Travels of Count Michał Tyszkiewicz to Africa, His Excavations in 1861–1862, and the Origin of His Collection of Egyptian Antiquities

Abstract

Count Michał Tyszkiewicz (1828–1897) was one of the most renowned collectors of the ancient classical art at the end of the 19th century. His interest in archaeology and ancient art was developed during his travel through Egypt in 1861. His Journal of the Travel to Egypt and Nubia, fortunately found in 1992 in Poznań, recounts this journey. From Egypt, Michał Tyszkiewicz brought a collection of antiquities, estimated to have comprised c. 800 objects; today, over a half of them can be found in museums in Paris (Louvre), Warsaw, Vilnius, Kaunas, and Moscow. The majority of the objects originated from excavations conducted by the count, particularly in Thebes (Luxor area), by virtue of an official licence granted to him exceptionally by Mohamed Said Pasha – the then head of the Egyptian state. The present article discusses the circumstances of granting of this permission in the period when a strict state monopoly was imposed on archaeological investigations and presents the course of the excavations along with their results.

Keywords: Michał Tyszkiewicz, Egypt, Nubia, excavations, collection

Count Michał Tyszkiewicz has secured himself a place in the hall of fame in the history of art as one of the greatest and most renowned collectors of classical, especially Roman, antiquities. Adolf Furtwängler, Carl Robert, Salomon Reinach, and Wilhelm Fröhner – all of whom were themselves top-tier researchers of the classical world – counted themselves among his close friends. The last of the mentioned scholars wrote in 1892 (while Tyszkiewicz was still alive) that had it not been for the fact that Count’s collections were dispersed, nobody, “not even the cardinals of Rome of the 16th century, nor today’s millionaires” could equal him. However, this well-documented activity of the ‘old collector’ began only after 1863, when the count moved from Lithuania to Paris, and later to Naples and Rome. Before 1870, he excavated several archaeological sites in Italy and was active in archaeology even later. His collecting activity, in which he was very much successful, fell to the last twenty five years of his life. However, the origins of his interest in antiquity can be traced back to his travel through Egypt in 1861–1862. The first news concerning this were published in Paris (1863) as a book comprising a literary version of his Journal of the Travel to Egypt and Nubia written in Polish. The book contained some information about the archaeological investigations in Karnak, albeit rather succinct. These works were possible thanks

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1 The original version of this paper was presented in Polish on 12 December 2011, during a conference accompanying an exhibition in the State Archaeological Museum in Warsaw titled Papyri, mummies and gold. Michał Tyszkiewicz and the 150th anniversary of the first Polish and Lithuanian excavations in Egypt. Like other papers from this conference, it was then sent to the editorial board of the periodical Z otchłani wieków; however, it has never been published. On the same subject, cf. Niwiński 1997; 2011.

2 Fröhner 1892, 2.


4 Cf. the article by M. Kazimierczak in this volume.

5 Tyszkiewicz 1863.
to a permission “to excavate in the whole territory of the Country” granted to Count Tyszkiewicz by Mohamed Said Pasha, the then Egyptian head of state. Such a permission should be seen as exceptional in the first years of two newly-created (1858) institutions: the Service of Antiquities and the Egyptian Museum of Antiquities in Cairo (Bulaq) under the supervision of Auguste Mariette. The monopoly of the Egyptian state over all excavations was obeyed then with jealousy, and any creation of collections of antiquities by foreigners was strictly forbidden. Yet, it is known that M. Tyszkiewicz brought from Egypt to Europe a collection of several hundred objects.

In January 1992, the author of the present paper was successful in finding two manuscripts written by M. Tyszkiewicz held by the Raczyński Library in Poznań. One of them, described on the last page as “Notes of Count Michał Tyszkiewicz from the travel to Egypt and Nubia”, had been long considered lost during World War II, the discovery enabled the clarification of some questions concerning the Egyptian travel of M. Tyszkiewicz, as well as proposing its partial reconstruction.

It seems that hunting, besides sightseeing ancient monuments, was the main purpose of M. Tyszkiewicz’s journey. The count was an enthusiastic hunter, and in November 1860 he undertook his first African travel to the Mahuna (Algeria) region in order to take part in a lion-hunting expedition. The plans were not successfully realised, and it seems that a new African journey, this time to Egypt, may have been a compensation. Tyszkiewicz went to Egypt equipped with various kinds of rifles and even accompanied by several hunting dogs. At the time, the country on the Nile was perceived as a paradise for hunters. The count describes, for example, his meeting with an English traveller, Lord Londesborough, who came to Egypt equipped with a special type of cannon capable of killing several dozen geese with a single shot. Informed by Tyszkiewicz about a multitude of aquatic fowl on Manzalah Lake, the lord gave up his plans to visit the famous monuments of Upper Egypt and devoted his entire stay to hunting. Tyszkiewicz’s Journal documents an exactly opposite evolution of Count’s own behaviour during his Egyptian travel: from a hunter he became principally an archaeologist and a lover of antiquities. He would devote to his new passion the rest of his life after his return to Europe.

The steamer ‘Indus’, with the count on board, arrived at the port of Alexandria on 21 October 1861. Three days later, after having visited the town and its monuments, M. Tyszkiewicz began a journey through the Delta, then the canal El-Mahmudia, and later on the Nile using a small sailing ship ‘Adela’, which he had hired for the whole travel. Along the way, the count visited the ruins of Athribis and Iseum, but he failed to go to San el-Hagar (Tanis), where A. Mariette was conducting his excavations. After a short stay in Port-Said and Damietta, Count Tyszkiewicz went to Cairo by train. The following nine days he devoted to visiting the capital and its vicinity, with the exception of the pyramids; the visits to Giza and Saqqara were to be postponed until the final days of his stay in Egypt. One of the important persons M. Tyszkiewicz met in Cairo was A. Mariette, who personally gave the count a guided tour around the Bulaq Museum; Tyszkiewicz was very much impressed by this and later came back to this place three times. It seems plausible that Mariette arrived to Cairo, while taking a break from his excavations in Tanis, precisely in order to guide M. Tyszkiewicz. When reading the Journal, one can get the feeling that the Egyptian authorities, well-informed by the Russian embassy about the wealth of the count – an inheritor of a great estate and a landowner in Lithuania – took measures to gain his favour and financial support for the Suez Canal project, then in the early stage of its realisation. Already in Port-Said, M. Tyszkiewicz was guided by an engineer representing the Suez Canal Company, and on the same day when the count visited the Bulaq Museum, he met Ferdinand Lesseps as well – the head of the Suez Canal

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6 This manuscript contains a text compiled by M. Tyszkiewicz on the basis of original notes made by him during the journey, while another manuscript found in the Raczyński Library is a secondary literary version of the primary text, drawn up by a writer, Zofia Węgi尔斯ka, and copied by M. Tyszkiewicz’s hand. The first half of the latter manuscript corresponds to the text published in the 1863 book edition. Until 1938, both manuscripts belonged to a collector from Poznań, Stanisław Latanowicz, and upon his death were bought, together with Latanowicz’s whole collection, by the Municipal Government of Poznań. All the books and manuscripts were then moved to the Raczyński Library (where almost everything was, unfortunately, burnt during the war), while all the objects qualified as works of art (including some drawings by Wojciech Gerson, water-colour paintings of Jan Matejko, some graphics of artists from Poznań, and perhaps also illustrations to Tyszkiewicz’s Journal, which were never found even though he mentioned them several times in his text) were deposited in the Municipal Museum in Poznań. The manuscripts by Tyszkiewicz survived the war because together with some other documents they were preserved in Count Raczyński’s private domain. The objects deposited in the Municipal Museum were concealed in the basement of a parish church in Poznań, but during or after the war they were, unfortunately, discovered and taken away by the Germans or the Soviets; today, these works of art are listed among the Polish war losses.

7 Zaleski 1860, 457.
project. Both interlocutors introduced Tyszkieicz to the problems of the gigantic enterprise, speaking about the number of workmen engaged in it. This army of 12,000 men was not sufficient, and the builders of the canal tried to multiply it. A few weeks later, in Assuan, M. Tyszkieicz was a witness of a dramatic forced recruitment of people directed to work on the canal within the scope of corvé, which was still obligatory in Egypt at the time. But lacking funds constituted another problem, and the Egyptian authorities were hoping that the count would become a shareholder of the enterprise. The count was treated everywhere as a VIP, and various members of the reigning Egyptian family as well as consuls were willingly entering into very friendly relations with him.

It seems that the exceptional research concession “to excavate in the whole territory of the Country” was in a direct relation with the Suez Canal problems. The permission to carry out archaeological works granted to M. Tyszkieicz by Viceroy Said Pasha himself obviously broke the rules of the state monopoly introduced only three years earlier, in 1858. It is not known if A. Mariette was consulted about this digging permit; he probably had to consent to the decision of the head of state in the name of the raison d’état. It is, however, possible that he may have accepted this with reservation, as Western Thebes were defined by A. Mariette as “the white-headed boy among his excavations.”

As we know from Tyszkieicz’s account, his attempt to start excavations on the western bank opposite Luxor failed, and he was refused to dig there by an official representative of the Service of Antiquities who disregarded the firman (the permission document) of the Viceroy. After all, the excavations conducted by the count in Western Thebes were illegal, at least from the official viewpoint. It is, however, hardly conceivable that these works, which continued for a month, remained actually unnoticed. It looks rather like another game, controlled by the Viceroy, in order to maximise Count’s satisfaction in hopes of his final decision to support the Suez Canal enterprise financially.

Certainly orchestrated was also the reception given by the Russian consul, Edouard Lavisson, on 17 November 1861, during which the count, for the first time in Egypt, had a chance to try his luck as an archaeologist and obtained first objects for his collection. This event is recounted in the Journal in the following way:

“In the courtyard, three mummies lay in wooden coffins, the upper surface of which has already a shape, although not very distinct, of a human body. The human face and hands, painted in bright colours and carved in relief, decorate the outer coffin, which has also a short hieroglyphic inscription painted with two colours in a broad band on the case. A strong and aromatic scent of myrrh with which the mumified bodies are embalmed spread over the entire courtyard […]. After opening the case we saw inside another, very similar coffin; only the hieroglyphs were different here. Both cases were made of sycamore wood, and were so excellently preserved as if they had been made yesterday. The colour of the paint had not faded, particularly the faces carved in the wood with much skill, retained a strange freshness of colouring. When in turn the second coffin was opened, we found inside a third case – the last. Its form was this time very similar to that of the dead body, as the finely-executed and painted head of the coffin was a replica of legs and arms – in a word, the general shape of the human body. This case, pasted of several layers of linen was as hard as wood and completely covered with excellent paintings […].

“Finally the body was taken out and laid on the table; wrapped in yellow bands of linen it looked like a doll. With permission of the host, I started myself to unroll the bandages. The smell of the myrrh became so strong that some of the spectators felt dizzy. After having unwrapped a dozen ells of the bandages, I suddenly saw in the middle of the length of the body seven scarabs, or beetles, the bottoms of which (serving as seals) were covered with concave hieroglyphic inscriptions. Each beetle was pierced through from the head up to the tail. They were strung onto a thin string wrapping the body over the band of linen. […] One of the beetles – the principal one – was made of gold, two others strung beside it were glazed and set in gold, the remaining four scarabs were of stone. I continued unwrapping and found on the breast a sort of insignia usually given in ancient Egypt to the deceased. These are two bands of red leather, half an ell long, crossed over the breast. The ends of these bands are spatula-like. A hieroglyphic inscription covers the leather bands, while the representations of deities are stamped on the terminals. The leather had hardened over time and become rather brittle as well. The bandages soon came to an end, and the body appeared, quite dry, black, and very brittle. Except for a few beads of stone and a few figurines of deities, nothing else was found on the body itself. The body was filled inside with a black and hard mass, very aromatic one […].

“The remains of the mummy were taken out, and we approached the two others. […] In the last of the three mummies I found, close to the body, a wooden bow made of a species of wood unknown to me, and three sticks of the same wood. Mr. Lavisson was so kind

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and generous that he offered me, in remembrance of this so interesting a session, all the objects which I had found on the mummies and unwrapped with my own hands”.

Without any doubt, the description quoted above concerns the 22nd Dynasty coffin set from the 10th–9th century BC, as indicated by the decoration of the wooden coffins, the presence of the cartonnage and of the leather mummy-braces (today in the Louvre Museum, inv. nos E.3670 and E.3672), as well as the mode of writing of Amon’s name on the scarab set in a golden border (today in the Louvre Museum, inv. no. E.3693).

Two days later, M. Tyszkievicz left Cairo, directing his ship towards Upper Egypt. From onboard, Count Tyszkievicz saw the quarries at Turah and the pyramid at Meydum. He spent much more time visiting the tombs of Beni Hassan and the ruins of Tell el-Amarna. We find then a mention of the cemetery of ibises and crocodiles at Gebel Abu Feida and of a rock-tomb near Assiut, probably that of Hapi-djefa. When he arrived on 7 December at Balliana, a consular agent awaited him there together with his servants and with several saddle-horses: “the consul added that he had had an order from Cairo to wait for my coming, and to be ready for my instructions”. It is certain that it was taken into account that Tyszkievicz might be willing to pay a visit to the temples at Abydos, and it is indeed hardly comprehensible why the count did not use this opportunity.

Three days later, on 10 December, he arrived at Qena, planning to visit the famous temple of Dendera. In the morning of the following day, he received the long-promised firman of Said Pasha from the Russian consul, together with another letter granting him the permission to excavate. Since then, the comments of the count in his Journal as well as his proceedings gain more and more professional character, expected rather from an archaeologist and not an amateur – which Tyszkievicz actually was. The description of his visit in the temple at Dendera is concluded with the following note:

“(11 December 1861) It is a pity that the Egyptian Government does not pay enough regard to the integrity of such important monuments, which are not guarded by anybody. Because of this one, often sees empty spots on the walls where some of the finest carvings have been hammered by the hands of civilised barbarians – European antiquarians, even less able to respect the beautiful ancient monuments than the wild Persian hosts”.

The unexpected firman granting M. Tyszkievicz a license to excavate “in the whole country” reached him in the most suitable moment. He was approaching the archaeological paradise of Egypt: the region of ancient Thebes. He writes that immediately after his arrival at the port in Luxor:

“(12 December 1861) we are going straight to the Russian consulate situated in the midst of one of the biggest Luxor temples. Mustafa-Aga, who serves the office of a Russian consular agent, meets us at the door, greets us politely, and invites into the room. After the common coffee-and-pipe ceremony, I show him my firman and ask him to order a hire of 60 workmen to begin excavations at Karnak and Thebes in the days to come. Local authorities were sent for, and the wakil of the city of Luxor came soon after. Having kissed the Viceroy’s seal stamped on the firmans, he read these and assured me that the workmen would be ready for work the next morning”.

### The excavations at Karnak

After these formalities, the count first visited the Luxor temple, and then “the ruins of Karnak [...]. At the same time my intention was to choose a spot for the excavations and search for antiquities planned for tomorrow”. He describes the chosen place as follows: “There are some hills behind the temples where the ancient town of Karnak once stood; thus I chose the spot for the excavation there”.

The excavations in Karnak started on 13 December 1861 and were conducted until 20 January 1862. M. Tyszkievicz supervised this work in person only for the first six days; later, he charged one of his servants and a local overseer with the task of keeping an eye on the workmen. No doubt the first few days of the excavations were the most effective ones and brought the results which can be evaluated archaeologically. These
first official Polish and at the same time Lithuanian excavations in Egypt should be assessed positively because of the fact that M. Tyszkiewicz not only kept a diary of the works, including descriptions and the register of the excavated items, but he also documented them in drawings with the intention to publish them together with the text of his Journal. This can be illustrated with the following note on 18 December: “I do not wish to describe the everyday fruits in too detailed a way, to avoid tiring the reader with a superfluous monotony of the objects. The plates added at the end of this Journal give a better idea of the types of objects than my unskilled pen. I present on these plates the main adornments I found on the mummies, as well as some more important bronzes I excavated in various locations in Egypt and Nubia”, and another on 7 February 1862: “A detailed description of the new excavations could lose its attraction for the readers because of its monotony; therefore I would rather refer those who are interested to the Atlas that I am adding to this work. There is, next to the figures, a short description of each object. In addition to pieces I excavated, I was successful in purchasing in Cairo quite a number of very fine bronzes originating, too, from the excavations at Saqqara. The Atlas will include the latter items as well”.13

The excavations were organised and begun admirably professionally taking into account that M. Tyszkiewicz had probably little or no archaeological experience; he may have, at most, seen some works conducted in Lithuania by one of his cousins: Eustachy Tyszkiewicz or Konstanty Tyszkiewicz. The following is a description of the works conducted in Karnak on the first day, 13 December 1861:

“On my coming to the place marked yesterday, I already found the dragoman [interpreter] and my servants bustling about my travel tents intended to protect me against the hot rays of the sun, and also to be a temporary store of excavated objects. Another tent held the domestic staff, kitchen utensils, and tableware. Sixty nearly naked young boys were already in attendance. Since the soil, in which I intended to dig, was pure sand, the workmen were equipped with hoes (and not with spades); some of them filled baskets made of palm leaf with sand, others carried these away and emptied them.

“The work was started soon after, and I – having sat down in the shadow of a big umbrella – was looking at the digging with much interest and attention, watchfully observing the workmen to prevent them from stealing the excavated objects, as is their habit. Several quarters of an hour later, among a terrible swirl of dust we came upon a wall built of mud-bricks; this was one of the houses of the old town of Karnak. When one finally came upon the door, just at the entrance, a large flat stone was seen; on its surface six round depressions for inserting in them vessels for water. From each depression, water could flow down a narrow channel carved in the stone, and all these channels joined together into one larger reservoir probably used to water the livestock. This stone was not inscribed nor sculpted.16

“Behind the door, that is just behind the entrance to the dwelling, I found an alabaster statuette of Isis sitting on the throne, with a child in her arms. The whole throne and its base were covered with beautifully conserved hieroglyphs. Unfortunately, this beautiful statuette was broken, and the heads of the goddess and the child were missing [Fig. 1].17

“When continuing the excavations, we found various small objects, of which the most interesting are worth mentioning:

• A double glazed pottery vessel serving as ink-pot for scribes who dissolved in it two paints: the black one and the red one, used for writing on papyrus. Around the square ink-pot, a hieroglyphic inscription reigns, a very unclear one; when I inserted this interesting small ink-pot into water, in order to wash the dust off, the hieroglyphs became distinct and they give impression of being gilded;18
• A big pottery urn, though without inscriptions, of an aesthetic shape;19
• A bronze figure of Osiris;20

13 On 14 December he noted in the Journal that he registered and arranged all the excavated objects; cf. Tyszkiewicz 1994, 241.
15 Tyszkiewicz 1994, 410; Niwiński 2011, 16.
16 Tyszkiewicz 1994, 235–237; Niwiński 1997, 198; 2011, 36. It seems that the described object corresponds well to a stone offering table that may have laid at the entrance to a small sanctuary, in the antechamber, or in the offering hall.
17 Tyszkiewicz 1994, 237; Niwiński 1997, 198; 2011, 36. This statuette is preserved today in the Louvre Museum, inv. no. E.3775. Judging from the style, the object has been dated to the 25th or 26th Dynasty; cf. Rouit 1995, 51 (cat. no. 44).
18 Tyszkiewicz 1994, 237; Niwiński 1997, 198. This object is preserved today in the Louvre Museum, inv. no. E 3666; Rouit 1995, 142 (cat. no. 150).
19 Tyszkiewicz 1994, 237; Niwiński 1997, 198. This vase was probably broken on 3 January 1862 near Kalabsha as a result of a shock of the ship caused by a sudden gust of wind. The count mentioned that “much tableware broke, but most of all I regretted two beautiful urns excavated in Karnak, which I found in pieces after my coming back to the ship”; Tyszkiewicz 1994, 317; Niwiński 1997, 198.
20 Tyszkiewicz 1994, 237; Niwiński 1997, 199. The bronze figures in the collection of the count, amounting to more than 120 specimens, originated in particular from his excavations.
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A dozen small statuettes of gods, made of stone or porcelain;
Sixteen glazed scarabs complete the body of the excavated objects.21

“After lunch in the tents and an hour of rest the works were continued. However, at the beginning nothing was found for some time; but towards the sunset many small objects were found again, and also a big stone statue of the goddess Pasht, albeit in a bad condition”.22

There is everything to suggest that M. Tyszkiewicz discovered an offering chapel of a small sanctuary, probably devoted to the lioness-headed Mut-Sakhmet, and the type and style of the objects found there suggest that these were votive gifts from the 7th–6th century BC.

On the next day, the count was not personally supervising the excavations in Karnak, but he arrived only in the afternoon and was busy arranging the objects discovered on that day. “The best of these is a small wooden box, inlaid with strips of ivory, on which small circles are carved forming a kind of border. Worth mentioning because of its beautiful shape, there is a bowl, spherical at the bottom, made of copper and glaze, and gilded inside. Besides, there are a lot of porcelain adornments, scarabs, deities of stone and clay, and another figure of Isis very delicately-made of porcelain; its head was also broken off, but found nearby. When all these objects were already listed and registered, the dragoman took out of his pocket a small parcel that he was keeping in Saqqara and from the older collection of Dr Meymar, bought by Tyszkiewicz. Almost all bronze statuettes are now held by the Louvre Museum, and eight among them represent Osiris. It is hard to decide which one may have been found in Karnak.

21 Tyszkiewicz 1994, 237; Niwiński 1997, 199. Most of these small scarabs and figurines made of stone or faience were brought to Lithuania; a part of them is preserved now in the museums in Kaunas, Vilnius, and Warsaw; however, no identification is possible without studying the drawings in the Atlas mentioned by Tyszkiewicz (cf. footnotes 6 and 15).

22 Tyszkiewicz 1994, 239; Niwiński 1997, 199. After Tyszkiewicz had visited Speos Artemidos on 25 November 1861, he described every female lioness-headed figure as “Pasht” (Pakhet). The statue which he discovered in Karnak probably represented Mut – this seems to be in accord with the supposition that the area of his excavations was situated not far from the precinct of Mut; numerous lioness-headed statues preserved in world museums, including the National Museum in Warsaw, originate from there.
as a nice surprise for me: he showed me a golden ring of an original shape with a small uncut emerald, found by my workmen.23

On 15 December 1861, the count noted: “I went to Karnak to continue supervising the excavations, and found the work had already begun. I spent there the whole day, in spite of a strong and stifling wind blowing from the desert, called khamsin […]. The excavations of today, besides a very beautiful golden statuette of the god Amun-Re, included several small bronzes, and a fairly big stone covered with inscriptions. I don’t mention the pottery figures which abound all over the place here”.24

M. Tyszkiewicz was supervising the excavations in Karnak during one more week, although information about these works becomes scant:

“(16 December) I proceed again to Karnak. The khamsin is still blowing and it makes the digging works difficult. Our eyes are already reddened from the annoying cloud of dust. I am obliged to wash myself off the black dust several times a day, however I don’t give up the works, and again collect today considerable fruits.25

“(17 December) The works at Karnak brought almost nothing today.26

“(18 December) Staying till 5 p.m. at Karnak I witnessed the excavating of various further antiquities.27

“(22 December) I am going to continue my travel today, thus I devoted the whole morning to the payments and settlement of accounts with the workmen used by me so far. I let some of them remain to continue the works until my coming back from Nubia, under the supervision of one of my servants; others, after having been paid off, were dismissed”.28

The excavations in Karnak were continued for almost one more month; however, they were conducted without any proper supervision and with the use of a lesser number of workmen. When Count came back from the journey to Nubia, he heard the report of the overseer of the work but remained sceptical about the results:

“(19 January 1862) The supervisor brought a shawl full of various small objects: scarabs, beads, figures of gods of stone or porcelain, even some golden but common trinkets, two wooden figures, some small urns, and eight pieces of bronze deities. […] I can’t guarantee, however, that some more precious things were not excavated by my people and kept secret from me”.29

The works in Karnak were definitely finished on the next day, 20 January 1862: “I paid the workmen, and the supervisor came with me to ‘Adela’ […]. I have not forgotten, either, to give something to the governmental guardians in purpose to find them again favourably disposed in case of my future come back to Luxor and Thebes”.30

Excavations in the Theban Necropolis

The above-quoted interesting note contains an allusion to the relations between the count and the officials from the Service of Antiquities in Western Thebes or the necropolis. The only archaeological researches permitted in this area by the Egyptian Government were conducted by A. Mariette, about which M. Tyszkiewicz had probably not been informed. Trusting in the permission to dig “in the whole country”, he went, on 14 December, to the western bank of the Nile, having at his side the official consular agent of the Russian embassy, Mustafa Aga, to find a promising spot for archaeological excavations and to start digging.

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23 Tyszkiewicz 1994, 241; Niwiński 1997, 199. The actual location of these three objects described with some details remains unknown. Probably all three were brought to Europe; however, they are absent in all of the known parts of the collection. Tyszkiewicz may have presented two of the containers mentioned in the beginning of the footnote to somebody, or these objects may have been kept in the palace in Łohojsk, where a private museum of the Tyszkiewicz family was established in 1842 by Konstanty Tyszkiewicz – later to be sold in the 1880s or 1890s by his son, Oskar Tyszkiewicz, the heir of the palace, after his father’s death. The golden ring may have been retained by the count, but it was not put up for the auction of M. Tyszkiewicz’s collection in Paris in 1898.

24 Tyszkiewicz 1994, 243; Niwiński 1997, 199; 2011, 42. The actual location of the golden figurine of Amon is unknown. Such an object, no doubt, must have belonged among the most valuable pieces of Tyszkiewicz’s collection. Only one golden figurine of Amon is preserved in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York (inv. no. MMA 26.7.1412); this object, according to the archival information from the Museum, originates from the collection of Lord Carnarvon. It is, admittedly, not excluded that an object originally belonging to Tyszkiewicz became a property of Lord Carnarvon, but there is nothing to prove this. The stone covered with inscriptions corresponds probably to a stela. Tyszkiewicz mentions several objects like this in his Journal, but only one stela may have been brought to Europe. This object is now held by the National Museum in Warsaw, inv. no. MNW 236843. It probably originates from Sakkara and is dated to the 6th century BC.


“Sixty workmen were already awaiting us. It took me more than one hour to find an appropriate place to start the works. Led with an instinct I chose a spot underneath a high rock half-way buried in sand. Tombs and small temples were usually hewn in the rocks; the entrance was covered with sand by winds, up to a considerable height. The point chosen by me had never been touched, although many deep holes as well as several temples and tombs dug in the vicinity indicated that this place promised an abundant repayment for the effort, the work, and the expenses. After having finally marked the limits in the sand, within which the workmen should start the digging, I gave a signal for work. Suddenly, an old Arab who was the supervisor of the governmental excavations begun just several hundred steps from us, appeared among us following an order from Mr. Mariette. The Arab assured me that I couldn’t dig in this place, because the Government intended to put their own workmen here soon to excavate. I showed him my firmans, but the stubborn Arab made a speech to the gathered workmen, threatening them with imprisonment, if anybody dared to disturb the integrity of this place. Then he turned round to us and announced that he wouldn’t allow us to dig on the whole left riverside [...]. At present, there is nothing else to do for us than to go back to Luxor”.

The (illegal) excavations started, nevertheless, already on the next day, late in the evening. Still on 14 December: “the dragoman consoled me completely when saying that he had already made an arrangement with some guardians of the excavations at Thebes, and they promised not to watch in the night in a valley behind the mountain of Assasif. Thus, we’ll be able to make nightly researches during some hours in that valley, which had served, too, the inhabitants of the ancient Thebes as a cemetery. The dragoman already made an arrangement with the workmen, and we should go on our first secret expedition tomorrow night. My conscience murmurs something, but the antiquarian bent prevails, and I am just beginning to dream about mummies and coffins.

“On 15 December [...] at 10 o’clock in the evening, together with the dragoman we crossed the river and set about digging. However, although we kept on till 4 o’clock in the morning, absolutely nothing was discovered this night, and tired and drowsy I came back to rest”.

Already the second night of the excavations brought important results in the form of two mummies, opened by M. Tyszkiewicz on the morning of 17 December 1861:

“Having closed ourselves in the cabin, we began to open the two mummies. One of them is closed in a wooden case, very decorative one, which is covered with paintings: green and made in relief, while other paintings compared with the green ones are red and shallow; one can see this case in Paris, in the Department of the Egyptian Antiquities in the Louvre [Fig. 2].

![Scene on the mummy-cover discovered on 16 December 1861 in Western Thebes. The scene depicts the Creator in the form of a sun-disc containing the head of a wider being, a cryptographic name for Amon-Re (Invisible One in his visible form = Sun) (21st Dynasty, 10th century BC). The Louvre Museum, E.3859. Photo by A. Niwiński.](image)

Fig. 2. Scene on the mummy-cover discovered on 16 December 1861 in Western Thebes. The scene depicts the Creator in the form of a sun-disc containing the head of a wider being, a cryptographic name for Amon-Re (Invisible One in his visible form = Sun) (21st Dynasty, 10th century BC). The Louvre Museum, E.3859. Photo by A. Niwiński.

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31 In 1858, A. Mariette began the excavations in the area of the Hatshepsut temple at Deir el-Bahari. It is possible that M. Tyszkiewicz intended to dig not far southwards from there, perhaps in the neighbourhood of the temple of Mentuhotep, beneath the southern rock-wall of the valley.


34 In the Louvre Museum, only the mummy-cover of this coffin is preserved, inv. no. E.3859 (cf. Rouit 1995, 136–138, cat. no. 138), belonging to an anonymous man. It probably dates from the mid-10th century BC. Most probably, the coffin in which the mummy with the mummy-cover upon it was found was left by Tyszkiewicz in Egypt.
“Thus we started from this case. To my great surprise, however, the mummy contained within had nothing on itself, except for the common wrappings. The next mummy – although modest – placed in a beautifully painted case stuck of linen repaid double our efforts. I found in the case a woman’s body adorned with numerous gold jewels and figures of deities made of lapis lazuli. Thick gold ear-rings, two rings, and a gorgeous collar of the same material, decorated with cornelians – all this had the proper place on the corpse. A gold plaque with a hieroglyphic inscription laid on the breast; a bracelet of amethysts and cornelians strung on thread, and another one in the form of a serpent adorned the hands. A figure of the god Sawak made of crystal laid on her legs.35 Delighted at this beautiful and rich prize I decided to continue digging in the promising valley, and sent immediately a generous baksheesh to my workmen to encourage them to further effort and research”.36

The presence of two mummies indicated a possibility that an entrance to a tomb could be situated beneath the excavated layer of debris. In fact, the discovery took place on the next day, 18 December 1861:

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“This night I was not present at the works across the river. Mohammed, whom I had left stationed there, informed me that one group of the workmen (they were divided into two parties, to make it possible to dig at two different places at the same time), digging near the rocks had come upon an entrance hewn in the rock, buried deep in the sand, presumably leading to a tomb; the other group had been digging the whole night and discovered nothing.

“At 10 o’clock in the evening […] together with the dragoman I was on my way to my workmen. My effort was lavishly rewarded, because at about 2 o’clock in the morning I entered at last the newly discovered rock-tomb. In front of four funerary cases lying on the earth, there was a stool of sycamore wood, concave at the top [Fig. 4], with a blue faience bowl placed upon it [Fig. 5], containing some dried remains of food: two loaves of bread, one of which had the form of a hollow pyramid (broken at the top), while the other one was flat and shapeless, as well as a pile of stone-hard raisins. All my bounty was transported with care to the boat, and before dawn I was already on ‘Adela’, resting in a most innocent manner

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35 This cartonnage mummy-case is kept today in the National Museum in Warsaw, inv. no. MNW 238435. The mummy belonged to Lady Nehemes-Bastet of the 22nd Dynasty (10th–9th century BC). From among the objects mentioned by Tyszkiewicz, only the golden pectoral, held today by the Louvre Museum, inv. no. E.11074, can be identified; other finds are probably dispersed in private collections. The name “Sawak” refers to Anubis; the hieroglyph in the form of a lying jackal – the symbol of Anubis – has the phonetic value sa, which Tyszkiewicz may have deduced himself with the help of the publications of J.F. Champollion he had with him in Egypt.

in bed, but not sleeping, because strong excitement had fully robbed me of my sleep”.37

In the morning of the next day, onboard of the ship, M. Tyszkiewicz studied the contents of four coffins. He opened the mummies, all originating from the tomb of the 18th Dynasty (15th–14th century BC), and compiled an inventory of the objects found inside. In one of the coffins he discovered "a beautiful papyrus painted in many colours, or rather a manuscript on papyrus, a palette, some reeds used for writing, paints, and various instruments of ivory and metal were also found beside it" (Figs 6–7).38

It seems that the identification of the find-spot of the tomb can be attempted. The illicit arrangement of the nightly excavations made between Tyszkiewicz’s interpreter, Petrus, and the guardians of the Necropolis concerned “a valley behind the mountains of Assasif”. For somebody standing within the circus of Deir el-Bahari, such localisation may have meant either the area situated southwards (the Valley of the Royal Cache, the Valley of the unfinished temple of Mentuhotep, etc.) or northwards, i.e. at Drah Abu el-Naga, because the Valley of the Kings, also situated “behind the mountains” was certainly out of the question. The excavations first brought two mummies: one from the 21st Dynasty, the second being “in a beautiful painted case stuck of linen” and dating presumably to the 22nd Dynasty. Both mummies without any doubt originated from secondary burials situated not far from the mouth of the rock-tomb of the 18th Dynasty, as one can suppose from the analysis of the objects found inside, above all the well-datable papyrus with the Book of the Dead. Such valley containing some 18th Dynasty tombs,

37 Tyszkiewicz 1994, 249, 253; Niwiński 1997, 203; 2011, 69. The stool, presented by the count to the Louvre, inv. no. E.3858 (cf. Rouit 1995, 146–147, cat. no. 157), was deposited in 1960 in the National Museum in Warsaw, inv. no. MNW 143344. The bowl is currently held by the Louvre Museum, inv. no. E.3865-3857.

38 Tyszkiewicz 1994, 253; Niwiński 1997, 204; 2011, 69. The papyrus contained the Book of the Dead of Lady Bakai, now in the National Museum in Warsaw, inv. no. MNW 237128. The papyrus is dated to the middle of the 18th Dynasty (the reigns of Thutmose III or Amenhotep II; cf. Andrajevski 1951). From among other objects found in the same coffin, the palette of a scribe, made of ivory, is now in the Louvre Museum, inv. no. E.3669 (cf. Rouit 1995, 144, cat. no. 152). The three playing sticks of bone and the copper knife for cutting papyrus
as well as some remnants of later burials, may be identified with the so-called Northern Valley (Khawi el-Alamat) situated at the northern slope of Drah Abu el-Naga, not far from the entrance to the wadi leading to the Valley of the Kings. This small valley, about 140 m in length and 70 m in breadth, contains the rock-tombs TT 150–TT 155 and 234, all from the times of the 18th Dynasty. It is, however, not known which one of these tombs was actually discovered and opened by Tyszkiewicz.

The clandestine excavations in the Theban Necropolis were continued during Count’s absence, supervised by one of his servants. Nothing, unfortunately, can be deduced from the Journal concerning the place of these investigations. After the tomb of the 18th Dynasty was definitely emptied, the excavations were certainly moved to another spot, where some burials were probably discovered, dated to a period post-dating the 18th Dynasty. Upon the count’s arrival from the Nubian travel, the man left by him to supervise the digging presented a report on the works conducted both in Karnak and in Western Thebes. Besides “various small objects: scarabs, beads, figures of gods of stone or porcelain [Fig. 8], even some golden but common trinkets, two wooden figures, some small urns and eight pieces of bronze deities” which were already mentioned (as these objects may have been discovered in Karnak), “four mummies and two stones covered with hieroglyphic inscriptions have been found. The supervisor couldn’t bring with him the last mentioned objects, because of their big volume, but he left them in one peasant’s house. […] He related that he had had a lot of troubles with the guardians of the governmental excavations who – wanting to get often baksheesh – were menacing that a ban to the night work would be imposed. […] I am leaving the opening of the mummies and examination of the stones for tomorrow”.

In the morning of 20 January, M. Tyszkiewicz examined the above-mentioned objects: “Only one of these mummies was distinguished by beautiful adornments, and in particular I rejoiced over two beautiful ear-ornaments of gold. The reader will find a drawing of these ear-ornaments in the tables which I do intend to attach to my diary, accompanied with a short text explaining the objects.” In one of the remaining mummies are also in the Louvre Museum, inv. no. E.3673-3676; cf. Rouit 1995, 144–145, cat. nos 153–156. Tyszkiewicz 1994, 363–364. It seems that some burials of the Third Intermediate or Saitic Period (8th–6th century BC) were probably discovered during the excavations, and they contained mummies covered with mummy nets made of faience beads and figurines because such objects, originating from the collection of M. Tyszkiewicz, are kept today in the museums in Warsaw, Kaunas, and Vilnius.

Footnotes:
39 Tyszkiewicz 1994, 363–364. It seems that some burials of the Third Intermediate or Saitic Period (8th–6th century BC) were probably discovered during the excavations, and they contained mummies covered with mummy nets made of faience beads and figurines because such objects, originating from the collection of M. Tyszkiewicz, are kept today in the museums in Warsaw, Kaunas, and Vilnius.
40 These tables with drawings have so far not been found; cf. footnote 6 above.
I found nothing except for the body and the wrappings, the last two brought also little to my collection. However, the stones are beautiful and covered with well-preserved hieroglyphs. On one of the stones there are several cartouches with the names of the kings, but even with the help of the publications in my possession, treating about hieroglyphs, I am not enough fluent at reading these names. I must therefore leave a decision concerning the importance of these stones to the scholars who are more learned and more experienced in this science than me – who am just barely and after a long work, with assistance of the works of Champollion and others, able to read, letter by letter, a short and easy text.\footnote{Tyszkiewicz 1994, 369. The quoted passage informs us that M. Tyszkiewicz was surprisingly well-prepared for his Egyptian travel, taking with him some scholarly books on the hieroglyphic script, although these were of little use to somebody without specialised education in Egyptology. The stone inscribed with royal names represented with certainty a tomb stela. Except for one stone stela brought to Europe (cf. footnote 24), no other object of this kind can be identified in the known parts of Tyszkiewicz's collection. The count has probably decided against transporting too heavy or too voluminous objects, such as coffin-cases or stone statues, to Europe. Under the date of 19 January 1862, the \textit{Journal} contains a note describing how the count refused to include into his collection large or heavy objects, probably with the purpose of diminishing the costs of transport, one can presume that he decided to keep only the head of the statue.}

**Other excavations of Michał Tyszkiewicz in Egypt**

Only very scarce information in the \textit{Journal} concerns other archaeological investigations of the count during his stay in Egypt.

**Esna**

On 25 December 1861, M. Tyszkwicz arrived at Esna, where he undertook again some archaeological endeavours; however, he did not supervise the works in person: “We are going to him [the chief of the city, mudir – A.N.] to show him the firmans and to get men for digging antiquities. […] Having chosen a spot for the digging and having immediately begun the work not far away from the town, we went to the palace […]. Before the evening I am going to visit the works begun outside the town. […] Towards the evening, two tomb stones were brought to ‘Adela’, excavated for me and with hieroglyphic inscriptions. Such stones are named stelae. I’ll stay here also tomorrow in purpose of making the archaeological researches. […] (26 December) Having spent several hours with my workmen and having taken out of the earth some antiquities, I am going to my companions\footnote{Tyszkiewicz 1994, 271–273; Niwiński 1997, 206. Cf. footnote 41.}

These scarce notes do not allow any identification of the objects found in Esna in the remaining parts of Tyszkiewicz’s collection. The stelae have probably been left in Egypt.\footnote{Tyszkiewicz 1994, 325; Niwiński 1997, 208. It seems that a fragment of the above-mentioned figure representing Bes (= “Typhon”) is actually preserved in the M.K. Čiurlionis Museum of Art at Kaunas, inv. no. IM 4960 (being a deposit from the National Museum in Vilnius). The present height of the limestone sculpture is only 8.8 cm, and it represents the head of the deity. From the note by Tyszkiewicz, we know that the whole figure was “about one cubit high” (i.e. about 50 cm). The aesthetic valuation of the object by the count was not very positive; he describes it as “rather awkward one”. Knowing the fact that the count has often attempted to avoid including into his collection large or heavy objects, probably with the purpose of diminishing the costs of transport, one can presume that he decided to keep only the head of the statue.}

**Wadi es-Sebua**

In the first week of the new year 1862, M. Tyszkiewicz visited several temples in the Lower Nubia, subsequently in Philae, Kalabsha, Beit el-Wali, and Dendur. On 6 January, he made a stop to the south from Wadi es-Sebua to undertake archaeological investigations again: “Stone deities and various small ancient objects sometimes found at the foot of the rocky mountains nearby gave me the idea to stay here and try to dig and make the archaeological research. Therefore, I engaged thirty Negroes and spent the whole day digging. My principal prize was a stone figure, a rather awkward one, of the god Typhon [Fig. 9], about one cubit high. Moreover, some other small figures and fragments of stones with hieroglyphic inscriptions were excavated”.\footnote{Tyszkiewicz 1994, 369.} No further archaeological researches are mentioned in the \textit{Journal} during the Nubian travel of Tyszkiewicz. The count only visited all the monuments in Derr, Amada, Dakka, Gerf Hussein, Dabod, and Abu Simbel.
Surprisingly little was written in the Journal about these excavations; only a few last sentences written in a hurry are devoted to the subject:

“(7 February) After a short stay in Cairo, having got-ten a farewell audience by the Viceroy, and having spent some days on the desert of Saqqara, where I was successful to excavate a large number of beautiful bronzes, I decided to come back to Europe, and soon after I left Egypt on the beautiful English steamer ‘Massilia’. […] In Cairo, besides the things excavated by me, I succeeded also in purchasing a pretty big number of beautiful bronzes originating, too, from the excavations at Saqqara. The Atlas shall include these as well”.45

The collection of Egyptian antiquities

The whole collection of M. Tyszkiewicz brought to Europe can be estimated at no less than 800 objects, mostly small ones. With the exception of one stela, all the other large stone objects excavated or purchased in Egypt were left there. One statue was presented to the Museum of Bulaq.46 The largest objects transported to Europe were the cartonnage case of Lady Nehemes-Bastet (National Museum in Warsaw, inv. no. MNW 141987), the wooden mummy-cover (Louvre, E.3859), and the wooden stool (Louvre, E.3858, currently on loan in the National Museum in Warsaw). The famous basalt ‘healing statue’ covered with magical texts (Louvre, E.10777) was purchased by the count only in 1897; its provenance remains unknown. Nothing is known about the second journey of M. Tyszkiewicz to Egypt in 1867.

Following the subsequent investigations on the fate of M. Tyszkiewicz’s collection of Egyptian antiquities, it is possible to trace a total of 453 pieces brought by him from Egypt in 1862: two are in London, four in Boston, 121 in Warsaw, 124 in Lithuania, and 202 in Paris. The present location of 18 objects sold at an auction in 1898, listed by W. Fröhner in his catalogue, is unknown; they included a golden ring and two silver representations of the Ba – soul. Under the pretext of protecting the museum collection in case of a war with Germany, 223 small objects were taken away in 1867 from the Museum of Antiquities in Vilnius. At present, they are kept in Moscow in the Pushkin Museum. The warfare on the French-German front line resulted in the plundering and destruction of the town Peronne on the river Somme, where two bronze statuettes from Tyszkiewicz’s collection in the Louvre were deposited in the Alfred Danicourt Museum. This museum was completely plundered by German soldiers in 1914; one can presume that at present the objects are in private hands. The register of war losses suffered by the National Museum in Warsaw in the course of World War II47 includes 81 objects from the collection of Tyszkiewicz: two wooden figurines (over 30 cm in height), three ushabti funerary figurines, a small vessel, and 75 small figurines and amulets. Imaginably, these objects are now in private possession as well.

The Journal contains a description, left by Tyszkiewicz, of a dozen-odd more remarkable pieces, distinguished by their shape, material, and beauty. It is significant that, unfortunately, next to nothing is known about the majority of these objects. Their list is given below:

- a gold scarab, and another scarab set in gold, found on 17 November 1861 with a mummy unwrapped in the house of the consul of Russia, E. Lavisson;
- a bow and three batons of wood from the same source;

45 Tyszkiewicz 1994, 410. The bronzes purchased by the count in Cairo probably belonged to the collection of Dr Meymar, mentioned in Tyszkiewicz 1898, 1.

46 Now in the Cairo Egyptian Museum, cat. no. CG 725, cf. Borchardt 1930.

• a silver plate with a representation of a weeping eye from a mummy presented to Tyszkiewicz by Mustapha Aga on 14 December 1861;
• a wooden box inlaid with ivory and decorated with a design of small incised circles, found at Karnak on 14 December 1861;
• a spherical vessel of copper, gilded inside, found at Karnak on the same day;
• a gold ring “with an uncut emerald” (probably a semi-precious stone), found at Karnak on the same day;
• a gold statuette of Amon-Re, found at Karnak on 15 December 1861;
• “numerous gold jewels and figurines of deities made of lapis-lazuli, stout gold ear-rings, two rings, a gold plaque with a hieroglyphic inscription, a bracelet of amethysts and carnelians, a bracelet in the form of a serpent, a figure of the god Sawak (Anubis) made of crystal” – all this found on the mummy of Lady Nehemes-Bastet discovered above the entrance of the tomb on 17 December;
• two stelae with hieroglyphic inscriptions (one with royal cartouches) – handed over to Tyszkiewicz on 19 January 1862;
• an inscribed golden ring composed together with a “porcelain goose”, a work of the dealer Teodorus, bought by Tyszkiewicz on 19 January 1862.

There are reasons to believe that Tyszkiewicz left the wooden batons and the bow, similarly to the two stone stelae, in the Bulaq Museum. All the other, more valuable pieces M. Tyszkiewicz may have kept for himself. Some of them may have been offered as gifts to his closest family members (he was married twice), whereas some of the others were presumably sold.

To sum up, one may estimate that of the collection of Egyptian antiquities brought by M. Tyszkiewicz from his travel to Egypt and Nubia in 1862 – some 800 pieces in total – 453 items are now held by several museums across the world.

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