEGATO G., 1827: *Saggi pittorici, geografici, statistici, idrografici e catastali sull'Egitto*. Firenze.
- SHELLEY P. B., 1818: *Ozymandias*.
- USICK P., 1998: The Egyptian Drawings of Alessandro Ricci in Florence. A List of Drawings from a Portfolio in the Museo Egizio di Firenze. *Göttinger Miszellen* 162: 73–92.

Eva Gregorovičová*
National Archive Prague
Archivní 4
149 01
Praha 4 - Chodovec
Czech Republic
E-mail: eva.gregorovicova@email.cz

*Corresponding author.