

Wilhelm Spiegelberg

a life in Egyptology

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Wilhelm Spiegelberg in 1899, aged 29

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Foreword

My quest to find out about the life and achievements of my great uncle, Wilhelm Spiegelberg, began with a chance email from his granddaughter, Lynne Morgan. Lynne informed me she was moving house from the east to the west coast of the United States and was keen to slim down a trunk full of ‘mouldering’ books and documents once belonging to her grandfather. This seemed a good opportunity to begin my project. At this stage, I must declare an interest. My family connection with Wilhelm is twofold—he was the older brother of my grandfather, Georg(e)¹ Spiegelberg, and was married to his wife’s (my grandmother’s) older sister, Elisabeth (Lise) von Recklinghausen. Throughout I refer to my great uncle as Wilhelm—intending no disrespect. I am well aware that this would not have been the way he would have been addressed in his native Germany either by a much younger member of his family or by a professional colleague or acquaintance. Nevertheless, it seemed to me that 21st century practice called for a less formal and more familiar form of address.

From the start of this project, I have received help and encouragement from numerous sources (apart from Lynne and her brother-in-law, Clarence Butler), notably from the Griffith Institute in Oxford, the Institute of Oriental Studies in Chicago, the Institut d’égyptologie in Strasbourg, the Institut für Ägyptologie in Munich, the Petrie Museum at London’s University College, the Liverpool World Museum, the Egyptian Exploration Society and the British Museum. It has been gratifying to discover how much interest and awareness there is today on both sides of the Atlantic among the academic community of the contribution made by Wilhelm Spiegelberg to Egyptology and Demotic studies.

1 He anglicised his Christian name to ‘George’ around the time he migrated from Hanover to England.

It is worth putting into context the enormous interest in Egypt and Egyptology in the final decade of the 19th century and the first three decades of the 20th century which spanned Wilhelm Spiegelberg's career as an Egyptologist and Demotic scholar. The decipherment of Egyptian hieroglyphs, thanks to the work of the Frenchman Jean François Champollion and the Englishman Thomas Young which culminated in the former's announcement in 1822 of the transliteration of the Egyptian scripts on the Rosetta Stone², made it possible for the first time to make sense of ancient Egyptian texts and opened up whole new fields of study for Egyptologists and language scholars. For the first time, it was becoming possible to put into historical context the objects and sites which archaeologists were discovering, as well as developing a much more detailed understanding from ancient texts and inscriptions of the social, cultural and religious life of the ancient Egyptians. Universities across Europe (notably in Germany, France and the UK), as well as in the United States, were eager to get in on the act, creating departments of Egyptology, appointing Chairs of Egyptology for the first time and building large collections of Egyptian antiquities. At this time, the excavation of ancient Egyptian burial sites and temples was still loosely regulated³ (by today's standards) and it was possible for dealers and collectors to acquire large quantities of the finds from excavations for shipment to Europe and North America ending up in museums, universities and private collections. Wealthy individual patrons (such as the Mancunian

2 The Rosetta Stone contains a decree issued in 196 BC on behalf of Ptolemy V. The decree is inscribed on the stone three times, in hieroglyphic (suitable for a priestly decree), Demotic (the native script used for daily purposes) and Greek (the language of the administration). It was discovered by soldiers in Napoleon's army in 1799 and handed over to the British under the terms of the Treaty of Alexandria in 1801. It has been exhibited in the British Museum since 1802.

3 Until the mid-19th century, there was no regulation of the antiquities trade in Egypt. Thousands of artifacts, from jewelry and statuettes to reliefs and even entire monuments, were taken from their ancient contexts and shipped to private and museum collections around the world. The Western demand for pharaonic artifacts was intensified by the Napoleonic Expedition (1798-1801) and the subsequent publication of the multi-volume *Description de l'Égypte*, which stimulated global interest in Egypt and its ancient monuments. The first step toward the control of Egyptian antiquities was taken on 15 August 1835, when the ruler of Egypt, Mohamed Ali, issued a decree banning the unauthorized removal of antiquities from the country. This decree also designated a building in the Ezbekiah Gardens, Cairo, to serve as a storehouse for artifacts. Unfortunately, these antiquities were

benefactor Jesse Haworth, who assisted Flinders Petrie, and Wilhelm's English patrons, the Marquis of Northampton and the Earl of Carnarvon) played an important role in this—bankrolling excavations and receiving in return a share of the finds. The scale of activity and interest among the main players—universities, archaeologists, museums and individual patrons/collectors—led, at times, to a frantically competitive scramble, often in conditions of great secrecy. This manifested itself too in intense cultural and political rivalries at government level between France, Germany, the UK and the United States.

Though he died in Munich on 23 December 1930 at the relatively young age of 60 from complications after an operation which appeared to have had a good outcome, Wilhelm played a central role in the early development of Demotic studies at a time when the whole field of Egyptology had barely reached adulthood, and Demotic, seen with suspicion by some academics as a dubious field of study, was regarded as a tributary of Egyptian archaeology. Wilhelm did much to set Demotic studies in the mainstream of Egyptology. Among his achievements is a vast collection of published works (over 500), including his seminal Demotic Grammar and Coptic Dictionary. He wrote hundreds of articles for all the leading journals of his day—159, more than any other author, for the *Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache (ZÄS)*⁴ alone. He translated and published many important literary texts which had hitherto been neglected from collections all over Europe.

often given by Egyptian rulers to foreign dignitaries as gifts, and by the mid-1800s, the collection was so small that it could be housed in a single room at the Citadel. In 1855 what remained of the collection was presented by Abbas Pasha as a gift to the Austrian Archduke Maximilian. In 1858, Said Pasha, then Viceroy of Egypt, approved the creation of the Antiquities Service (officially the *Service des Antiquités*) to stem the continuing illicit trade in Egyptian artifacts, and appointed French scholar Auguste Mariette as its director. This new governmental department was responsible for carrying out its own excavations, and also for approving and supervising foreign archaeological missions. Mariette created the first national museum in the Near East, which opened in 1863 in an old City Transit Authority building in the Boulaq section of Cairo. For almost a century, the Antiquities Service was headed by French scholars. In the early 1950s, when British colonial troops finally left Egypt, the Antiquities Service truly became an Egyptian-run organization. Source: *Cairo Museum website*

4 *Who Was Who in Egyptology*

In use from around 650 BC until the middle of the fifth century AD, Demotic served as the language for a wide variety of text types⁵. These include documentary texts (such as business and legal documents, private letters and administrative inscriptions) and literary texts, including not only works of literature but also religious and scientific texts dealing with topics such as astronomy, mathematics and medicine. Demotic texts not only provide important witnesses for the development of ancient Egyptian linguistic and palaeographical traditions but also constitute an indispensable source for reconstructing the social, political, and cultural life of ancient Egypt during a fascinating period of its history—the post-pharaonic years when Egypt was under the rule of Persian and Macedonian kings and later the Ptolemies.

Wilhelm did important work in every branch of Egyptology. In the years he spent in Egypt during the two decades preceding the outbreak of the First World War, he was an indispensable expert to have on an excavation team, who could decipher and translate the inscriptions and texts found on ostraca, stele, mummy labels, papyri and other items. For example, he assisted Sir Flinders Petrie (1853-1942), pioneer of systematic methodology in archaeology and the first holder of a Chair in Egyptology at a British university (University College, London), in discovering in 1896 the first documented instance of the name Israel, which was found on the Victory Stele in the Theban Temple of Merenptah (ancient Egyptian king, 1213-1203 BC).

He was involved in a similar role in expeditions to the Theban necropolis (part of today's Luxor) financed and organized by the 5th Marquis of Northampton (1898-99) and the 5th Earl of Carnarvon (1907-11)—the latter, with Howard Carter⁶, responsible for the sensational discovery of the tomb of Tutankhamun in 1922. According to Dr Richard Jasnow of Johns Hopkins University⁷, “the young Spiegelberg spent much of the 1890s in Egypt, especially in Thebes. He roamed these hills hunting for graffiti.....At

5 Source: website of the Oriental Institute, Chicago University

6 Howard Carter (1874-1939) arrived in Egypt in 1892 and began work as a 17 year old 'tracer' with rudimentary education, progressing to become the first Chief Inspector of Antiquities in Upper Egypt. His legendary partnership with Lord Carnarvon led to the discovery in November 1922 of the tomb of Tutankhamun.

7 Address to the 12th International Congress of Demotic Studies, Würzburg, 2014

Dra Abu El-Naga he worked closely with his English friend Percy Newberry⁸, who incidentally referred to him as ‘Spiegie.’ Spiegelberg’s conversion to Demotic occurred during this immensely joyous and productive period of his life.”

Wilhelm’s legacy can also be found today in the extraordinary collection of papyri and other Egyptian antiquities housed in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Strasbourg. This was largely the work of Wilhelm, who during his tenure at Strasbourg University before 1914 and with a budget of 12,000 Kaiser Marks provided by the German state, was mandated to build a museum-scale Egyptian collection of more than 5,000 papyri, as well as other artifacts, for the benefit of students and academics alike. Today, Strasbourg is the only university in France where students can learn with direct access to authentic ancient Egyptian objects.

Wilhelm has been described as a ‘giant’ of Egyptology⁹ and one of the ten leading Egyptologists of all time¹⁰. His obituary in the *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*¹¹ recorded that he died ‘at a time when his age and the activity of his mind served to indicate that he might still have before him 15 years or more of precious work for Egyptology. Every branch of the science—Demotic, perhaps more than any other—is under obligations to him for contributions of solid, scholarly work. His was a keen, alert mind, and though he always had some *magnum opus* in hand he was never so much preoccupied by it to make and publish valuable observations on other branches of the subject. To the gifts of the scholar he added a courtesy of manner which won for him the sympathy of all who met him. The loss to Egyptology is irreparable.’

Writing in *The Times*¹², Sir Alan Gardiner¹³ described Wilhelm as ‘a tireless editor of hitherto unknown Demotic texts and a seemingly perennial

8 Percy Newberry (1869-1949). British Egyptologist and botanist who worked extensively with Howard Carter in Egypt from 1891 and later on the Tutankhamun excavation team. Brunner Professor of Egyptology at Liverpool University.

9 Frédéric Colin:—‘Comment la création d’une ‘bibliothèque de papyrus’ à Strasbourg compensa la perte des manuscrits précieux brûlés dans le siège de 1870’, *La revue de la BNU* 2, 2010, p. 24-47

10 Source: Dr Francisco Bosch-Puche in conversation with the author

11 *JEA* Volume XVII, 1931

12 *The Times*, 29 December, 1930

13 see footnote 67

source of new ideas and philological discoveries... [He] was a scholar who wrote principally for scholars, though... he was by no means lacking in a talent for popularization... To these great merits as a scholar, Spiegelberg added those of a most charming and high-minded personality. He was unrivalled in the generosity with which he disposed of his abundant stores of knowledge, and in the appreciation which he bestowed upon the efforts of his colleagues. Though frank in his judgements, they were given without personal animus, and he not seldom went out of his way to say, both in print and by way of letter, a kind thing that others would have left unsaid.'

At the time of his death, Wilhelm was working on a large-scale dictionary of the Demotic language which he described to Alan Gardiner in a letter two weeks before his death, 'evidently written in the best of spirits and breathing that enthusiasm which was one of his most endearing characteristics'.¹⁴ His working papers and materials on this project were handed over to his pupil and admirer, William Edgerton (1893-1970) at the Oriental Institute of Chicago University where work on a Demotic dictionary continues today under Professor Janet Johnson. Edgerton in his tribute¹⁵ to Wilhelm referred to the latter's 'warm hearted generosity and utter freedom from vanity and self-seeking.'

Wilhelm's contribution extended far beyond the arid, academic confines of his chosen subject. He clearly felt he had a mission to illuminate and explain the world of the ancient Egyptians, lifting the veil, as he put it, 'which has dominated the world for more than two thousand years.' He had a profound interest in their art and social conditions. He played a significant role in helping Thomas Mann, the Nobel Laureate, animate the characters in the novelist's monumental tetralogy, *Joseph and his Brothers*, and give the work its authenticity.

It is also worth noting the extraordinary upheaval caused by the First World War and the manner in which Wilhelm dealt with it, 'arousing in him', according to Edgerton, 'no personal animosity, but only a humane regret that the opportunity for promoting peace and good will among men should have been so tragically neglected.' At the end of the war, he and his family were forced to leave the house they had built in 1910 in Strasbourg's Daniel Hirtzstrasse (no. 17) which was confiscated for reparations under the terms

14 The Times, 29 December, 1930

15 American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures, Vol. 47 No 4. July 1931

of the Treaty of Versailles when Alsace-Lorraine reverted to France. They went at first to Heidelberg where Wilhelm prepared his Coptic Dictionary and Demotic Grammar before moving to Munich University in 1923 where he became Professor of Egyptology against initial opposition from Nazi-supporting members of the faculty and student body. There he founded the University's Institute of Egyptology. Wilhelm is today recognized in Munich with a street named after him.

Hanover and Strasbourg

Wilhelm was born in Hanover on 25 June 1870, the son of Eduard Spiegelberg (1837-1910), a banker¹⁶, and Antonie (1846-1902)—he was the second of four brothers. His mother, Antonie (née Dux) from a family of cloth merchants in Hildesheim, was, according to a family memoir by Wilhelm’s cousin Julius Kohsen, ‘small, blonde, with a rosy, firm featured face, the beauty of the family.’ Eduard, according to Kohsen, ‘towered above her, had a sounder constitution, and much bigger feet.’ ‘Uncle Eduard was a kind of Grandseigneur of the business world—privately he did not care for ostentation. Unlike his associates, he refused the easily obtained title of *Kommerzienrat* issued to distinguished businessmen.’ He was a notable philanthropist, giving money to the founding of a Jewish hospital in Hanover¹⁷ to mark his 70th birthday in 1907 and in memory of Antonie who died of cancer five years earlier at the age of 55. He also helped finance the construction of Hanover’s new City Hall (*Neues Rathaus*), with its unique arched lift to the top of the dome. It took 12 years to build, cost 10 million marks and was officially opened after Eduard’s death by Kaiser Wilhelm II in 1913.

The Spiegelbergs lived in a large, imposing house with a sizeable conservatory and garden on Kurzestrasse (no. 2) in an affluent part of the city. According to Wilhelm’s niece, Mary Burne, the household

16 He was senior partner of Ephraim Meyer & Sohne, the leading bank in Hanover until it collapsed after World War I during the period of hyperinflation, with Wilhelm’s older brother, John, in charge. Wilhelm’s youngest brother, Erich, was a qualified doctor who later fell on hard times after losing much of his inherited fortune in the 1920s. He took his own life.

17 On the death of his father in 1910, Wilhelm’s younger brother, George, gave £1,000 to the Manchester Infirmary in the UK for cancer patients to be called the Eduard and Antonie Spiegelberg bed, dedicated to the memory of his parents (both of whom died of cancer).

comprised ‘very superior housekeepers, a manservant and snappy little dachshunds.’ Inside, the décor was heavily Victorian—large brown furniture and red velvet curtains. Little is known of Antonie aside from her sedulous thrift—she made a habit of turning off all the lights which Eduard on entering the house had just turned on, much to the amusement of Wilhelm who was fond of quoting his father’s maxim: “You (*meaning his descendants*) are not rich enough (*to be able to afford*) to buy cheap things.” Thanks to his father’s considerable wealth, Wilhelm was able to pursue his studies and early career as an Egyptologist.



Eduard Spiegelberg’s 70th birthday in Wiesbaden, 1907. Standing: Erich (in uniform), Eduard, Fanny and George; seated: John (left) and Wilhelm (right)



The Spiegelberg family home on Kurzestrasse, Hanover

Wilhelm developed an early interest in Egyptology at his Gymnasium (secondary school), inspired, according to his son Herbert¹⁸, by the novels of the semi-professional Egyptologist, Georg Ebers. Wilhelm began his career as an Egyptologist and Demotic scholar in Strasbourg at the age of 18 as a pupil of Johannes Dümichen (1833-1894). His choice of Strasbourg was partly out of respect for Dümichen who had worked extensively in Egypt over the previous three years and was a noted Egyptologist and philologist. Otto Rubensohn (1867-1964)¹⁹, a school friend three years older than Wilhelm and a classical archaeologist who earned his doctorate at Strasbourg under the supervision of Adolf Michaelis (1835-1910), was another reason for him choosing Strasbourg.

Wilhelm was also influenced by the growing reputation of the University which had been taken over by the Germans after the Franco-Prussian War with the annexation of Alsace-Lorraine. It was reopened or re-founded in 1872 as the Kaiser-Wilhelms-Universität. During this time, the University was expanded with a new library linked with the Imperial Palace to become a showcase of German culture in the heart of former French territory. At the same time, there was an influx of German academics compensating for a western exodus of francophone teachers.

Dümichen had been appointed to the newly created Chair of Egyptology at Strasbourg in 1872 to compete with its famous counterpart at the Collège de France. The formation of an Egyptology department at Strasbourg was clearly an outcome of the intense political, intellectual and cultural rivalry between France and Germany following the Franco-Prussian war—it was designed to become a shop window of all that was best in German Egyptology. Such was its growing reputation that it attracted jealousy and resentment from other German universities—Alfred Erman (1854-1937), the renowned Egyptologist and lexicographer

18 Family memoirs by Herbert Spiegelberg of his parents, Wilhelm and Elisabeth. His memoir of Wilhelm can be found on the website of Strasbourg University's Institut d'égyptologie-- <http://egypte.unistra.fr/la-collection-de-linstitut-degyptologie/wilhelm-spiegelberg/> The website describes Wilhelm as: 'un savant allemand de stature mondiale, ardent acteur de la coopération scientifique internationale – et alsacien d'adoption qui avait fait de Strasbourg sa petite patrie.'

19 He conducted excavations for papyri at Elephantine (upper Egypt) in 1901-07, collaborating with Wilhelm.

in Berlin where Wilhelm continued his studies, referred acidly to his counterparts in Strasbourg as *dummlichen* (simpletons).

It is also possible that Wilhelm might have been put off going to a university closer to his home town—Göttingen with a strong reputation for Egyptology would have been a possibility—because of anti-Prussian feeling in Hanover which became part of Prussia paying a heavy price for Bismarck's annexation in 1866. Prussia's institutionalized anti-semitism may have also preyed on his mind. 'Whatever the explanation might be,' according to Sven Vleeming²⁰, 'Europe was young in 1888, Germany was a young state, and Strasbourg was its youngest university. Egyptology was a young discipline, and at the end of April 1888 Wilhelm Spiegelberg was its youngest novice.'

Wilhelm spent his first year as an undergraduate in Strasbourg attending Dümichen's lectures on Egyptian hieroglyphic and hieratic texts (the latter being the cursive script used in the pharaonic period before the advent of Demotic around 660 BC). In 1889, he enrolled at the Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität in Berlin, attracted there by the prospect of attending the lectures of Adolf Erman. His year in Berlin significantly also brought him in contact with Heinrich Karl Brugsch (1827-1894), son of a Prussian cavalry officer, one time Director of the School of Egyptology in Cairo and a pioneer of the decipherment of the Demotic language—he published a Demotic grammar at the age of 16 and was the first to translate from Demotic one of the classics of Egyptian literature, the story of Setne.

A year later, Wilhelm was back in Strasbourg and in the summer of 1890 went on a tour to Liverpool and London gathering material for his thesis. In Liverpool, he translated the Mayer Papyrus²¹, containing

20 *Spiegelberg in Strasbourg: Enchoria: Zeitschrift für Demotistik und Koptologie*, 1982

21 Liverpool's Egyptology collection began with goldsmith Joseph Mayer opening his Egyptian Museum in 1852. His collection was based on purchases of important collections made by diplomats and travellers in the early 1800s, such as Henry Salt, British Consul General in Cairo. In 1867, he donated the collection to The Liverpool Free Library and Museum (now World Museum) then making it the most important public Egyptology collection in Britain after the British Museum. The collection includes items of great historical importance such as the 'Ramesses Girdle' and the second largest holding of tomb robbery papyri, 'Mayer A and B'.

records of court proceedings in the reign of Ramesses X (1108-1099 BC), one of the last Pharaohs of the XXth Dynasty, and the manner in which tomb robbers were brutally dealt with. At the British Museum he worked on many texts including the Abbott Papyrus (XXth Dynasty), also recording details of tomb robberies in the Theban necropolis at the time of Ramesses IX(1126-1108 BC).

Wilhelm's correspondence²² with the Liverpool museum reveals how diligently, single-mindedly and speedily he set about his task of translating the Liverpool papyrus. It provides a fascinating glimpse into his character and how fastidious the ambitious 20 year old savant was at this stage in pursuing his life long mission to decipher and translate ancient texts for the first time—ending, as he put it, 'the silence of almost 30 centuries' and making sure that the mysteries of this ancient civilization could be unravelled and brought to the attention of scholars and the public at large. 'And now,' he wrote, 'we will let the Papyrus speak for itself.'

A letter from the Keeper of Oriental Antiquities at the British Museum (Sir Peter le Page Renouf²³) unlocked the door to the Mayer Papyrus in Liverpool. On the strength of an introduction from Professor Dümichen, Wilhelm had been allowed to copy some of the papyri in the British Museum—'I have not the least doubt of his respectability,' wrote le Page Renouf to Dr Higgins at the Liverpool museum (13 February, 1891).

Wilhelm got to work in Liverpool in the early part of 1891—he spent eight days studying the text. In a letter (5 February, 1891) to Peter Entwistle, Assistant Curator at the Museum, enclosing his promised translation and urging the museum to publish his work ('publication would render to science a service of the greatest value'), he makes specific requests about the manner and form in which the translation was to be published, insisting on his retaining the right to publish.

22 I am very grateful to Ashley Cooke, Head of Antiquities and Curator of Egyptology at the Liverpool World Museum, for providing copies of Wilhelm's correspondence and granting permission for quotation.

23 Sir Peter le Page Renouf (1822-1897) Keeper of Oriental Antiquities at the British Museum. He was succeeded by E A Wallis Budge, his understudy with whom he had an acrimonious relationship. He didn't want Budge to succeed him as Keeper, through a perceived lack of social skills (Budge didn't come from a privileged background) and doubts about his abilities, preferring Edouard Naville instead.

It seems to me of the greatest importance that I be assured of the sole right of publishing the Papyrus, in case it is to be published, and I would like to make urgent that you make over to me this right, in any form you wish, in the words in which you give these papers to the public. For in this translation I let go out of my hand the key to the deciphering of the Papyrus, so that now its publication is made possible to everyone.

The Liverpool museum duly gave its consent to publication--it was printed and published by the end of March under the title: *Museum Report No 5--Mayer Collection Report No 1; Translation of Hieratic Papyri, Mayer A & B*. In his conclusion to the publication, Wilhelm wrote:

In all these documents we are allowed glimpses into the social conditions of Egypt at the end of the XXth Dynasty. The sight is a mournful one; for we see the symptoms of a State already sick unto death. Such pains as these a physician can mitigate for a time, but not cure. At last under the Psammetichids (663-625 BC), after many a storm, just as the kingdom seemed to have again reached its former glory, the finishing stroke came. The Persian king trod the soil of Egypt with his victorious army and the succession of foreign rulers began, under whose sway the dwellers in the Nile valley have bowed their necks until the present time.

In November 1891, Wilhelm graduated from Strasbourg University after his thesis²⁴ had been passed by the examiners. Soon after graduation, he went to Paris where he met and attended lectures by Gaston Maspero (1846-1916), former Director-General of Egypt's Antiquities Service. It was he who in 1907 introduced Howard Carter to Carnarvon to keep a professional archaeological eye on his British patron on the grounds that he (Carter) was "cheaply available"²⁵. Maspero is thought to have helped procure access for Wilhelm to the Rollin Papyrus (1350 BC) held in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris which was the intended subject for his *Habilitationsschrift* (professorial thesis).

The following two years Wilhelm spent between Paris, Berlin and Strasbourg working on his *Habilitationsschrift*, attending lectures and

24 *Studien und Materialien zum Rechtswesen des Pharaonenreiches der Dynastien XVIII-XXI*, Hanover 1892 (dissertation) – Studies on the law of the Pharaohs of the dynasties XVIII-XXI (1550-945 BC)

25 Source: *Tutankhamun: The Untold Story* by Thomas Hoving

translating and copying texts, including an enormous private collection²⁶ of Demotic mummy-labels. On 7 February, 1894, news came to him in Paris of the death of Dümichen, creating a vacancy in Egyptology at Strasbourg. The response of the faculty was to keep the Chair vacant, mindful that Wilhelm, an obvious candidate for the post was too young (only 23) and as yet unqualified to succeed his admired teacher and mentor—he had not yet submitted his *Habilitationsschrift*, though it was well under way. On 1 August, Wilhelm, supported by two prominent members of the faculty (Michaelis and the orientalist Theodor Nöldeke (1836-1930)), was appointed *Privat-Dozent*, an unsalaried lecturer without professorial status.

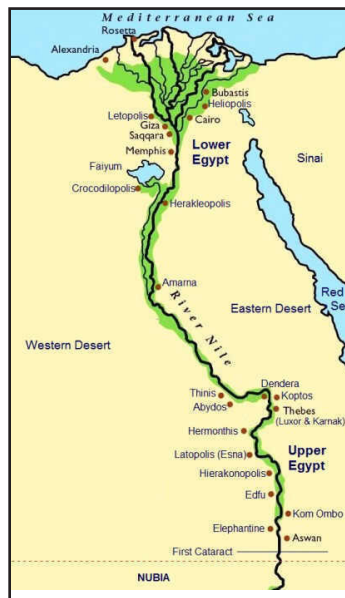
The German Reich: 1871-1918



26 owned by Dr R Forrer of Strasbourg

Thebes

Wilhelm's appointment to the faculty of Strasbourg University proved a critical starting point for successive expeditions to the Theban necropolis on the west bank of the Nile opposite the town of Luxor. Once the capital of Egypt, Thebes had been the profitable hunting ground of tomb robbers since time immemorial, later local antiquities dealers and more recently archaeologists. 'No ancient site,' wrote Lord Carnarvon²⁷ with some prescience ten years before the discovery of Tutankhamun, 'has yielded a greater harvest of antiquities than this famous stretch of rocky land...The information that has been gleaned from its temple walls and tombs has enabled scholars to trace, point by point, the history of the city from at least 2500 BC to Ptolemaic times'.



27 *Five Years' Explorations at Thebes: A Record of Work Done 1907-1911*

Wilhelm was encouraged to embark on a series of visits to Egypt by his senior colleagues at the University. These enabled him to obtain valuable archaeological experience on the ground, bringing him into contact with leading Egyptologists of the day and building valuable relationships with scholars, patrons and collectors from across Europe and the United States. Furthermore, he was able to deploy his expertise and the use of public funds to begin building his University's very considerable collection of Egyptian papyri and other antiquities. In this respect, his relationship with Sir Flinders Petrie proved to be providential.

Wilhelm first visited Egypt in the winter of 1895/96, staying in Cairo and then travelling on to Luxor. There he joined Petrie and his colleague, James Quibell (1867-1935), a fellow British Egyptologist who later became an Inspector (with Carter) of Egypt's Department of Antiquities. In the official record²⁸ of his 1896 Theban excavations, Petrie described some of the challenging features that he encountered.

Repeatedly ransacked as the region of Thebes has been in all past times, there yet remain a few parts which have been examined, if at all. The cemetery has been turned over and over by every plunderer, from the old Egyptian down to the Coptic dealer of last year; but the temple sites, from their wide extent and the paucity of small objects to be found in them, have been but little searched.... As soon as we began to find antiquities, it was evident that the previous engagement of these local workers to the various dealers of Thebes took precedence of their engagement to me. Thus half or more of what they found was abstracted for their old friends... This system was quickly defeated by dismissing all the local workers, excepting a few boys and negroes, and bringing in a far larger garrison from Koptos... Thus for two months, we completely defeated the endless machinations of the Luxor and Qurneh dealers, and the petty terrorism they tried to exercise. Nothing short of a good garrison of trained workers from a distance, entrenched upon the work, kept in hand day and night with good *esprit de corps*, prohibited under pain of dismissal from going to the villages around, together with continual watchfulness, a free use of fire arms at night—nothing short of this will suffice for excavations at Thebes.

Where he could find a trustworthy overseer—as he did with Ali es Suefi—Petrie put him 'on all the best places and he got about half of

28 *Six Temples at Thebes, 1896*

all the *bakhshish* (tips) for the season as his reward.’ ‘When you have an honest man, make it worth his while to continue so,’ wrote Petrie. Ali was to become his devoted companion and friend, ‘one of the meekest, most conscientiously obliging lads I ever knew’. ‘As far as character goes he is really more to me than almost any of my own race.’

Staying conveniently nearby studying graffiti of the Ramesside period, Wilhelm was readily available to work on whatever inscriptions came to light from Petrie’s excavations, making rapid translations. The *coup d’éclat*—‘the great prize’ of their combined efforts—came about with the ‘Israel’ inscription. Flinders Petrie writing in his *Seventy Years in Archaeology* takes up the story:

The great discovery was the large triumphal inscription of Merenptah naming the Israelites.I had the ground cut away below, blocking up the stele on stones, so that one could crawl in and lie on one’s back, reading a few inches from one’s nose. For inscriptions, Spiegelberg was at hand, looking over all new material. He lay there copying for an afternoon, and came out saying, “there are names of various Syrian towns, and one which I do not know, Isirar.” “Why, that is Israel,” said I. “So it is, and won’t the reverends be pleased,” was his reply.

At dinner that evening, Petrie prophesied: ‘This stele²⁹ will be known in the world more than anything else I have found.’ It was the first mention of the word ‘Israel’ in any Egyptian text and the news made headlines when it reached the English papers, including *The Times* (9 April, 1896). Here was strong evidence, if not proof, that Merenptah had fought the people of Israel, apparently in Palestine.

Wilhelm copied and translated the inscription, one of the longest and most complete found at the time, and published it in the *ZÄS*. Petrie commented on how ‘fully he has laboured at the material which we collected, in Egypt, and afterwards in England and Germany.’

29 Now in the collection of the Egyptian Museum in Cairo, the stele is a black granite slab, over 3 meters high. Most of the text glorifies Merenptah’s victories over enemies from Libya and their Sea People allies, but the final two lines mention a campaign in Canaan, where Merenptah says he defeated and destroyed Ashkalon, Gezer, Yanoam and Israel. The final line reads in translation: ‘The people of Israel is laid waste, without seed.’

Merenptah is thought to have been the Pharaoh at the time of the Exodus. He was the son and successor of Ramesses II.



Merenptah, Pharaoh at the time of the Exodus, and part of the inscription from the stele mentioning Israel



The Merenptah stele in the Cairo Museum

Seventeen years older than Wilhelm, Petrie forged a close relationship with the young German scholar. ‘He is the pleasantest German I know next to (Alfred) Weidemann (German Egyptologist, 1856-1936), for absence of their usual bumptiousness³⁰, wrote Petrie. This relationship bore fruit. Petrie arranged for a substantial quantity of finds (seven crates) from this and other Egyptian excavations (Nagada and Ballas, as well as the Ramesseum) to be shipped to Strasbourg University in the autumn of 1896. For this, Petrie was awarded an honorary doctorate (*doctor honoris causa*) by the University on 22 July 1897³¹.

At this time, Quibell was working at the Ramesseum, the great temple built by Ramesses II and one of the most impressive monuments of the Theban necropolis. In his account of the excavations there³², Quibell describes the special contribution of Wilhelm ‘who gave us much help both in Egypt and in England. At Thebes he often came to us in the evening, after his own work of searching for graffiti, and gave us rapid translations of such inscriptions as we had found. ...It should be stated that while using the English method of transcriptions for English readers, Dr Spiegelberg retains his preference for the more rigorous German methods. Nor must I forget to mention the extreme rapidity with which he has written his description of the plates.’ In the following summer, Wilhelm came to London and worked over the material at University College for publication.

30 Margaret Drower—*Flinders Petrie: a life in archaeology* (1985)

31 Petrie makes no reference to this in his autobiography (*Seventy Years in Archaeology*) or to his role in helping Wilhelm amass the Strasbourg collection of Egyptian antiquities. Could this be because he didn’t want to appear unpatriotic in allocating the finds from his Theban excavations at this time? Or did he want to avoid upsetting his British colleagues and sources of funding? Dr Alice Stevenson, Curator of the Petrie Museum of Egyptian Archaeology, has this interesting explanation and clarification: “It may be that by the time of writing *Seventy Years* in the late 1920s/early 1930s, in post-war Europe that there was an element of reluctance on Petrie’s part to acknowledge such links to Germany. This certainly wasn’t the case in the 19th century and I note that in several of Petrie’s archaeological memoirs that he acknowledges honorary awards. For instance his 1896 Koptos publication notes under his name in the frontispiece that he was a ‘member of the Imperial German Archaeological Institute’. The distribution records and annual reports are also very transparent when it comes to listing Strasbourg as a destination for excavated antiquities. It is an interesting observation that later in life it was not acknowledged.”

32 *The Ramesseum*—Wilhelm Spiegelberg, James Quibell and R.F.E. Paget

During that same winter (from December 1895 to January 1896) Wilhelm and Newberry discovered the site of the funerary chapel of Amenophis I (also known as Amenhotep I, the second Pharaoh of the 18th Dynasty who reigned from 1526-1506 BC)³³. In a letter to Newberry (27 February, 1896), Quibell wrote:

‘You’re the only people doing brilliantly this year.’

This discovery inevitably attracted the attention of dealers and, no doubt, tomb robbers. In a letter from Hanover (30 December, 1896), Wilhelm wrote to Newberry expressing his concern:

I got a letter from Edris³⁴ telling that an Arab found in the neighbourhood of the temple of Amenhotep I a fragmentary statue with the cartouche³⁵ of Ahmes Nefertari (mother of Amenhotep) taken by the effendi of the museum. Perhaps you may know something about it by Mr Daressy³⁶. You also oblige me very much if you would see occasionally if there on the spot of the temple is something made (sic) by dealers or other people.

Wilhelm also worked at the tomb-chapel of Hery (TT12)³⁷ in the central area of Dra Abu el-Naga in the Theban necropolis. This tomb-chapel dates back to the early XVIIIth Dynasty (around 1600 BC). Hery was the overseer of the granary of the royal wife and king’s mother (Ahhotep). The site was first visited in 1829, according to modern records, by Jean François Champollion (1790-1832), the French scholar best known for having deciphered and translated the hieroglyphs on the Rosetta Stone, now in the British Museum.

Wilhelm reopened the tomb-chapel and made a record of the banquet scene in a set of ‘squeezes’, comprising sheets of dampened thick porous paper pressed against the relief. Wilhelm’s ‘squeezes’, which he sent to

33 Amenhotep I revolutionized mortuary complex design by separating his tomb from his mortuary temple, setting a trend in royal funerary monuments.

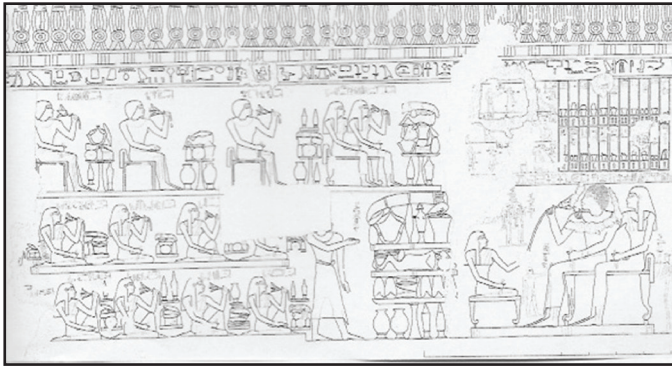
34 Idris Awad, Egyptian antiquities dealer, in whose house at Dra Abu El-Naga Wilhelm stayed. Idris died in 1898.

35 In Egyptian hieroglyphs a cartouche is an oval with a horizontal line at one end, indicating that the text enclosed is a royal name.

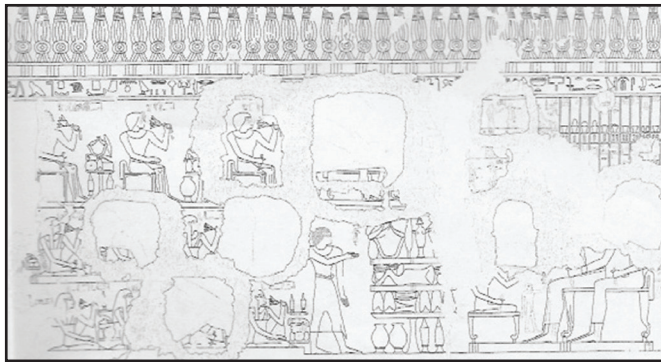
36 Georges Daressy (1864- 1938) French Egyptologist. He worked from 1887 in the Egyptian Museum in Cairo. Among his responsibilities was the museum’s move from Bulaq to Giza in 1891, and then to the present-day location in 1901. He is an author of the general catalogue of the museum.

37 Journal of Egyptian Archaeology--The Funerary Banquet of Hery (TT12), Robbed and Restored: José M. Galan and Gema Menéndez, Volume 97, 2011

his friend, the eminent British Egyptologist, Francis Llewellyn Griffith³⁸ and are now kept in the Griffith Institute at Oxford, have proved to be vital evidence in tracking down missing pieces of this important relief. Since Wilhelm created his ‘squeezes’, the reliefs have been the target of tomb robbers—and in fact Wilhelm’s ‘squeezes’ show areas marked out in preparation for subsequent theft. Scholars have been able to compare the relief (as recorded by Wilhelm) with the state of the banquet scene today.



Drawing of the banquet scene of the Theban temple of Hery derived from Wilhelm’s squeezes taken in 1895/96



Drawing of the current condition of the same banquet scene after robberies and damage

38 Francis Llewellyn Griffith (1862-1934), first Professor of Egyptology at Oxford University (1924-32). Worked extensively with Wilhelm whose ‘squeezes’ of the banquet scene in the Theban tomb-chapel of Hery (TT 12) and 1898/99 Fundjournal are now in the Griffith Institute in Oxford. The Institute was founded in 1939 from Griffith’s legacy after his death.

One of the missing fragments has already been found in New York in the Metropolitan Museum of Art. It measures 17 x 18cm and was donated in 1950 by Mrs Norton Nichols (formerly Miss Allene Hostetter), as part of a set of 20 objects, including fragments of sculpture and limestone relief, received by the Museum's Egyptian Department. The piece is thought to have been acquired in Luxor shortly after she married in 1904 the banker, Morton Colton Nichols, a Harvard classmate of American Egyptologist, Albert Morton Lythgoe (1868-1934). Work continues today in piecing together this important relief with the help of Wilhelm's crucial recordings. It remains to be seen whether the missing fragment in New York will be reunited with the rest of the banquet scene in Luxor.



The missing fragment from the Theban temple of Hery found in the Metropolitan Museum of Art after a donation in 1950

It was at this time³⁹ that Wilhelm, still in his late twenties, conceived the idea of an enormous project: the annotation and publication of all the material concerned with the Theban necropolis. He gave an outline of this plan in September 1897 at the Congress of Orientalists in Paris. But there is no sign that it progressed much further as a single project, and in any event it would have taken up much of the ensuing years and have been a major distraction from his primary interest—Demotic studies. A project of this scope was later realized in the Epigraphic Survey launched by the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago in 1924 at Chicago House, Luxor.

39 S.P. Vleeming, *op.cit.*

In the winter of 1898-99, Wilhelm was back in Luxor—this time with Percy Newberry whom Wilhelm had met two years earlier and with whom he had forged a close friendship. In his letter (see above) to Newberry (30 December, 1896) in which he promised to send the Englishman the Merenptah inscription, Wilhelm wrote from Hanover:

For an egyptological (sic) accustomed to be out of the way for several hundred years in matter of chronology, there is no harm about a week's delay. So you will accept still my best New Year's wishesI need not tell you that my wishes contain a strong feeling of gratitude for all the hospitality of your house in the last year.....Hoping you and Mrs Newberry well and have a good season for your tomb work.

Yours most truly,
W Spiegelberg

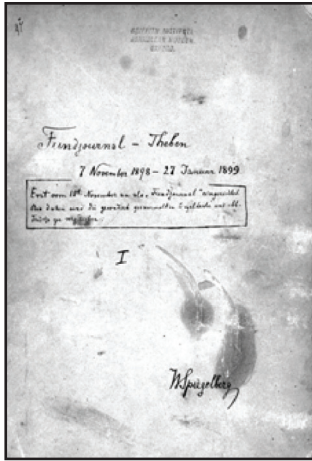
Newberry introduced Wilhelm to the Marquis of Northampton (1851-1913)⁴⁰ who had been granted a concession to excavate at Dra Abu el-Naga (part of the area of Qurna) in the Theban necropolis. He had enlisted the services of Newberry and Wilhelm to supervise the excavations which were to last for just over three months from 4 November 1898 until 9 February 1899. During that time, employing at times more than 80 workers, they investigated two ruined New Kingdom temples and discovered many dozens of tombs of various periods. According to Richard Parkinson⁴¹, 'it seems that that Northampton's excavations were often small-scale digs or clearances in the immediate vicinity' of the house where they were living.

Both Wilhelm and Newberry kept diaries of the three months they worked together on these excavations—these are now kept in the archive of the Griffith Institute. It is instructive and revealing to compare the two. Wilhelm's so called *Fundjournal* (finds diary) consists of detailed notes accompanied by sketches of objects, plans of tombs, copies of inscriptions and even the occasional impression of a scarab seal made in

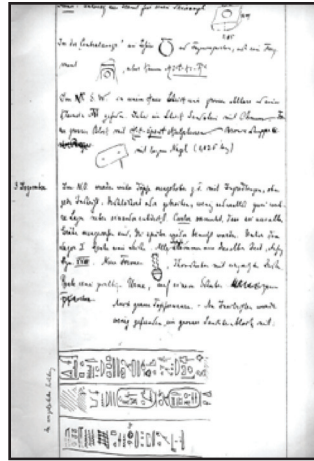
40 Keen amateur Egyptologist. Began his career as a diplomat. Elected Liberal MP for Stratford-upon-Avon (1885) and Barnsley (1889). Succeeded his father as 5th Marquis in 1897. Described on a visit to Petrie, who was excavating at Dendera (37 miles north of Luxor) at the time, as 'wearing Arab clothes and complaining of the heat.'

41 *The painted tomb-chapel of Nebamun*

wax. It was clearly intended to be an *aide memoir* for himself as well as for Newberry when writing up a report on the excavations. This diary has been an important source for identifying items given on the initiative of Wilhelm and with the consent of the Marquis to Strasbourg University.



Wilhelm's *Theben Fundjournal*:
front cover



Entry mentioning Howard
Carter

According to Paul Whelan⁴², Wilhelm's 'meticulous approach to the maintenance of the *Fundjournal* tells us something about the man himself and also accounts for the near absence of any personal trivia recorded in it and virtually no details about any of the people he must have encountered during the excavations. In fact, besides Newberry, the names of only four other individuals are to be found in the record. The first is the British architect Somers Clark who visited the excavations on 15 November 1898 and offered Wilhelm his professional expertise on architectural recording. The second is Howard Carter (mentioned on numerous occasions in Newberry's diary) who is cited in an entry dated 3 December 1898 when he attended the excavations to examine a problematic archaeological stratigraphy encountered by Wilhelm. It is a little strange that the professional assistance of neither Egyptologist is

42 'The Marquis' Excavations: a tale of two diaries'. Proceedings of the International Conference held on the occasion of the presentation of Progetto Rosellini. Pisa, June 14-16, 2012. For much of this and the succeeding paragraphs I am indebted to Paul Whelan.

acknowledged in the published report, though this is probably because Newberry rather than Wilhelm was largely responsible for writing it. The third name mentioned occurs on no fewer than 16 occasions and belongs to the well-known local antiquities dealer Idris Awad, but always only in reference to his house in Dra Abu el-Naga where Wilhelm stayed, since he had died in 1898 shortly after the start of the Marquis's excavations.' A fourth person, not mentioned in the actual pages of the *Fundjournal* but whose personal letter to Wilhelm dated 1896 is pasted at the back of the diary, is Arthur Mason Worthington, a Fellow of the Royal Society as well as Professor of Physics at the Royal Naval Engineering College, Devonport—his letter concerns some drawings he had made in the tombs at Aswan that he wished to give to Wilhelm.

By contrast, Newberry's diary covering January and February (the earlier diary is missing) contains very little technical information relating to the discoveries made by the expedition. 'Nevertheless its importance', according to Whelan, 'lies in the fact that many entries reveal a wealth of detail about daily events, including the fellow Egyptologists and other visitors Newberry encountered. The sheer number of names recorded in his diary (over 130 westerners and native Egyptians) indicates the vigour with which Newberry maintained existing social and professional relationships and his often proactive establishment of new ones⁴³. His initiative in this way certainly helped his own career advancement and occasionally that of his close colleagues.'

Besides directing the excavations, Whelan notes that Newberry was responsible for liaising with the Marquis of Northampton and providing him with progress reports, especially when the latter was absent from Luxor on travels to other parts of Egypt. Requests for funds for the expedition are also noted in the diary—Newberry hired the local

43 Newberry's diary provides revealing evidence of the extent to which the British aristocracy took a keen interest in Egyptology at this time—an interest prompted no doubt by a desire to acquire Egyptian artifacts for their private collections. Names mentioned in the diary include: Lord and Lady Amherst, Lady Ashburton (wife or possibly mother in law of the Marquis of Northampton), Lord Blackwood, the Earl of Carlisle, the Earl of Crawford, the Earl of Cromer (Sir Evelyn Baring, British Consul-General in Cairo) and the Earl and Countess of Spencer. The Prince of Borussia (heir presumptive to the throne of Prussia) and Princess Mary (of Teck), Queen consort of George V, are also mentioned.

workforce and acted as paymaster, keeping a detailed accounts ledger for the expedition. In addition, it seems that of the two Egyptologists, Newberry was also solely responsible for entertaining the Marquis, his family and friends during their visits to the excavations. With so many distractions, it is understandable why he would not have been best placed to record the finds. Newberry seems to have left this largely to Wilhelm in his *Fundjournal*.

Newberry's diary reveals glimpses of the excavator's hectic social and professional life in Egypt, which was particularly active in the few days leading up to the recommencement of excavations following a few days break after Christmas. Though brief, the entries for this period are packed with illuminating detail. From 1-3 January, Newberry was in Cairo with Wilhelm. On the final day before their departure to Luxor, Newberry went in the morning with Wilhelm and the renowned classical philologist Richard Reitzenstein to the Cairo Museum and met with what can only be described as a roll-call of many of Egyptology's luminaries of the day: Adolf Erman, Émile Brugsch, Ludwig Borchardt⁴⁴, Friedrich von Bissing⁴⁵, James Quibell and Émile Chassinat⁴⁶. This was followed by a trip to Giza to see Farag, an excavator and antiquities dealer well known to western Egyptologists including Petrie. It is reasonable to speculate that these meetings were related to Reitzenstein's and Wilhelm's acquisition in 1898 and 1899 of important Greek and Egyptian papyri for Strasbourg University from the fund of 12,000 marks provided by the Prussian crown prince (see pages 49 *et seq.*)

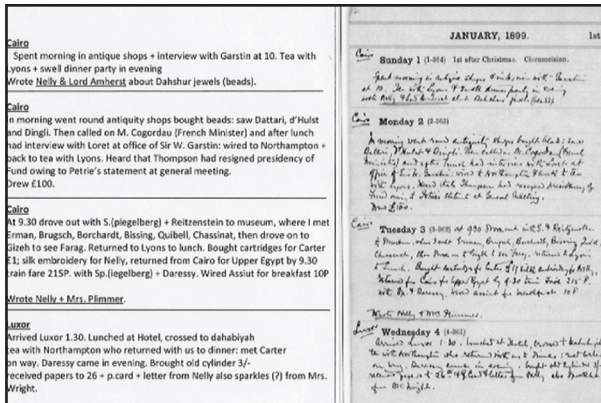
After the morning's busy activities, Newberry lunched with his old acquaintance Henry Lyons, the army colonel and excavator who had

44 Ludwig Borchardt (1863-1938). Studied in Berlin under Adolf Erman. Founded the German Archaeological Institute in Cairo. Discovered the famous bust of Nefertiti, now in the Neues Museum in Berlin, which he is alleged to have taken out of Egypt claiming it was an artifact copy made of gypsum.

45 Friedrich von Bissing (1873-1956), son of a Prussian general, grandson of Mathilde Wesendonck (friend and mistress of Richard Wagner) and a Nazi sympathizer—he was a good friend of Rudolf Hess (Hitler's one-time Deputy) to whom he dedicated his *History of Egyptian Art*. Spent considerable time in Egypt on museum and excavation work. Egyptology Professor at Munich (preceding Wilhelm) and Utrecht universities.

46 Émile Chassinat (1868-1948), Director of the French Institute of Oriental Archaeology in Cairo.

recently begun a geological and cadastral survey of Egypt—the latter to determine property boundaries. Later that afternoon he went shopping; buying silk embroidery for his wife and some cartridges for Howard Carter costing £1. In the evening, he boarded the 9.30 pm train for Luxor, accompanied by Wilhelm and Georges Daressy. Soon after their arrival in Luxor on 4 January Newberry took lunch at his hotel at 1.30 pm before calling upon the Marquis who was aboard his Dhahabiya (Nile houseboat) called *Maat*.



Percy Newberry's diary, 1-4 January, 1899
(transcription by Paul Whelan)

The following day, Newberry rose at 6.30 am and walked over to Dra Abu el-Naga accompanied by Daressy, Wilhelm (referred to as 'Spiegie' in the diary) and the local effendi in order to resolve a dispute that had arisen in their concession. The diary does not reveal the nature of the disagreement, only that it was satisfactorily resolved and consequently Newberry was able to commence excavations the same day employing 30 workers. The Marquis was present at the opening day of work and stayed for lunch with Newberry and then returned to the excavations on the following day accompanied by his children as well as two Lindsay sons of the Earl of Crawford.

Another entry (2 February) records:

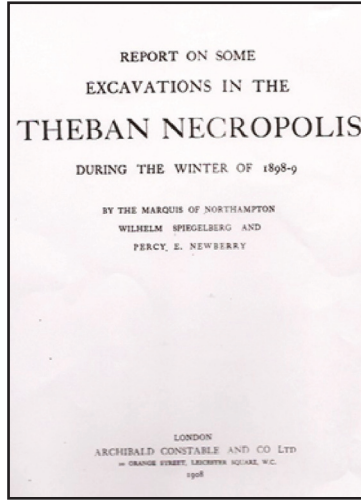
Schweinfurth⁴⁷ + Northampton came in afternoon + after dinner Spiegie (Spiegelberg) + I went over to Carters + played whist. Letter from Grenfell. Kahun Papyri III for Spiegie(Spiegelberg) arrived.

Newberry mentions seeing Wilhelm off to Cairo by train on 10 March—subsequent diary entries refer only to receiving letters and a postcard from Wilhelm.

The last entry in Wilhelm's diary was on 9 February when presumably the excavation work was completed but Newberry records that much work still remained to be done—arranging photography, drawing, tracing and packing up their finds. Newberry notes on 18 March 'Finished work for Report' before leaving Port Said for England on 29 March, arriving back in London on 5 April.

The report was not in fact published until 1908, almost 10 years after the work had been completed. Wilhelm was clearly frustrated by the delay—he believed that in the interests of disseminating knowledge to the wider community the results of excavations should be published as soon as possible. His frustration is reflected with a touch of humour in the following cartoon drawn by Wilhelm and dated July 8 1902, showing Newberry (presumably) at his desk under the heading: "Where is the Theban Northampton Report 1899??" "Bissing will wish to have good news of this....Dyroff" is a reference to Friedrich von Bissing (see the Munich chapter). Karl Dyroff (1862-1938) was a professor of Egyptology at LMU, Munich.

47 Georg August Schweinfurth (1836-1925), German explorer and plant specialist. Described by Flinders Petrie (*Seventy Years in Archaeology*) as 'a bronzed, bony powerful fellow of uncertain age, an infatuated botanist.'

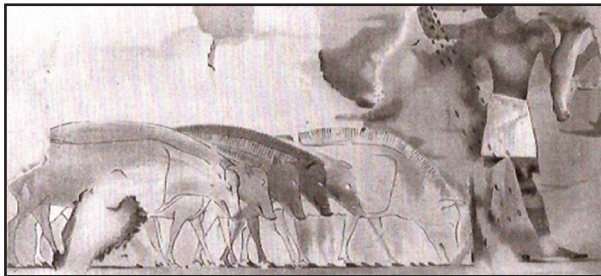
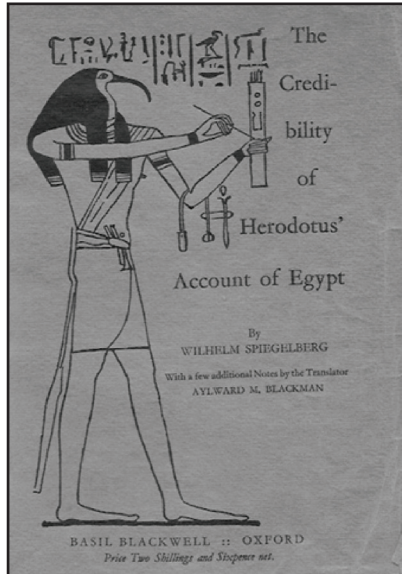


One of the more important finds from the Northampton Theban excavations was a scene painting found in the tomb of Nebamen, an official in the reign of Thotmes III,⁴⁸ showing pigs treading in recently sown corn. The scene, copied in watercolour by Howard Carter⁴⁹ and illustrated in the official report⁵⁰ of the excavations, is reproduced in a lecture Wilhelm gave in 1926 to the 55th Congress of German Philologists and Schoolmasters in Erlangen entitled: *The Credibility of Herodotus' Account of Egypt*. Writing around 450 BC, long after the golden age of the pharaohs at a time when Egypt was under Persian rule—a depressed and devitalised country—the Greek historian Herodotus, the widely acclaimed ‘Father of History’, had enjoyed, in Wilhelm’s words, ‘a bad press’—‘no one had a good word to say

48 Thotmes III, sixth pharaoh of the XVIIIth Dynasty (1479-1425 BC). During the first 22 years of his reign he was co-regent with his stepmother and aunt, Hatshepsut, who was named the pharaoh. After her death and his later rise to pharaoh of the kingdom, he created the largest empire Egypt had ever seen; no fewer than 17 campaigns were conducted, and he conquered from Niya in North Syria to the Fourth Cataract of the Nile in Nubia.

49 Newberry’s diary records on 22 February, 1899: ‘Carter came to draw pigs’. His diary entry for 31 January states: ‘Northampton spent whole day with us & we found some remarkable painting (pigs etc).’

50 *Report On Some Excavations In The Theban Necropolis during the winter of 1898-9*: Wilhelm Spiegelberg, William Spencer Compton Northampton (5th Marquis) and Percy Newberry, 1908.



Swine treading in seed-corn in the fields from a Theban tomb chapel of the late XVIIIth Dynasty (c. 1500 BC): watercolour by Howard Carter

for the reliability’ of his account of Egypt. Wilhelm’s verdict was decidedly favourable to Herodotus. After allowing for Herodotus’s relatively short stay in Egypt (barely three and a half months), his ignorance of the language, and his necessary dependence on not entirely reliable lower level informants, the Greek historian, in Wilhelm’s view, comes out very creditably.

Wilhelm used Howard Carter’s watercolour of the swine to support his case. He pointed out that this closely corresponded with Herodotus’ description⁵¹ of agricultural methods in use at the time: ‘When the river, having come up of its own accord, has watered the fields, and having watered them has withdrawn again, then each man sows his field and drives swine

on to it. And when the seed has been trodden in by the swine, he awaits the subsequent harvest, and having threshed the corn by means of the swine, gathers it in.' The reference to swine treading in seed corn, according to Wilhelm, showed what a good observer Herodotus was.

Wilhelm concluded his lecture, which was translated into English and received a lengthy review in *The Times*, with these soaring words:

Rightly to appreciate Herodotus' views on Egypt and its inhabitants, we must always be sure to remember that he could no longer become acquainted with the old vigorous classical, pharaonic Egypt, with its creative power alive and alert, but that he encountered a worn-out and decadent generation and found Egyptian civilization dreaming, so to speak, like the Sleeping Beauty. From this slumber he was the first to awaken her and to acquaint the world with one of the greatest and most singular civilisations that has ever existed. This picture—it might be called a veiled picture—of Ancient Egypt and its inhabitants, which he was the first to contrive, has dominated the world for more than two thousand years. Not till one hundred years ago did the veil, thanks to the decipherment of hieroglyphs, fall off, and the true shape begin to appear.

Wilhelm's modesty prevented him from saying how much clearer still our understanding of the true shape of Egyptian civilization became thanks to the work of Egyptologists, such as himself, in the years following the decipherment of hieroglyphs.

A Strasbourg wedding

On 4 April 1899, Wilhelm married Elisabeth (Lise) von Recklinghausen, whose father was the famous pathologist, Friedrich von Recklinghausen (1833-1910), Professor and Rector of Strasbourg University. The von Recklinghausens came originally from Westphalia and date back to the Crusades when the head of the family was created a Freiherr (baron). In the Middle Ages they owned large tracts of land around the town of Recklinghausen which was confiscated by the church in the early 15th century on the orders of the Archbishop of Munster. The subsequent discovery of coal on their land would have achieved great wealth for the family which they were not to share. An early ancestor (Reinhard) was an admiral in the Dutch navy in the 16th century and a later one (Johann) became Bürgermeister (mayor) of Rheda in north Germany in the 17th century.

Wilhelm and Lise had met at a party in the house of the archaeologist and senior member of the University faculty, Adolf Michaelis. But her father was at first reluctant for his favourite daughter to marry Wilhelm because of his Jewish background—considering even then, and with some foresight, what kind of future might engulf his grandchildren. As he put it at the time, he had removed his own wife, Lise's mother, from Judentum—she was Marie Jacobson, the daughter of a German Jewish doctor in Braunsberg, East Prussia (now part of Poland). Friedrich, however, appears to have revered Marie's Jewish background, while prepared to play down his own distinguished ancestry. One of his pupils told the story of the wife of a German general at a dinner seated next to the Professor. She said: "I believe yours is a very old German family, Freiherr Professor, and you are descended from a Crusader knight." "Yes," he replied, "that is so but my wife's family is much older, descended from one of the sons of Jacob."

Friedrich's hesitancy over his daughter's marriage, which he succeeded

in postponing for a year, was apparently overcome when Wilhelm was promoted to *Professor Extraordinarius* at the University. It is worth noting that Wilhelm, whose official papers referred to him successively as *Israelitisch, Dissident and Evangelisch*⁵², at first refused to convert probably to avoid the disfavour of his Jewish father, though he appeared to have had no connection with the Jewish synagogue in Strasbourg. But after his own father's death in 1910 he did join the Protestant church, in which Lise had been, and her three sons subsequently were, brought up.

Wilhelm's decision to become a Protestant was influenced by Albert Schweitzer (1875-1965), the famous theologian, philosopher and Nobel Peace Prize laureate who was a friend and contemporary of Wilhelm at Strasbourg University. His son, Herbert, underwent confirmation as a Protestant in 1919⁵³, also influenced by Schweitzer (his godfather), and later became associated with the Quakers in the US, though as a noted philosopher he was skeptical towards religion as an ideology. Schweitzer, renowned for the service he gave in Africa as a medical doctor, would have shared with Wilhelm a belief in the principle of 'good fortune obligates', which was later to play a central part in Herbert's own philosophical credo.

According to Herbert, Schweitzer presented Christianity to Wilhelm as a more developed form of Judaism—it is safe to assume that Wilhelm was familiar with Christian scriptures, not least through his study of Coptic texts. 'I have no evidence,' wrote Herbert of his father, 'of deep theological convictions on his part. His general outlook was humanistic and rather pessimistic, without despair. His main personal resources were in the world of Goethe, whose poems and whose play 'Faust' he used to carry with him in a leather-bound pocket edition.'

Wilhelm's fondness of Johann Wolfgang von Goethe must have been intensified by the strong sense of identity each felt for Strasbourg, which had become the former's adopted city. In 1770, at the age of 21, Goethe came to study in Strasbourg, just as Wilhelm had done over a century later. According to Neil MacGregor⁵⁴:

52 Sources: Frédéric Colin and Herbert Spiegelberg

53 *Who's Who in American Philosophy*

54 *Germany: Memories of a Nation*

Goethe standing in front of this cathedral façade, discovered two things: the transporting, transforming force of Gothic architecture and one aspect of what it meant to him to be German. The tourists of Goethe's day, just like those of ours, came to Strasbourg Cathedral not only to shiver in exaltation in front of its Gothic architecture, but to admire one of the most celebrated achievements of German Renaissance technology—the great astronomical clock inside the cathedral completed in 1574. Strasbourg Cathedral, in a city which had by then for nearly a hundred years been French, became for Goethe a rallying cry to the Germans to reclaim their national traditions and take their rightful place among the cultures of Europe.... Since the Renaissance, German culture had been dominated by the models of Ancient Rome and modern Italy and France. In Strasbourg in the 1770s it became clear to these two gifted young men (Goethe and the philosopher Johann Gottfried Herder, the creative mentor of the *Sturm und Drang* Romantic movement, who met each other in Strasbourg) that that would have to change.

Much of this must have resonated with Wilhelm's own thoughts and beliefs.

Elisabeth was born on 1 January 1872, the third of five children, in Würzburg, where her father Friedrich taught at the Bavarian university before moving in the same year to the newly established Kaiser-Wilhelms-Universität in Strasbourg. Against the background of considerable resentment on the part of the French population in Alsace towards their German occupiers, Friedrich, according to S P Vleeming⁵⁵, 'won over the local population of Strasbourg, which was very French in spirit, by his great merits and his kind disposition.'

The von Recklinghausens lived in a large house in Thomasstaden (No 1), close to the old Romanesque church of St Thomas—Lise's wedding to Wilhelm took place in the family home. This was also the occasion when Wilhelm's younger brother, George, first met Fanny, Lise's sister—they married on 3 April, almost exactly a year later.

After their honeymoon in Florence, Wilhelm and Lise settled into an apartment in the Vogesenstrasse (No 26), before moving to their rented family house in the Twingerstrasse (No 16) after the birth of their

55 S P Vleeming op.cit.

son Erwin in 1901—Reinhard, the eldest son, was born in 1900 and Herbert, the youngest, in 1904. In 1910, the family moved to the house which they built in the Daniel Hirtzstrasse (No. 17) with a garden and large rose beds nurtured by Lise.

Wilhelm was a permissive father, seldom reprimanding his sons, allowing them to choose their own careers and supporting them financially. He was remembered for his black moustache and a fringe of hair around his practically bald head which made him always wear a hat. His voice was loud, in the upper range and ‘rather hacked’, according to Herbert. Despite spending much of his life in southern Germany, he stuck to the Hanover/Hamburg pronunciation of Spiegelberg (not ‘Shpiegelberg’). Wilhelm’s centre of gravity was clearly his scholarly work to the extent that he spent evenings after dinner at his desk, only seldom taking part in family games, music (he was proficient at the violin) and reading with the family. He was devoted to Lise who did not share his Egyptological interests except conventionally—she saw her role predominantly as managing the family home and bringing up her three children.

Lise, according to Herbert, was ‘more than good looking, of medium height, with dark hair and showing usually a cheerful, often slightly amused expression.’ Ill health troubled her for much of her life—her pregnancies were difficult and her sleep at times precarious. She was a talented musician singing in church choirs and providing piano accompaniment to Erwin on the cello and to Herbert on the violin. She also excelled at needlework, like her sister, Fanny (my grandmother). Despite being a distinguished professor’s daughter, university studies were not an option in those days. However, she took private lessons in Greek and spent some time in Paris perfecting her French—she was the only member of the family with perfect command of the Alsatian dialect.

It is fair to point out that his marriage to Lise did much to promote Wilhelm’s social standing in Strasbourg, and, thanks to his father-in-law (with whom he had an excellent, if respectful, relationship) in the higher echelons of the University. It is intriguing that shortly after the wedding a consignment of three cases arrived by sea from Egypt (no doubt at the behest of Wilhelm) addressed to Strasbourg’s Institute of Anatomy

where Friedrich was Professor⁵⁶. One can only imagine what they may have contained!

The death of his father, Eduard Spiegelberg, on 1 January 1910 was a considerable loss to Wilhelm, and not just because the former had provided financial support to him throughout his studies and early academic career in Strasbourg. A letter (translated from the German) Wilhelm wrote on the eve of his father's death to Lise on 31 December 1909 from 2 Kurzestrasse (his parents' family home in Hanover) clearly shows the affection of Wilhelm for his father and the close relationship he had with his brother, George.

My dear wife,

It is a long time since I have sent you two birthday children my greetings in writing, and I have never done so with such painful feelings. May the new year on the calendar and of your lives bring you everything we wish. We know, sadly, that it will take something irreplaceable away from us, our dear father, whose noble character I have only now fully understood. It is wonderful how calmly and cheerfully he is approaching death—quite differently from what we thought. All the sweetness and loveliness of his being is gradually becoming clearly visible, especially since Georg has been here. He is most like him at heart, and has also inherited his father's best characteristics. It is clear what pleasure he gets from our presence, from the way he now takes care of us and his surroundings and in fact loyal old Seegers (*his butler*) too. He is suffering very very little and I must say that Dr Soter's treatment, giving only moderate amounts of narcotics, is the best one for him, as the way his mood is now it would be nice to know that he will keep going for a long time yet. You completely forget his corpse-like appearance when you sit with him, and you just think what a happy ending this rich life is having. I don't think Father could have wished for a better end—if he ever thought about it in the past. Even his illness, whose type he doesn't know, is taking the gentlest possible course. It is still impossible to say how much longer his suffering will last; it is unimaginable that it could go on for more than another 14 days, but it could come to a peaceful end any day.

56 Source: Frédéric Colin

57 Richard Reitzenstein (1861-1931), German classical philologist and scholar of Greek religion. Collaborated with Wilhelm in founding Strasbourg University's collection of Greek and Egyptian antiquities.

I intend to stay here as long as possible. Please ask Reitzenstein⁵⁷ or your father how long a leave the Dean can grant—I am due to take it in eight days time anyway. Much as I would like to have you at my side, I would ask you not to come. Each new face that appears before Papa immediately gets him painfully agitated because he is worried about the impression he makes on other people now. All he wants to see now are his familiar surroundings, he does not even want to speak to his sister (*Lina*).

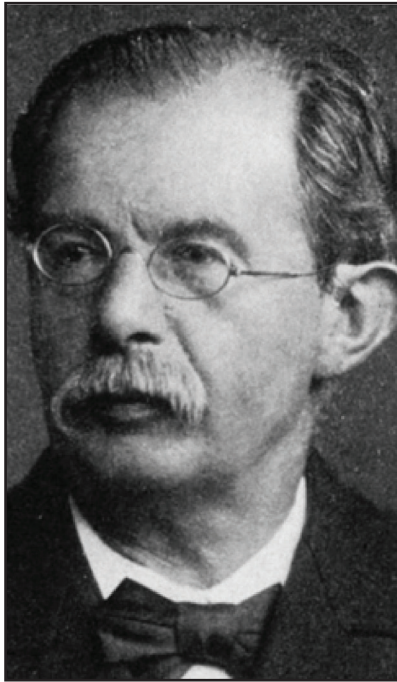
We are not taking things up with Reinhard until spring because traffic conditions seem to be so problematic. I hope the children are feeling better, there are colds in the air these days. Yesterday, Mrs Tramm, the wife of the City's Chief Executive (*Stadt Direktor*), was here with roses and told us how badly Norderney (*resort on one of the Frisian islands*) has suited her children—there is a typhoid epidemic there. She said she had gone to Wiesbaden with her eldest son for treatment and it had done him a lot of good.

Georg is looking very well and has lots of good news about his family. You'll be able to speak to him soon, of course. We are occupying ourselves with John's (*Wilhelm's oldest brother*)⁵⁸ future at the moment, now that his marital problem in Aachen is out of the way—another great pleasure for Father.

With all good wishes,
Your loving W.

PS Don't give R. the railway engine. Tell him as his birthday present from me that he can go to the Waldschule.

58 John, according to Julius Kohsen (Wilhelm's cousin), 'married a woman from Aachen with whom and whose money he had suddenly fallen in love with at a wedding. But as a consequence of the wife's mental defects, the marriage was unhappy'. She took her own life. He subsequently lived with his second wife in a splendid villa near Nuremberg. His wealth was largely wiped out in the 1920s after the family bank, Ephraim Meyer & Sohne, of which he was in charge, collapsed. He completely broke off relations with his brothers, whose wealth he had administered.



Friedrich Daniel von Recklinghausen (1833-1910)

The Strasbourg collection of Egyptian antiquities

At the time of his wedding, Wilhelm was heavily engaged in acquiring papyri and other Egyptian artifacts for Strasbourg. Sven Vleeming⁵⁹ has suggested (somewhat improbably) that on the day after the marriage, Wilhelm, in the company of Friedrich Preisigke (1856-1924), the orientalist and founder of the Institut für Papyrologie in Heidelberg, left for Egypt as they were in a hurry to acquire papyri that were to be the core of the collection in Strasbourg. It is possible that Wilhelm had laid claim to a large number of papyri during his excavations in Qurna in the previous winter but had not been able to conclude the bargain. It is also likely that he wanted Preisigke to evaluate the texts, which included the demotic Gebelein (town 40km south of Thebes) documents, to make sure they would be acceptable to the University.

This, according to Vleeming, sealed Wilhelm's fate: 'He knew Demotic, he had a collection of Demotic papyri to publish; in short, he was to be a Demotist.' It was fortuitous that Wilhelm's apartment in the Vogesenstrasse was just round the corner from the University library. 'One can imagine,' wrote Vleeming, 'how he felt when he left home and, delighting in the morning sun, made his two minute stroll to the University library where his papyri awaited him.' Wilhelm published his *Die Demotischen Papyri der Strassburger Bibliothek* in 1902.

The story of the Strasbourg University collection, in which Wilhelm was to play a central role, has fascinating political and cultural overtones and goes back to the siege of Strasbourg in 1870 at the end of the Franco-Prussian war. On 24 August the city library, housed in the former Dominican church, the Temple-Neuf, was burned out by

59 SP Vleeming op.cit.

German incendiary bombs, destroying the greater part of the library's rich book heritage from the Middle Ages and the Early Modern period.

Whether it was out of a sense of atonement for the destruction of the Strasbourg public library or to help counterbalance the strong reputation in Egyptology France enjoyed at this time, the University was to become one of the preeminent centres for Egyptian studies in Germany on an equal footing with Berlin, Leipzig and Munich. And this required building a vast collection of papyri and other artifacts.

The origins of the Strasbourg University collection have only relatively recently come to light, largely thanks to the work of Frédéric Colin, Director of the University's Institut d' égyptologie. In 1884, Dümichen obtained a budget of 1,200 marks to found a collection of plaster reproductions of objects (busts of pharaohs and copies of reliefs) from museums in Berlin. Eleven years later, as a result of his first visit to the Theban necropolis, Wilhelm, with an equally modest budget of 800 -1,000 marks, was instrumental in adding photographs and authentic objects to the collection, including the seven crates of finds from the excavations of Flinders Petrie and James Quibell in which Wilhelm had participated. Further finds were added to the collection from Wilhelm's subsequent expedition financed by the Marquis of Northampton. Wilhelm had managed to secure the agreement of the British archaeologists and their financial sponsors to hand over part of their finds as compensation for his considerable contribution to their expeditions. Wilhelm also built up his own private collection.

The decisive point in the development of the collection came in 1898 (21 March) when Wilhelm, together with his classical Greek colleague, Richard Reitzenstein, made a request for a budget of 12,000 marks to the Prussian Governor of Alsace-Lorraine, Crown Prince Hermann Fürst zu Hohenlohe-Langenburg (1832-1913). The money, which was to be split 50:50 between Egyptian and Greek acquisitions, was granted. As Colin has pointed out, this was a very considerable sum—equivalent to double Dümichen's annual salary of 6,000 marks—and would be spent on acquiring items both directly from excavators on the ground and from dealers in Egypt and elsewhere. The awarding of this grant was to have wider implications across Germany.

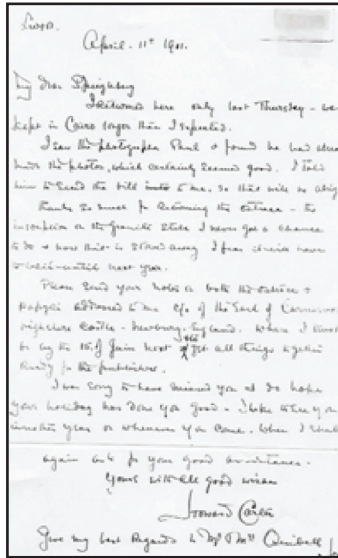
There was concern that public funding to acquire Egyptian antiquities would result in a disorderly scramble and unhealthy competition among universities and museums forcing up prices in a bidding war. So the authorities came up with a not untypically German solution—the creation of the *Deutsches Papyruskartell*—in effect a buyers' syndicate which Strasbourg University joined in 1903 under pressure from the Governor of Alsace who in turn was influenced by the foreign affairs ministry in Prussia. The Papyrus Cartel, which was run by the Strasbourg University library from 1912-1914, was designed to pool the financial resources of German institutions in a central fund for their purchases of Egyptian and other papyri, and thus to put an end to price competition from Strasbourg and other German universities in the market place.

This can be seen as real recognition of the success of the young Egyptology scholar—still in his late 20s. And this success was soon rewarded. On 27 July 1899, Strasbourg's Institute of Egyptology was founded with Wilhelm as its first head—this was to become the repository of a large part of the collection. In 1907, Wilhelm, rejecting an invitation from Vienna, was made full Professor, the post he held at Strasbourg until 1918.

In the five years, 1907-11, Wilhelm was engaged in further excavation work in the Theban necropolis—this time with Lord Carnarvon and Howard Carter. It is not clear how much time Wilhelm actually spent on the ground in Egypt over this period. But the report of the five years of explorations⁶⁰ contains a chapter by Wilhelm on 'Demotic papyri and ostraca' in which he describes what he called the Papyrus Carnarvon I and II which he judged 'are of great importance.' The two well preserved papyri were both found in a sealed pottery amphora and bear the protocol of a local king called Harmachis who reigned in Upper Egypt under Ptolemy Epiphanes (205-181 BC). The documents are in effect sale agreements for the transfer of temple land in the Theban necropolis.

60 *Five Years Explorations at Thebes; being a record of work done 1907-1911* by the Earl of Carnarvon and Howard Carter. With chapters by F. Ll. Griffith, George Legrain, George Möller, Percy E. Newberry and Wilhelm Spiegelberg

In his correspondence⁶¹ with Wilhelm, Carter discusses arrangements for finalizing the report. Writing from Luxor on 11 April, Carter refers to Wilhelm's work on the papyri and ostraka inscriptions, requesting his notes be sent to Carter at Highclere Castle, the Carnarvon family home and the location of the popular television series, 'Downton Abbey.'



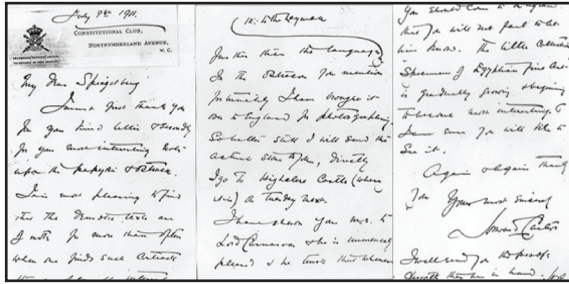
Howard Carter's letter to Wilhelm from Luxor, 11 April 1911

Later in July, Carter writes to Wilhelm expressing Lord Carnarvon's appreciation of Wilhelm's contribution:

Lord Carnarvon wishes to send all his salaams and says that if you have been put to any expense on his account to please let him know. –Carter to Wilhelm, 1 July

I have shown your MS to Lord Carnarvon and he is immensely pleased and he trusts that whenever you should come to England that you will not fail to let him know. The little collection 'Specimens of Egyptian fine art' is gradually growing and beginning to become most interesting, and I am sure you will like to see it.—Carter to Wilhelm, 9 July

61 Spiegelberg/Carnarvon papers: Oriental Institute, Chicago University



Howard Carter's letter to Wilhelm, 9 July, 1911

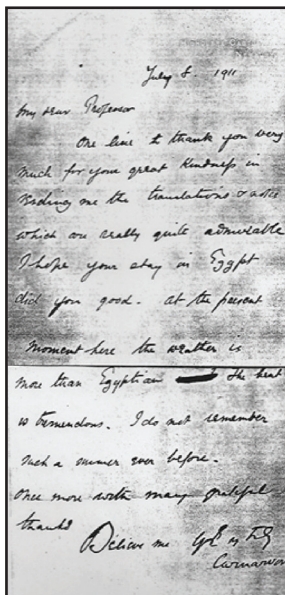
Part of that collection remains on public view today at Highclere.

Writing to Wilhelm from Highclere on 8 July, Lord Carnarvon expressed his appreciation:

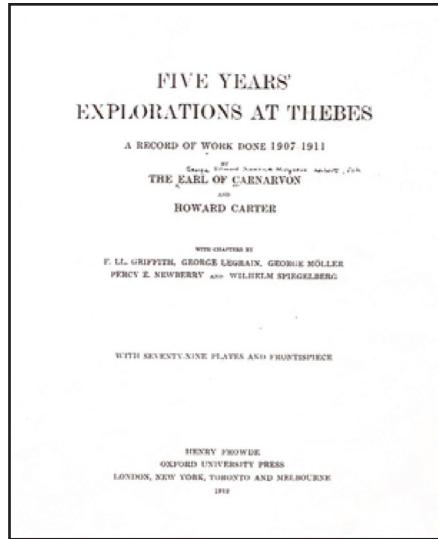
My dear Professor,

One line to thank you very much for your great kindness in sending over the translations and notes which are really quite admirable. I hope your stay in Egypt did you good. At the present moment here the weather is more than Egyptian. The heat is tremendous. I do not remember such a summer ever before. Once more with many grateful thanks. Believe me.

Yours very truly,
Carnarvon



Letter from Lord Carnarvon to Wilhelm, 8 July, 1911

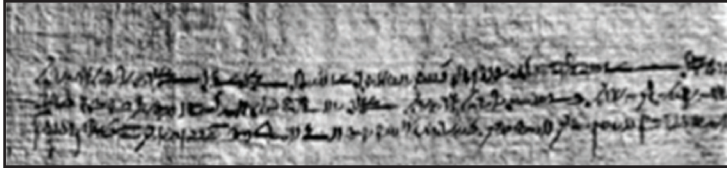


The Report of the Carnarvon/Carter excavations at Thebes, 1907-11, with a chapter by Wilhelm Spiegelberg

The decade and a half leading up to the outbreak of World War I were exceptionally productive years for Wilhelm in his work of transliterating, translating and publishing Demotic texts. During this time, he was responsible for no fewer than 20 significant publications. One of these was the Papyrus Libbey, an Egyptian marriage contract which was brought to Wilhelm's attention by Emil Brugsch (1842-1930), Curator of the Cairo Museum and brother of Heinrich Karl Brugsch, the Demotic scholar whom Wilhelm had got to know during his student year in Berlin. The papyrus was acquired in Luxor by an American, Edward Drummond Libbey⁶², and given to the Toledo Museum of Art in the US where it has been kept since 1906. Wilhelm was able to date the papyrus to around 337 BC during the reign of Khababash, a little known ruler under the Persian occupation of Egypt, and immediately prior to the arrival of Alexander the Great and the start of the Greek administration under the Ptolemies. The marriage contract contains details of the dowry and financial arrangements in the event of

62 Edward Drummond Libbey (1854-1925), US industrialist and founder of the company which became Owens-Illinois, once the world's largest glass manufacturer. He founded the Toledo (Illinois) Museum in 1901.

a divorce and inheritance. The position of the wife, noted Wilhelm, is ‘predominant—one is tempted to say matriarchal.’ Wilhelm concluded that the text ‘possesses a most extraordinary interest’ and felt it ‘my duty to make it accessible to scholars as soon as possible.’



Demotic text from the Libbey papyrus
(Egyptian marriage contract)

Looking back on his time spent in the field with British archaeologists and their aristocratic financial sponsors, Wilhelm in 1919 referred to this *belle époque* of international scientific harmony which he recalled with a sense of ‘*verlorenes Paradies*’ (paradise lost).

This was only to be followed by the trauma and upheaval of the First World War and its aftermath. According to Herbert, Wilhelm ‘made a special point of the international character of Wissenschaft (scientific progress through research) and did his best to restore it after World War I.’ Long before globalization, the Internet and the development of modern communications, Wilhelm clearly saw the way in which the frontiers of human understanding and scientific knowledge could be advanced through international collaboration and friendship with leading academics outside his home country.

World War I and its aftermath

A weak heart, which manifested itself in an attack he suffered while climbing the Dent du Midi in the Swiss Alps, rendered Wilhelm unfit for service in the German army. From the outbreak of war, he served as a civilian in an army library service for which, as well as for tutoring one of the Hohenzollern princes (Prince Joachim of Prussia⁶³, son of Kaiser Wilhelm II) in 1912/13 on his way to Egypt, he received a minor decoration. In a letter⁶⁴ from the Rector of Strasbourg University to a German general in 1917, a plea was made for Wilhelm to be appointed to assist in the administration of the University and participate in the Senate. Many of the younger members of the faculty were on active military service and it is interesting that the continuation of the running of the University, despite the pressures of war only a few kilometers away, was seen as an important priority.

Writing about his memories of the war⁶⁵, Herbert, only ten years old when hostilities broke out, recalls: ‘More alarming than the rare sight of French planes overhead was the distant earthshaking rumbles of the cannonades from the battlefield, especially from Verdun.’ The war had a profound effect on this troubled adolescent. ‘The moral scandal of this war gradually undermined not only my nationalist self righteousness of

63 Prince Joachim, son of Kaiser Wilhelm II, visited Egypt at the beginning of 1913 acquiring in Aswan a collection of Greek and Demotic ostraca which he gave to Strasbourg University in recognition of the help he had received from Wilhelm. These were published in Wilhelm’s italicized *Die Prinz-Joachim-Ostraka Griechische und demotische Beisetzungsurkunden für Ibis- und Falkenmumien aus Ombos (with F Preisigke)*, 1914. Prince Joachim committed suicide in Potsdam in 1920 at the age of 29, in financial straits and suffering acute depression.

64 Source: email from Frédéric Colin

65 Herbert Spiegelberg: *Stepping Stones Towards an Ethics for Fellow Existents—essays 1944-1983*

being born ‘on the right side’ of the slaughter; it also destroyed my faith in the all-loving God of the Church and made me toy with Zoroastrian dualism. The main lasting outcome was my growing distrust of all authorities in my native world, even before the collapse of Germany in 1918.’

Lise for her part was involved in work for a military hospital, helping her brother Heinrich (1867-1942) in the construction of orthopaedic devices (Prothesen) for partially paralysed soldiers. He is best known for his study of blood pressure and the contribution he made to the science of blood pressure measurement. Lise remained in Strasbourg throughout the war taking care of her ailing mother until her death in 1918. She was prone to feelings of profound pessimism with a reputation among her family and friends as a Cassandra. Her spirits were lightened partly by her idiosyncratic sense of humour, partly by her faith in her religion as a Protestant and partly by the philosophical support of her brother Heinrich who dedicated some of his deeply religious poems to her.

Politically, Wilhelm was always a liberal, strongly opposed to the ultra-right wing racist Pan-German League (*Alldeutscher Verband*), founded in 1891 whose purpose was to nurture and protect the ideology of German nationality as a unifying force. A strong element of its ideology included social Darwinism. The Verband wanted to uphold German ‘racial hygiene’ and were against breeding with so-called inferior races like the Jews and Slavs. The League had an enormous influence on the German government during World War I—opponents were branded cowards.

From his liberal values, his pursuit of *Wissenschaft* and his total opposition to the PanGermanists, one might reasonably assume that Wilhelm felt uncomfortable with his country’s war aims, at least in their more extravagant forms. And, of course, the contribution of Prussia and Prussian generals to the conduct of the war must have added to any discomfort he may have felt, bearing in mind that 50 years previously Prussia had exacted a heavy toll on his native Hanover—Wilhelm had a strong loathing of Prussian militarism. His feelings about the war must have been affected too by the close relationships he had with his younger brother, George, and sister-in-law, Fanny (sister of Lise) who were living in England with their children. He also kept in touch with his cousin, William Rothenstein, in London, whose father, Wilhelm’s uncle Moritz,

had emigrated to Bradford in 1859.

However, all this did not keep him from defending the German position, according to Herbert. He took issue, for instance, with what he saw as the militarism of a French colleague, who in a publication reviewed by Wilhelm had described himself as *'ancien élève de l'école militaire de St Cyr'*.

With the war ended and the return of Alsace-Lorraine to France, the Kaiser-Wilhelms-Universität was dissolved and the University returned to the French. Wilhelm, Lise and their three sons were faced with expulsion as 'enemy aliens' from their home, which had been confiscated as reparations under the Treaty of Versailles. Wilhelm, of course, lost his job as professor.

Wilhelm's problems were further compounded by the limited number and weight of possessions he and the family were allowed to bring across the armistice lines to Heidelberg where they chose to settle⁶⁶. Thanks to the intervention of Jean Capart (1877-1947), a Belgian Egyptologist, he was allowed to bring his extensive private library with him—a similar request to Sir Alan Gardiner (1879-1963)⁶⁷, the celebrated British Egyptologist, came to no avail as the UK Foreign Office did not want to intervene in what was seen as an exclusively French matter.



Wilhelm c. 1916-1918

66 Source: Frédéric Colin's email to the author

67 Sir Alan Gardiner, preeminent British Egyptologist. Author of *Egyptian Grammar* and *Egypt of the Pharaohs*. Studied in Paris under Maspero and in Berlin under Sethe.

Heidelberg

It is interesting to speculate what might have been going through the minds of Wilhelm, Lise and their three sons at the conclusion of the war. Might they have considered not returning to Germany after they were evicted from their home in Strasbourg? Did they think of moving to England where Wilhelm's brother George and his wife Fanny (Lise's sister) were well established in Cheshire⁶⁸ and his uncle and aunt (the Rothensteins) were living in Bradford, with their artist son William⁶⁹ in London? Of his three brothers Wilhelm was closest to George. In 1923, Wilhelm arranged with Howard Carter for George and Fanny to visit the recently discovered tomb of Tutankhamun. Correspondence with Will Rothenstein shows him staying with George and Fanny in Bowdon and spending time with Will and his sister in London.

Bowdon,

13 September, 1903

68 George had left Germany in 1892 to live in England, initially joining his uncle Moritz Rothenstein in Bradford in a thriving firm of wool merchants. In April 1917, at the height of hostilities and against a background of strong anti-German feeling in the country, George had a letter published in the Daily Dispatch under the heading 'A Naturalised German's Disavowal'. 'I came to this country', he wrote, 'over twenty years ago, leaving my native shores for one reason only, my hatred of the military caste which despised commerce, for which my vocation I had been destined, and which was mine by choice and education. My father, a wealthy man, tried his best to bring me back to Germany, where his firm, established over a hundred years ago as one of the leading concerns in north Germany, would certainly have given me an easy and certain living, had I desired to return. I loved, however, like so many of us, the liberty of thought, the broad mindedness, and last, but not least, the various sports of this country (*George was a keen polo player and fox hunter*) so much that I was kept here in spite of all offers and proposals on my father's part. Finding that

Dear Will,

Many thanks for your friendly note. Unfortunately, we could no longer manage to visit you because of time constraints, however much I would have liked to. So, I would like, at least in writing, once again to thank you that we could enjoy many pleasurable hours both at home and about with Emily (*Will's sister, who married Edgar Hesslein, a wealthy American textile tycoon and art collector. Will subsequently had a big falling out with Hesslein whose 'unpleasantness,' according to a family memoir, 'was reputed to be as exceptional as his wealth was considerable.'*). They were the most enjoyable memories of our stay in London. I am using this opportunity to say again seriously that we would look forward to a visit from you and your wife in Strassburg. So do not let us wait too long.

With fondest greetings from both of us to you and your wife,

Your poor cousin,
Wilhelm

After the war, William's son John (later to become Director of the Tate Gallery and also knighted) and his wife Elizabeth went to stay in Munich with Wilhelm and Lise.

Munich,
Konradstr. 16
20 July 1930
Dear Will,

I would like, in response to your friendly letter of 9 July, to tell you that your son John, together with his wife, was with us for several days and that it was an immense joy to get to know them. Unfortunately, they came at a time when

he could not succeed in getting me back, my father gave me the money to start on my own, as I desired, in this country. I make this point to show that it was German money which started a purely English business.' He established the Manchester-based cotton textile merchant converting firm, Morreau & Spiegelberg.

69 Sir William Rothenstein (1872 -1945) was an English painter, printmaker, draughtsman and writer on art. He is best known for his work as a war artist in both World Wars and as a portrait artist. More than 200 of his portraits of famous people are in the National Portrait Gallery collection. He co-founded the Carfax Gallery that held exhibitions of works of the Camden Town Group. He was Principal at the Royal College of Art from 1920 to 1935 and was knighted in 1931. His son, John, was Director of the Tate Gallery, 1938-1964.

we were occupied with social obligations and had, therefore, scarcely time for them. We hope, however, that your son has taken with him great enthusiasm for Munich, whose architecture apparently greatly impressed him. Too bad that we won't see you here this year.

With best greetings and wishes, also from my wife,
Your Wilhelm Sp.

So there must have been family voices beckoning Wilhelm and his family to the UK. These would have been echoed by the leading British Egyptologists with whom Wilhelm had worked in the pre-war period—Flinders Petrie, Howard Carter, Percy Newberry, Francis Llewellyn Griffith and Alan Gardiner.

Or there might have been the possibility of a move to the United States, where Lise's older brother Max had already established himself before the war as a research chemist working for Westinghouse and later Peter Cooper Hewitt, inventor of the mercury vapour arc lamp, precursor of fluorescent lighting. However, Max's experience during the war as an internee in New York on Ellis Island and later at Fort Oglethorpe, Georgia, would hardly have inspired much enthusiasm for the New World among his sister and brother-in-law. Wilhelm's relationship with his protégé, William Edgerton, and the Oriental Institute in Chicago University had not by the end of World War I developed to the point where this could have been a serious consideration. It was 20 years later that Herbert and Reinhard eventually migrated to the US.

A further consideration would have been anti-Semitism, which was rife in Germany and which was to manifest itself a few years later in Munich in opposition to Wilhelm's appointment to the Chair of Egyptology. According to Jonathan Steinberg⁷⁰ writing about Bismarck: 'Anti-Semitism and its anti-liberal poison passed into the bloodstream of Germany to become virulent in the overheated atmosphere of the First World War and to become lethal in its aftermath. That too was a Bismarckian legacy, and it is richly ironic that Kaiser William dismissed Bismarck in March 1890 because he had been consorting 'with Jesuits and Jews.'

70 Jonathan Steinberg *Bismarck—A Life* Oxford University Press, 2011

With the benefit of hindsight, it is easy to imagine how much better off Wilhelm and his family might have been leaving Germany at this juncture and escaping the catastrophic hyperinflation under the Weimar Republic, the political turmoil that ensued and the subsequent rise of the Nazi party. But this was not to be. Deeply entrenched in German academic life, with close friends, family and colleagues in his home land, and with an imperfect grasp of the English language, Wilhelm chose to remain in Germany, perhaps out of a sense of patriotic duty to his native country. After their eviction from Strasbourg, Wilhelm and Lise moved with their family to Heidelberg where he spent five years (1919-1923) as visiting guest professor of Egyptology at the University without the formal offer of a chair and without a teaching role. This period of enforced leisure enabled him to work on his dictionary of the Coptic language (*Koptisches Handwörterbuch*), a task he apparently completed in six months in 1921, and Demotic Grammar (*Demotische Grammatik*), published in 1925. The Coptic Dictionary became a classic, laying the foundations for the dictionary published 19 years later by Walter Crum (1865-1944), the Scottish Coptologist.

Wilhelm's decision to move to Heidelberg would have been influenced by Friedrich Preisigke who in 1918 had founded the Institut für Papyrologie at the city's University. Preisigke began his career as a clerk in the German post office, later in 1908 becoming the Director of Telegraphs in Strasbourg. His deep interest in classical literature and ancient history led him to the position of professor in the philosophy faculty at Strasbourg University in 1913. By this time, Wilhelm had known and worked with Preisigke for well over a decade, travelling to Egypt with him shortly after his wedding and collaborating with him in editing and translating texts, including the ostraca of Crown Prince Joachim. It would have seemed a natural step for Wilhelm to establish himself alongside a friend and colleague at a newly founded institute which was to become Germany's leading centre of papyrology.

Living conditions in Heidelberg were far from extravagant. Wilhelm and his family settled into a Jugendstil (Art Nouveau) house in Roonstrasse (No 4) without central heating. Their frugal lifestyle during the peak years of Germany's hyperinflation meant new stresses at a time when Wilhelm had none of the security of tenure as a full professor which he had enjoyed in Strasbourg.

It is hard to conceive what living in Germany must have been like at this time. Neil MacGregor⁷¹ describes the terrors of hyperinflation when Germany ‘suffered a kind of collective madness.’

In June 1922, [Walter] Rathenau [*the industrialist who became Minister of Reconstruction*] was assassinated. That sent the Mark down to 300 to the dollar. A month later when the first reparations [*under the Treaty of Versailles*] were due, it fell to 500 to the dollar. By late October, with the second payments due, it collapsed to 4,500 to the dollar. By April 1923 hyperinflation had exploded. It is a chilling experience, even today, to handle the notes that resulted—1,000 Marks, 10,000 Marks, 100,000 Marks, 1,000,000 Marks. And then in words, ‘Eine Billion’, ‘Eine Hundert Milliarden’ Mark. By November 1923, there were twelve trillion Marks to the dollar. Some wag at the British Embassy in Berlin noted that the number of Marks to the pound equalled the number of yards to the sun. By the end of the year, the cost of an egg was five hundred thousand million times more than it had been in 1918. People famously wheeled their banknotes around in barrows, not so much to go shopping as to take worthless cash to the bank to exchange it for ever higher denominations of worthless cash. In 1921 there were 120 billion Marks in circulation. Two years later, it was nearly five hundred million trillion—beyond comprehension. A five hundred million Mark note might buy a loaf of bread.

In November 1923, the Weimar Government appointed Hjalmar Schacht as Commissioner of Currency. He introduced a new currency, the Rentenmark, at the exchange rate of one trillion old marks to one new Rentenmark, backed by the guarantee of properties owned by the government in Germany. This quickly brought respite in the form of currency stability but the damage had been done, creating ideal conditions for the demise of the Weimar government and the rise of the Nazi party.

71 *Germany—Memories of a Nation*



Ten million Reichsmark note issued in Berlin, 22 August, 1923.
Fifty of these would have been needed to buy a loaf of bread.

Munich

Wilhelm's appointment to the Chair of Egyptology at Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität in 1923 was by no means a straightforward affair. His predecessor at Munich was the redoubtable Friedrich Wilhelm von Bissing (1873-1956), son of a Prussian general (Moritz) who had been Governor-General of occupied Belgium. Before the war, von Bissing had been Professor of Egyptology in Munich from 1906 and had worked on the creation of the General Catalogue of Egyptian Antiquities at the Cairo Museum. He was an avid collector. Thanks to von Bissing, the Egyptology department at Munich had become highly politicised. Von Bissing held strong views on what he saw as the failings of the Weimar Republic, and was not afraid to ventilate them making him staunch critics in the process. After the end of the war, von Bissing returned to Munich from Ghent, where thanks to his father's influence he had held a post lecturing in Egyptology at the University. During the war, unbeknown to his fellow Egyptologists, he had published under a pseudonym a series of pamphlets defending the German occupation of Belgium. His sojourn in Munich was not to last and in 1922 he left Germany to become Professor at the University of Utrecht, a post he held until 1926. For the last 30 years of his life he worked as a private scholar in the town of Oberaudorf am Inn.

There was a darker side to von Bissing's political beliefs, as Edmund S. Meltzer⁷² explains:

Friedrich Wilhelm Freiherr von Bissing is a noteworthy case study of a scholar who was politically active and vocal in the period from World War I leading up to the Third Reich. His highly nationalistic and conservative

72 *Egyptology, Nazism and Racial 'Science'* published in 'Egyptology from the First World War to the Third Reich' edited by Thomas Schneider and Peter Raulwing.

affiliations and convictions, and his markedly anti-Semitic outlook, facilitated his transition to Nazism.

Von Bissing was a good friend of Rudolf Hess (Hitler's Deputy Führer in the 1930s and a student at Munich University in the early 1920s) to whom he dedicated his *History of Egyptian Art*. He was decorated by Hitler with a golden party symbol which he later sent back and resigned from the party⁷³. 'Alas,' according to Meltzer, 'this did not betoken a lasting change of heart; he remained steadfastly loyal to Hitler and looked back on his criticism as an unforgivable lapse.'

There were apparently three candidates shortlisted to succeed von Bissing at Munich University: Kurt Sethe, Herman Junker and Wilhelm. Sethe⁷⁴ proved too difficult to prise away from Berlin where, like Wilhelm, he had been a pupil of Adolf Erman and where he was considered to be a certainty for the Chair of Egyptology. Wilhelm was appointed full Professor of Egyptology at the Faculty of Philosophy with effect from 10 January 1923 on a base salary of 62,000 marks per month.

Wilhelm's appointment initially met fierce resistance from Nazi-supporting members of the student body, aided and abetted, if not instigated, by von Bissing, who much later (in 1930) wrote the following letter apologising for his behaviour over Wilhelm's appointment. The letter is a revealingly weak apology for his colossal error of judgment and the hurt he must have caused—delivered as it was more than seven years later and less than six months before Wilhelm died. It may have been some consolation to Wilhelm that von Bissing made a financial contribution of 123,232 marks, a substantial part of his professorial salary, to the costs of Munich's new Institute of Egyptology. Was Wilhelm in two minds whether to accept this? Maybe he was not in a position to refuse it.

73 Source: George Steindorff's letter to John A. Wilson, June 1945

74 Kurt Heinrich Sethe (1869-1934) was a noted Egyptologist and philologist from Berlin. He collected numerous texts from Egypt during his visits there and edited the standard catalogue of Ancient Egyptian literature and text. Alan Gardiner was one of his pupils.

Oberaudorf a. Inn, Oberbayern,
4 July, 1930
Most Honourable Colleague!

Our colleague Sethe has sent me in a letter a copy of an article taken from 'Michel.' According to that text you had every right to declare it a personal insulting attack. I was without a doubt, during that time when your call as my successor took place, of firm and true conviction (*how could it have been otherwise?*), that purely political facts were present which made it incomprehensible that the German Nationalists (*Nazis*) would support you. In the meantime, I have heard from different sources, that I was incorrectly informed and that my criticism in this matter rested on false reasons/assertions. I regret that I behaved in a public forum, without having been sufficiently informed, and I would be most gratified, if you would/could respond that our social interactions going forward, in any eventual meeting, would be conducted in a totally correct/acceptable manner. Should it be of importance to you, I stand at your disposal, in order to explain the details which, to my great regret, led to those earlier statements. I do not do so presently, because I would have to include one who is no longer among us.

I implore you, taking into consideration the devastating inner emotions under which I then and continuously stand, to forgive my inappropriate words, which I, in no fashion, any longer believe.

With highest regards, I remain
Yours truly
Fr.W. Frherr von Bissing

The other fly in the ointment was Heinrich Kersken (1894-1960), an economics student at the University who had joined the Nazi Party in 1920—he was head of the student body *Völkische Finkenschaft*. Later in 1933, Kersken became a member of the Nazi Reichstag, where he remained until March 1936 as a representative of Breslau. In the SA (*Sturmabteilung* known as stormtroopers or 'brownshirts') Kersken reached the rank of *Standartenführer*. In the same year as Wilhelm's appointment, Kersken participated in the unsuccessful November Bürgerbräukeller (*beer hall*) putsch in which Hitler led an attempt to seize power in Munich—Hitler was subsequently arrested, tried for treason and imprisoned; it was during his prison term that he wrote *Mein Kampf*.

On hearing of Wilhelm's appointment, Kersken wrote a letter on behalf of the student body to the Bavarian State Ministry of Education and Culture complaining in the strongest xenophobic (anti-Semitic) terms about Wilhelm's suitability for the post, referring to him as "*Jüdischen Blutes und Jüdischen Geistes*" and asking for the Ministry to use its influence to have the appointment rescinded and a German (von Bissing or someone in the mold of von Bissing) substituted. He sent a copy of his letter to the Rector of the University, as well as to Wilhelm. The response of the University authorities can be seen as at best ambivalent. Kersken's right to express his views in a letter was regarded as a student's natural right of academic freedom of expression which, it was claimed, was at the heart of the spirit of trust that existed between the student body and the faculty. Had a more suitable German born Bavarian Christian been available, it is tempting to think the faculty might have caved in. Kersken appears to have been let off without much of an admonition. The *Frankfurter Allgemeine* observed with a touch of irony that 'the member of a 'foreign nation' was a Protestant and not only belonged to a group of exiled Strasbourg professors but also taught there for almost 25 years.'

A notable supporter of Wilhelm throughout this unpleasant saga was Kurt Sethe who wrote the following letter to Wilhelm. Sethe confirms that he has accepted a professorship in Berlin and wonders whether if his Munich appointment falls through Wilhelm might retain his position at Heidelberg or alternatively be offered a post in Berlin. He also reflects on his own predicament, appearing to rule out the possibility of becoming Extraordinary Professor at Munich should the opposition to Wilhelm's appointment succeed.

Göttingen

20 June, 1923

Dear Colleague!

Via a colleague I hear concerning the huge effort on the part of the Munich Antisemitic Circle against you and would not like to let my sincere repulsion toward them go unnoticed. You are, God knows, the last person against whom people of that kind of extremism should be directed. What is now to happen? Will you retreat from this slimy barrage or will you persist in this surely not easy risk, in order to use it to your advantage?

Honour demands it, but your peace of mind and peaceful existence will surely be disturbed thereby. However, now let it be seen how adroitly I perceive the situation, when I wish for you that Ranke⁷⁵ and Munich were to result in your favour and would result in making the position in Heidelberg free for you.

Perhaps you will let me know as quickly as possible how things have developed, for we stand now before the necessity for me to make counterproposals in view of the fact that I accepted a week ago the call to Berlin. Should your call to Munich fall through and should, in the meantime, an adjustment of the Heidelberg Professorship not succeed, then we will clearly have to consider again your call here, which if the (political) situation were different, would not even be open to question. The conflict with the Munich Professoriat re: of making my professor position into an Extraordinary Professorship (without merit, and pure honorary), is according to established rules not permitted.

I am sending you today to you and Preisigke each a copy of my review of Wilhelm's UPZ⁷⁶. My (brief) announcement of Preisigke's name index has been, so it would appear, postponed until the next volume. Even this critique by Wilhelm is ½ year old, and it is pure luck, that volume II has not yet been published. Have you seen the book by Wolf about Arylrecht (Aryl Law)? His elucidation of Karoxf (sp?) as pertaining to Aryl bears some significance.

Many friendly greetings

Your Sethe

Additional support for Wilhelm came from two other colleagues, Walter Otto (1878-1941) and Eduard Schwartz (1858-1940), the German classical philologist who had been Rector of Strasbourg University before the war and was now Professor of Philosophy at Munich. Schwartz

75 Hermann Ranke (1878-1953), a Heidelberg colleague of Wilhelm and Director of its university's Institute of Egyptology. He was Ludwig Borchardt's assistant in Egypt at the time of the discovery of the bust of Queen Nefertiti in 1912. As a result of marrying the Jewish artist, Marie Stein-Ranke, he was forced by the Nazis in 1937 to vacate the Chair of Egyptology at Heidelberg.

76 This refers to Wilhelm's *Die demotischen Urkunden des Zenon*, published in 1929. The Zenon Archive is an important group of ancient papyri because it is one of the earliest records of life in Egypt under the rule of the Ptolemies. The Zenon archive contains a large variety of documents, touching upon numerous aspects of life in Hellenistic Egypt. All of these documents were collected and retained by Zenon, the assistant to one of the main administrators under the Ptolemies.

and Otto in the following year sponsored⁷⁷ Wilhelm's nomination for membership of *Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften* (The Bavarian Academy of Sciences and Humanities), the elite institution of scholars founded by Maximilian III, Elector of Bavaria, in 1769. Its membership, confined to no more than 112 in the philosophy/philology class to which Wilhelm was elected, has included over the years such distinguished figures as: Goethe, the Grimm brothers, Alexander von Humboldt, Max Planck and Albert Einstein. This considerable honour (Wilhelm was elected on 23 February 1924 by 39 votes to one) must have mitigated some of the bad feelings lingering from the Kersken/von Bissing affair. He had previously (in 1919) been elected a member, and from 1923 became an associate 'non-resident' member, of the *Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften*, which counts 27 Nobel Prize winners among its present and past members.

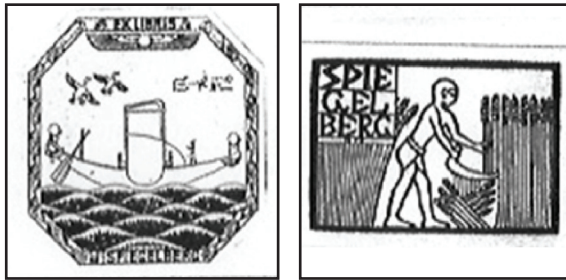
In addition to his admission to the Bavarian Academy, Wilhelm became a *Geheimrat*, the honorific title equivalent to Privy Councillor. As such, he would have been entitled to be addressed as *Exzellenz* (corresponding to 'The Right Honourable' form of address for British Privy Councillors). This title was granted to the highest officials of a German royal or principal court, and also to the most eminent professors in some German universities. While the granting of *Geheimrat* was discontinued with the dissolution of the German empire in 1918 and the formation of the Weimar Republic, the state of Bavaria continued with it after World War I.

During Wilhelm's first year at Munich, Lise and her three sons remained in Heidelberg and it was not until March 1924 that the family moved into their Munich apartment on Konradstrasse in the Schwabing district of the city. The delay in the family moving to Munich may have been out of Wilhelm's and Lise's desire to allow time for the dust to settle after the acrimonious kerfuffle of the previous year.

Wilhelm's appointment as Professor coincided with the formal establishment of the Institute of Egyptology in Munich with Wilhelm as its first head. Wilhelm worked tirelessly in getting the Institute up

77 The citation supporting Wilhelm's nomination to the Academy interestingly contains Otto's name crossed out and that of Schwartz substituted. Otto gave an address at Wilhelm's funeral which is included in his *ZumAndenken* (In Memoriam).

and running: making sure it had adequate premises in the University's cramped main building (even a lavatory was converted into usable office space); fund raising from private individuals and public institutions (to pay for salaries for the faculty, grants for students and purchases of books and other materials); and building a library and collection of Egyptian antiquities. Wilhelm gave or loaned much of his own collection of books, photographs and artifacts, which form a large part of the University's collection today. James Loeb, the American whose family founded the Wall Street investment banking firm, Kuhn Loeb, also made a significant contribution.



Wilhelm's book plates

Wilhelm's experience at Strasbourg and Heidelberg made him exceptionally well qualified to build almost from scratch an Egyptology department which was to become one of the premier institutions of its kind in Europe. In this task, he has assisted by Theodor Dolmar (1884-1969), professor of history of architecture in the ancient Near East, and Wilhelm Hengstenberg (1885-1963), professor of languages of the Christian East.

In the following years, Wilhelm was preoccupied with the preparation of his Demotic dictionary, which was unfinished at the time of his death in 1930. In the late 1920s he visited Egypt several times—in 1927, 1928, and 1929 completing work on the cataloguing of Demotic texts for the Cairo Museum, which he had begun before the war. This may have added significant stress for Wilhelm and would have proved a major distraction from the main task with which he was preoccupied in his final years—the production of his *magnum opus*, the Demotic Dictionary.

Despite the pressures of his professional work, Wilhelm was attentive to family matters and unstinting in offering help. In 1929, we find him seeking assistance from his English cousin, Will Rothenstein, Principal of the Royal College of Art, with a request he had received from a Munich university colleague, Lucian Scherman (1864-1946) who was Curator of the city's Ethnology Museum (now known as the Five Continents Museum).

Dear Will,

Please forgive me, if I take up your valuable time with a request which I am carrying out at the request of my colleague Prof Scherman, the Director of the local Museum for Ethnology which is well known. I forgot to ask you this summer. He is putting on an exhibition from May – July 1930 (when at the Oberammergau Pageant a huge number of English and Americans are expected) of Chinese and Japanese (perhaps also Korean) paintings, housed here in Munich, in his museum. He would like to show a few, but highly selective, excellent works from London's (...), along with South Kensington Museum, and also from private London collections (e.g. Eumorfopoulos⁷⁸). All costs for transport and security would be underwritten by the Museum für Völkerkunde. I would first like to ask you, whether you in principle would work through your University seminar. A brief answer would be sufficient. Should you be amenable, Geheimrat Scherman would give you greater details (i.e. his particular desires with attention to the choice of paintings) and an official request to you. I would only confirm, as noted, whether you would entertain such a request.

With the friendliest greeting from my house to your house,

Your cousin,
Wilhelm

P.S. I am going on 14 Feb for two months to Cairo, but this time without my wife.

78 George Aristides Eumorfopoulos (1863-1939) built up a huge collection of oriental art which he housed in a two-storey museum at the back of his Chelsea house. He founded the Oriental Ceramic Society and was its first president from 1921. He sold part of his collection to the Victoria & Albert and British Museums for £100 000 in 1934/5.

The visit to Cairo referred to at the end of his letter was the historic journey he made in 1930 with Thomas Mann (1875-1955), the Nobel Prize winning author. In 1927 Mann sought advice from Wilhelm for his monumental four-part novel, *Joseph and His Brothers*, re-telling the biblical story of Joseph. This became a huge undertaking, begun by Mann in 1924 and not finally completed until 1943 after he had emigrated to the United States. In March 1925, Mann made an initial journey to Egypt. In a letter to Ernst Bertram dated 4 February, he wrote: 'I shall have a look at the desert, the pyramids and the Sphinx.... for it could turn out to be useful in regard to certain plans, if still somewhat shadowy, which I'm cultivating in secret.' During this visit he claims to have seen in person Akhenaten⁷⁹, the XVIIIth Dynasty pharaoh (1352-1336 BC) 'at whose glass-covered mummy in the porphyry coffin I stood filled with emotion for a long time.' This apparently inspired Mann to broaden the scope of what started out as a novella into what eventually became a four-part literary monument running to more than 1,400 pages.

By 1927, Mann was preparing to steep himself further in the historical background to his *magnum opus*. In an introduction to a talk he gave in Vienna that year, he wrote:

The ancient East attracts me. I am besotted already since my youth with ancient Egypt and its culture. Truthfully, I do not know by now exactly anything about it. I have become an insignificant Orientalist, just as I was a physician at the time of *The Magic Mountain* (*his spectacular novel of ideas published in 1924 and set in a Swiss sanatorium*). Archaeology, as much removed it is (may be) as purpose and content of art, is to a large extent indispensable,

79 Akhenaten was the assumed name of Amenhotep IV. In the fifth year of his reign, he rejected the traditional religion in favour of worshipping the Aten, or sun disc, after whom he renamed himself. He closed all the temples to the old gods and obliterated their names from monuments. He built a new capital, Akhetaten (Tel el-Amarna), on a previously uninhabited site in Middle Egypt, as well as introducing a completely new artistic style. Akhenaten's principal queen was Nefertiti. Recent DNA tests have shown he was the father of Tutankhamun who eventually succeeded him. The latter restored the traditional religion. The city of Akhetaten was abandoned, after being occupied for only 20 years. Flinders Petrie described Akhenaten as "perhaps the most original thinker that ever lived in Egypt, and one of the great idealists of the world."

especially for the desire to be exact, to assist actualization. I would like so to tell those religious tales, as they actually happened or as they would have taken place.

Later that year, Mann took himself off for ten days to Bad Kreuth where he completed the first chapter (*At the Well*) of his Joseph tetralogy. On 8 November, he gave a first reading of this chapter in a lecture theatre (Auditorium Maximum) at Munich University. Among those in the audience was Wilhelm, who, according to his son Herbert, was more amused than impressed by what he heard.

With some trepidation, Mann wrote to Wilhelm on 16 November:

My Dear Professor,

From friends I hear to my enjoyment, but also to my consternation, that you were present recently at my reading in the university—with consternation, for would I have met your standards? However, this question is not the reason for these lines. For a long time it has been my pressing wish, in matters of significant literary undertakings, from which I recently gave an example, to request your professional (scientific) counsel. But you were away, ‘at home’, in Egypt. May I nevertheless now pay you a visit? Would you tell me a day, an hour, on which this could best occur? I would be most grateful.

Yours sincerely,

Thomas Mann

Wilhelm’s reply to Mann was characteristically gracious, modest and helpful:

Most Honourable Dr.

When I attended your lecture with great pleasure a week ago, I had no notion that a still more eminent presence would wish to speak with me concerning the historical and cultural background of your writings. You see perhaps what joy you would bestow upon me with a visit. I only hope you do not expect too much of me. Perhaps I will be able to offer you a negative service, by keeping you spared from poor, misguiding literature, of which unfortunately, much too much exists. In the best case I can hold the stirrup for an insignificant part of your literary creativity, and that I will so gladly do.

With friendliest greetings

Yours most sincerely

W. Spiegelberg

The initial meeting, according to Herbert, took place shortly after Wilhelm's reply around tea time in Wilhelm's study in the Konradstrasse and lasted about two hours. According to Herbert's recollection of the meeting:

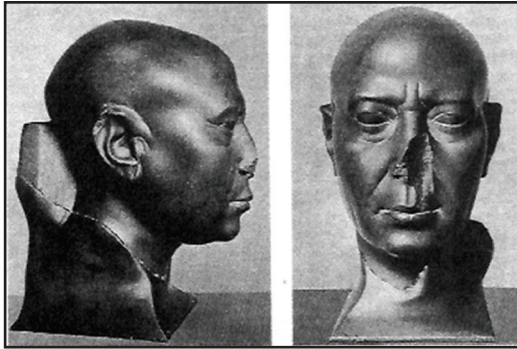
From the report of my father following the visit I recall that it was determined that Thomas Mann's Egyptology sources were antiquated, e.g. the fantasy work of a long deceased Munich Egyptologist Franz Josef Lauth. My father recommended to him especially Hermann Ranke's *Ägypten und ägyptisches Leben im Altertum* and Adolf Erman's *die Literatur der alten Ägypter* as the best introduction, perhaps also Breasted.

Additionally Thomas Mann asked my father, whether it was justified to set the visit of Joseph, such that the sun-monotheism of Akhenaten could be placed in relation with the Hebraic monotheism (*Akhenaten abandoned traditional Egyptian polytheism and introduced monotheistic worship centered on the solar deity, Aten*). My father explained to him, according to my recollection, that no concrete evidence existed for such a historical hypothesis, but that he saw no sufficient reason to the contrary, not to develop such a connection literarily, as it was not impossible.

Thomas Mann thus received from Wilhelm the scientific/professional blessing for his favourite idea—to allow Joseph to be a contemporary of Akhenaten, with the latter's Egyptian sun monotheism placed alongside the former's Hebraic monotheism.

Thomas Mann and Wilhelm developed a close relationship from the very beginning. Wilhelm made available to Mann the resources of his nascent Egyptology seminar at the University and accompanied him on visits to the sculpture galleries at the city's Glyptothek museum. In a letter to Herbert of 4 July, 1954, Mann wrote:

I am so pleased to receive a letter from you, the son of Wilhelm Spiegelberg who often advised me at the time that I was writing/working on the Joseph novels, and with whom I wandered through the Egyptian Collection of the Glyptothek.



The Berliner 'Green Head' of a statue of a high priest (Beknechons?)
Late Period, Dynasty 30, ca. 350 BC
Egyptian Museum, Berlin

There in the museum's Egyptian gallery, Mann would have studied the statue of Beknechons, High Priest of the god Amun, to whom Mann devoted a chapter in *Joseph in Egypt* and whom he described as:

Beknechons was a tall, lanky man and of very proud bearing besides—ribcage thrust upward, shoulders thrown back, chin raised. His egg-shaped head with its smooth-shaven skull was always uncovered and always imposing, and its expression, defined entirely by a deep, permanent crease between the eyes, was never less than stern, even when the man managed a smile—which came in any case as a condescending reward for special obsequiousness. The high priest's face, every bristle of beard carefully removed, was chiseled, regular, and impassive. With high cheekbones and furrows at nostrils and mouth as deep as the one between his eyes, he had a way of looking on past other people and things that was more than haughty and more like a rejection of the current state of the world, a negation and condemnation of the entire direction life had taken for the past few centuries, or, for that matter, millennia, just as his attire was very costly and fine, but also old-fashioned, a sacerdotal abstention from the entire present epoch...(*Joseph in Egypt*, Part 5, Chapter 4)

At the end of 1929, Mann turned again to Wilhelm for advice. In a letter dated 25 December, he wrote:

Dear Esteemed Professor,

I want very much to hope that I have sent you my thanks for your friendly wishes of congratulations regarding the Nobel Prize. If not, please forgive me,

in view of the chaos in which I had to live for weeks.

May I please visit you again? My wife and I are planning namely still in this winter a trip to Egypt and I would very much like to gather as much advice as possible from you.

Most sincerely,
Thomas Mann

Herbert recalls a meeting following Mann's request.

My father had sent Thomas Mann a congratulatory wish on the occasion of receiving the Nobel Prize for Literature, but nothing written remains of this correspondence....

Thomas Mann came shortly afterwards again for a visit for tea. Practical questions about the travel route stood this time primarily in the foreground. Baedekers "Egypt" with Egyptological information by Georg Steindorff was the main text which my father recommended to him. I recall also that the name Ludwig Borchardt was mentioned. Additionally, my father suggested that he should become a member of the German Oriental Society. Also he gave him a special copy of his lecture 'The Credibility of Herodotus' Account of Egypt.' The copy in the Thomas-Mann-Archive in Zurich shows many underlinings and the word "Hathor" (*ancient Egyptian goddess of love*). Naturally my father had recommended also Herodotus' account of Egypt to Thomas Mann.

On 7 January, Thomas Mann thanked Wilhelm, who by this time was staying in Cairo. Mann's post card is addressed to the Egyptian Museum in Cairo where Wilhelm had resided for several months to complete the catalogue of the Demotic Papyri which had been commissioned by the Egyptian government.

Most Honorable Professor

I must thank you so very much for the very lovely and important gift of your essay on Herodotus and Egypt. I have benefited very much from it, underlined it greatly, and with certainty it will accompany me to Joseph's second home. Additionally the Oriental Society responded. It is solely news from Norddeutschen Lloyd (*German shipping company*) that I await still.

Yours sincerely,
Thomas Mann



Thomas and Katia Mann in Egypt, 1930

Five weeks later, on 14 February 1930, Thomas Mann embarked, together with his wife Katia, on his second Egypt trip which this time would take him not only to Cairo and Thebes, but also throughout all Egypt. Mann destroyed his own diaries covering this period of his life but Wilhelm's travel journal of this Egyptian visit survives.

14. Februar 1930 (Freitag)
 Mittel 8⁵⁵ (Leere, Herbst. Reue. - Einwe-
 dern des Füllungsball quantitativ) Neben mir Thom.
 Mann u. Frau. In dem abblat 2 große Malakow
 (Kleinsack) Wunde von dem Kopf des Horns
 der / Baden Baden. Sardin. Vierung an Viter-
 Borkstein Tonnelle. Phologie. Verhältnisse nach der
 Mann (Sonneret) (Um 10¹⁵ in Triest) Viter
 mäßigke nach. Prüfung des Kunstpreises, eine Lauf
 für die Malakow. Tonalica (Sack). Die
 die Path in der die Nacht zum Dampf. Kle-
 9 mgd Kabani, die gewöhnlich wachen soll.

15. Februar
 Um 9 Uhr in die Stadt. Museo Corco
 die Lehrschriftige Prof. Dott. Piero de-
 Tobi. der 1911 ¹⁹¹¹ Amer-höhe. - 4 um 12
 über auftritt geliebten Sanktoplay. Die. will
 mir Photo mit Cairo senden. Mittel 11 Uhr
 Pröfene der. 8 1 tel. am 20, 2. tel. 12 Pers.
 (Folge der unabhgl. Terico) Die Tenth Prof. Magdon
 [Mia] Bales (Assistent von Leanka) - Kitzsch

Extract from Wilhelm's Egyptian travel diary, 14 and 15 February, 1930

Wilhelm accompanied the Manns from the start of the visit. On the train from Munich to Trieste, he records a conversation about Senwosret, a XIIth Dynasty Pharaoh. The party arrived in Cairo on 18 February. The Manns remained in Cairo until the following day, when they embarked on a month's long round trip through Egypt. They chose the most comfortable means available at the time, a Nile steamship. Wilhelm remained in Cairo and received the following postcard sent on 21 February 1930.

On the Nile Steamship

Dear Professor, we are pressing now for the first time, as every warring pharaoh, a bit into the destitute dark and look forward to this unfamiliar light.

Auf Wiedersehen,

Sincerely,

Thomas Mann

Towards the end of the visit, Wilhelm accompanied Mann with the Dutch Egyptologist Adriaan de Buck (1892-1959) on an excursion to Saqqara, the necropolis of the ancient Egyptian capital, Memphis, 30 km south of Cairo. There they visited the excavations of the English Egyptologist, Cecil Mallaby Firth (1878-1931), near the stepped pyramid of Djoser, as well as the Serapeum, the burial place of sacred Apis bulls. On the return trip from Saqqara to Cairo they fitted in a visit to the excavation in the necropolis of Giza by the Egyptian Egyptologist, Selim Hassan (1887-1961), author of the seminal Arabic language, 16 volume Encyclopaedia of Ancient Egypt. On the following day, 18 March, Wilhelm escorted Mann on a one and a half hour visit to the Cairo Museum where they met Percy Newberry. The conclusion of the visit was only marred by both Manns contracting dysentery—Wilhelm's last diary entry records visiting Katia in the Victoria Hospital in Cairo.

Thomas, who had travelled on from Cairo to Palestine with Katia, sent the following postcard to Wilhelm dated 26 March 1930.

German Hospital Jerusalem

Dear Professor,

Unfortunately it was not possible to come to the museum on Friday afternoon, and I wish I could have dispensed with such bad luck that I had with this institute. Now I have become ill and lie in the German Hospital, where my wife at the same time is admonished to complete her cure. The intestinal infection attacked me quite seriously and threatening, but appears to lessen rapidly. We think often of your help and hospitality in Cairo and look forward to a meeting in Munich.

Yours

Thomas Mann

The proposed meeting never took place.

Mann's second inspection journey to Egypt and Palestine, from February to April 1930, with Wilhelm as tutor and tour guide, added impetus to the Joseph project. Writing 18 years later, Mann⁸⁰ described the journey as having 'served merely as on-the-spot verification of relevant studies in which I had immersed myself from a distance. All the same, I did see the Nile's landscapes with my own eyes, from the Delta all the way up (or down) to Nubia, plus sites in the Holy Land, and my impressions were put to good use in the third volume, *Joseph in Egypt*.'

'Afterwards, things progress somewhat more speedily,' wrote Hermann Kurzke⁸¹. Mann described the journey as 'the greatest, the most significant of my life', despite both he and his wife Katia being hospitalized with dysentery. The first two volumes (*The Stories of Jacob* and *Young Joseph*) appeared in 1933 and 1934. The third novel, described by Mann as 'the poetic high point' of the tetralogy, was finished in 1936. Mann's diary entry for 23 August that year, made at Kusnacht on the Lake of Zurich, records: 'This morning I finished Joseph in Egypt—a momentous date when I consider that this project has been with me for three whole years and nearly six months ever since we left Munich.' In fact, it was almost ten years in the making.

80 *Sixteen Years*, Thomas Mann's introduction to the 1948 American edition of *Joseph and His Brothers*

81 Hermann Kurzke: *Thomas Mann: Biography*

Wilhelm's contribution to Mann's great work was undeniably critical. According to Alfred Grimm⁸², 'Three long years, Wilhelm Spiegelberg had been the Egyptological advisor to Thomas Mann—the enjoyable exactness of the Joseph novels are due in large part to his recommendations and support. He (Wilhelm) has earned the uncontested honour of having opened our eyes.'

Wilhelm and Thomas Mann evidently had much in common, aside from a fascination with ancient Egypt. Mann had lived in Munich since 1894 when his family moved there after the death of his father. From their first meeting in 1927, he and Wilhelm met on business, as it were, at the University and socially with their wives, taking tea in each other's homes. Herbert recalls that 'my parents spoke especially about the informal demeanour of the Manns ("so different from his works").' Mann's final postcard dated 16 August 1930, written from his thatched summer-house in Nidden near the Baltic, was sent to Wilhelm, perhaps with a sense of foreboding, just four months before his death:

Again in the wilderness! All of us send you, my dear professor, and your spouse, autumn tinged greetings of summer.

Yours very truly
Thomas Mann

Mann was a graduate of Munich University and his wife, Katia, was the daughter of Professor Alfred Pringsheim, Professor of Mathematics at the University and heir to one of the largest fortunes in Germany. Mann, like Wilhelm, was fully aware of the strong anti-Semitic undercurrents in the 1920s—Katia was Jewish. He quarreled publicly with the Nazis which led to his harassment by the Munich police and the confiscation of his family house on Poschingerstrasse (now Thomas-Mann-Allee) after Hitler came to power in 1933. By 1930, the Nazis were calling left-liberals "Thomasmännern". Stripped of his German citizenship, he became a Czechoslovak citizen and began his lengthy exile that year, at first in Switzerland from where he observed with anguish the horrors inflicted on Jews in Munich by the Nazis. In 1933,

82 Alfred Grimm: *Joseph und Echnaton; Thomas Mann und Ägypten*. I am much indebted to the author for his account of Wilhelm's relationship with Thomas Mann

he noted in his diaries⁸³: 'In Munich, and evidently elsewhere as well, the systematic boycott of all Jewish-owned businesses, has been instituted.' (31 March) 'Business establishments must remain open and employees be paid; yet the public is prevented from entering them. Those who do so are photographed and denounced. Yellow marks on all Jewish shops. It is all incredibly ridiculous and insane.' (1 April)... 'This revolution boasts of being bloodless, but it is the most hate-filled and murderous that ever was.' (21 April).

All this has echoes of the traumas Wilhelm himself had experienced and his sons were to go through.

At this time, Wilhelm maintained his much valued relationships with British Egyptologist friends. In 1928, we find him expressing an opinion on a student whom Percy Newberry had sent over to Munich for Wilhelm to tutor in Demotic.

Munich

18 November 1928

My dear Newberry,

Some days ago, Mr Bellairs left us and will be now on his way to Egypt. As I suppose you like to hear something about my opinion concerning him, I write you a few words to tell you that in the whole I had a very good impression of him. In the 20 lessons I gave him he has made very good progress, so that he begins to read easy texts. If he continues, there is even some chance that he may go on to scientific work. I was very agreeably disappointed that he has a real interest in philosophical questions. I have recommended him to go now with a serious study of Gardiner's Grammar. Perhaps you may help him.....

I hope you both have a good time in Cairo and make some fine discoveries as the (*Pyramid symbol*). I will be in Cairo about 1 March, just in time, I fear, to miss you there. My wife this time will probably come with me.

With our kindest regards to you both,

Yours ever,

W. Spiegelberg

83 *Thomas Mann Diaries (1918-1939)*, selection and foreword by Hermann Kesten; translated by Richard and Clara Winston

Wilhelm's work ethic was evident right up to the time he died. The ZÄS just days before his death contained an article by him describing a Demotic papyrus fragment found in the ruins of Elephantine in Upper Egypt from the story of Ahikar, a chancellor to Assyrian kings known for his outstanding wisdom. This fragment dating back to 500 BC showed, according to Wilhelm, that the Egyptians must have read the story of Ahikar—a significant discovery at the time.

The Chair of Egyptology at Munich University lay vacant after Wilhelm's death until 1932 when Alexander Scharff (1892-1950) from Berlin University was appointed. Scharff battled with some success and at considerable personal risk to keep the department from being infiltrated by the Nazis. In a letter (June 1945) from the German Egyptologist George Steindorff to John A. Wilson⁸⁴ at Chicago University, the former referred to Scharff as 'one of a few German Egyptologists who have proved themselves men of honour...[and] who has been during all his life a democrat and an anti-Nazi'. During World War II, the University buildings, including that which housed the Institute of Egyptology, were badly damaged by air raids. Had it not been for Scharff's efforts, with the help of his remaining students, to evacuate the inventory of books and antiquities to safe storage in Lenggries (a town in the foothills of the Bavarian Alps), the damage would have been far worse. Scharff suffered a mild stroke in 1944 but was able to resume responsibility for the Department and assist in the de-Nazification process at the University after the war.

Wilhelm's death on 23 December 1930 came after an illness struck him and an operation became necessary for what seemed a minor bladder disturbance but which proved to be incipient cancer. He died from an embolus in hospital very suddenly during an otherwise smooth recovery, perhaps because his heart was not strong enough to pull him through.

84 It is ironic, as Edmund Meltzer has pointed out (op.cit.), that Samuel Noah Kramer, a Near East scholar, recounts in his autobiography how he had been told by Martin Spengler, head of the Egyptology Department at Chicago, twelve years before Steindorff's letter:

His death was quick and without pain, just as he had wished—a poem⁸⁵ written in his own hand was found in his desk after his death expressing the thought that a quick and sudden death is a desirable one.

One day, out of a clear blue sky,
A thunderbolt strikes a man at the zenith of his life and enjoins him to stop
During his journey through life.
Fortunate is he, if he goes immediately and the bolt transfigures his countenance
glowingly.

But woe to him, if the thunderbolt has struck him at 80 and his soul and body
glides slowly and heavily from him.

Wilhelm's attitude to dying, for which he appeared to be well prepared, was influenced by his knowledge of the ancient Egyptians. He increasingly recognized and stressed, especially in his latter years, the Egyptian theory of 'the next life' as the dominating force in their art and culture. The New Testament which he came to know well during his studies of the Coptic language, interested him as a scientist and human being. He regarded the world with a slight scepticism but remained optimistic about his work and people in general. In this respect, he was inspired by his great admiration of Goethe.

Wilhelm's funeral took place at the main crematorium in Munich on a winter's day. In keeping with Wilhelm's wishes, it was conducted quietly, simply and without traditional pomp and ceremony. After a

Sam, we all like you and think highly of your scholarship. We have therefore decided to appoint you as an instructor in the department. ...But I must warn you, Sam, that as a Jew you cannot rise in the department above the position of assistant professor. What's more, to balance your appointment, we shall also appoint a gentile as instructor in the department.

85 Einmal trifft vom heiteren Himmel
der Blitzstrahl den Scheitel des Menschen
und gebietet ihm halt
auf seinem Lebensweg.
Wohl ihm, wenn er dann plötzlich dahinsinkt
und ihm leuchtend der Strahl
noch die Stirne verklärt.
Aber wehe, wenn 80 der Blitz ihn getroffen,
daß ihm langsam und schwer
Seele und Körper verglimmt.

blessing service led by the parish priest, Father Dean Langenfas, senior figures from the universities of Heidelberg (Professor Albert Fraenkel⁸⁶) and Munich (the Rector Albert Rehm (1871-1949) and Vice Dean of the Philosophy faculty Professor Gotthelf Bergsträsser (1886-1933), Professor of Semitic Languages who was an outspoken anti-Nazi), as well as Walter Otto (representing the Bavarian Academy), laid wreaths on his coffin and gave their own tributes to Wilhelm.

The tributes, of course, dealt extensively with Wilhelm's life and achievements, notably his contribution to Demotic scholarship. But there was a palpable sense of affection for Wilhelm among the mourners and a feeling that their world had prematurely lost a figure who was not just an eminent teacher and colleague but a friend who demonstrated a generous warmth of humanity. Touchingly, one of his students (Hans Wolfgang Müller) laid a wreath and gave a short address—he spoke of the “irreparable loss of our model and guide,” Wilhelm's friendship and “the spiritual significance of his teaching and research, combined with his human nobility”. Others spoke of “one of the most lovable people”, “his kindness and human warmth”, the friendship which united him with eminent Egyptologists abroad, and his talent for organization.

The official tribute recorded:

Despite his great works, he remained modest and acknowledged the work that remained to be done. Family and friends will not only remember the scientist but also the person who showed great understanding, love and compassion for everybody. However, his humanitarian interests were reaching even further than family and friends. The great cultural catastrophe of World War I shocked him profoundly as a scientist whose work was international, as a human being and as a German. After the War it gave him great satisfaction to be able to help restore broken bonds between the nations and arouse sympathy and help from all over the world for Germany in its time of need, especially in the time of high inflation.

86 Albert Fraenkel (1871-1949) was an eminent physician who had studied medicine at Strasbourg and was well known to Wilhelm's father-in-law. His later life was marred by Adolf Hitler's rise to power in Germany. He was stripped of his position as professor at Heidelberg in 1933 and his licence to practice medicine was revoked in 1938, three months before his death.

Epilogue

Wilhelm's untimely and sudden death in hospital, just before Christmas 1930, came as a bitter blow to Lise and her three sons. This was also the year when the Nazis scored their first major election victory. On 14 September, the NSDAP received 6,371,000 votes in the poll – over 18 per cent of the total – and were thus entitled to 107 seats in the German Reichstag. It was a stunning victory for Hitler. Overnight, the Nazi Party went from the smallest to the second largest political party in Germany.

Writing to William Edgerton and his wife, Jean, in 1932, Lise asked presciently and chillingly: 'What do you say to Hitler? Now one offers to him Ministerial positions, but he refuses all of these. He wants only to be Chancellor. What will happen now?' Hitler became Chancellor of Germany in January 1933. The following month (27 February) saw the burning of the Reichstag giving the Nazis the pretext for pushing through legislation effectively banning civil liberties and making Hitler dictator.

Lise continued to live in Munich sharing the apartment in Konradstrasse 16a in the bohemian Schwabing quarter with her brother Heinrich, who had come to live with his sister and brother-in-law after his wealth had been destroyed by the German hyperinflation of the early 1920s, which wiped out the savings of Germany's middle class. Heinrich continued to live with her until his death in 1942. In 1937, the two siblings had moved into a smaller apartment in Bogenhausen (Sternwartstrasse 2), in the north east of Munich.

By this time, the writing was on the wall for Lise's three sons. At the annual party rally in Nuremberg in 1935, the Nazis had announced new laws which institutionalized many of the racial theories prevalent in Nazi ideology. The laws excluded German Jews from Reich citizenship,

disenfranchising them and depriving them of most political rights. They also prohibited marriage and extra marital intercourse between Jews and persons of 'German or related blood'. The Nuremberg Laws, as they became known, did not define a 'Jew' as someone with particular religious beliefs. Instead, anyone who had three or four Jewish grandparents was defined as a Jew, regardless of whether they identified themselves as a Jew or belonged to the Jewish religious community. Many Germans who had not practised Judaism for years found themselves caught in the grip of Nazi terror. Even people with Jewish grandparents who had converted to Christianity were defined as Jews. And this included Lise's three sons.

In 1938, Erwin left for Brazil, where, after two years at the recently established University of Rio de Janeiro, he took his own life. Because of his Jewish origin, Herbert, having received his PhD in 1928 from the University of Munich, was unable to complete the *Habilitation* examination necessary to become professor in the German university system. Instead, he emigrated in 1933, first to Switzerland, where he held several temporary teaching positions, and then in 1937 to England on his way to the United States where he initially taught at Swarthmore College, Pennsylvania. Reinhard, meanwhile, remained in Munich, but after *KrySTALLNACHT*—the Nazi pogrom against the Jews on 9-10 November, 1938—narrowly escaping arrest, he was forced to give up his bookbinding business in the apartment and emigrate.

Worse was to come. In 1939, Reinhard had moved to England where Lise had taken him to stay in Cheshire with his uncle and aunt (my grandparents, George and Fanny Spiegelberg). By the late summer, Herbert had returned briefly from the US to pick up his brother and accompany him to North America. On 2 September, the two brothers boarded the SS Athenia in Liverpool bound for Montreal. The ship left at 1 pm and by the evening was 60 nautical miles south of Rockall, north west of Ireland, when it was torpedoed by a German submarine U-30. Athenia remained afloat for more than 14 hours, until she finally sank, stern first, at 10.30 the next morning. Several ships came to the rescue—including HMS Electra, HMS Fame, HMS Escort, the Swedish yacht Southern Cross, the Norwegian tanker MS Knute Nelson and the US cargo ship City of Flint. Between them, they rescued about 981 passengers and crew, including Herbert and his brother Reinhard.

Of the some 1,100 aboard, 98 passengers and 19 crew members were killed. This was the first British ship to be sunk in the Second World War, and, with 28 US citizens among the dead, there was real concern among the German high command who feared that this might become the pretext for the US to enter into the war—just as the sinking of the *Lusitania* in 1915 with the loss of 128 American lives had provoked the eventual entry of the US into WWI.

Lise was unaware at the time how close she came to being left without any children. After surviving their ordeal, the two brothers finally entered the US—Reinhard to become a Benedictine monk in a Protestant monastery in the mid-West as Brother Boniface (he died in 1978). In 1941, Herbert found employment as an instructor of philosophy at Lawrence College in Appleton, Wisconsin, where he spent the next 22 years and was promoted to full professor in 1953. It is interesting to recall that the immigration process enabling him to gain entry to the US was greatly helped by the gift in 1931 of Wilhelm's papers, including the documents he had prepared for his unfinished Demotic dictionary, to the Oriental Institute at Chicago University. According to Herbert, the US consul in London initially resisted his US visa application.

Richard Jasnow⁸⁷ has identified other influences that would have smoothed Herbert's entry to the US, in particular, William Edgerton, Wilhelm's erstwhile pupil and admirer at Chicago's Oriental Institute. According to Jasnow:

In 1936 Edgerton wrote to a tremendously influential man of the time, Dr. Abraham Flexner. Flexner is still famous for having modernized medical education in America. He also founded the Institute of Advanced Study in Princeton, and brought such refugees as Albert Einstein to America. Edgerton cold-calls him, as it were. He argues his case for Herbert Spiegelberg as strongly as possible. Didn't Princeton's Institute of Advanced Studies need, perhaps, a Department of Philosophy? I am sure that was high on their list of priorities in the 1930s. However, among other points, Edgerton emphasizes the Spiegelberg family's relationship with the great medical researcher Dr. Friedrich Daniel von Recklinghausen. That had an impact, since Flexner's own brother had studied with von Recklinghausen. Flexner agreed to help.

87 Richard Jasnow, *op.cit.*

Herbert obtained a US visa in 1938 and in 1944 was naturalized as a US citizen, marrying in the same year Eldora Haskell.

After Herbert and Reinhard had moved to the US, Lise returned to Munich where she spent the war years typing her brother Heinrich's medical manuscripts and continuing her social work in a newly formed old people's home (Luise Kieselbach Hause), helping with the selection of new residents. By 1943, Munich had begun to suffer increasing Allied air attacks and it was at this point that Lise decided to abandon her apartment in Bogenhausen to live with Alice Pfleiderer, Wilhelm's widowed cousin, in Heilbronn, north of Stuttgart on the river Neckar. There, during the last few weeks of the war, caught between the American and German battle lines, they had to get by without connections to water and power supplies, with communications restricted to 25 word messages transmitted through the Red Cross.

At the end of the fighting, Lise returned to Munich and plans were made to join Herbert in Appleton, Wisconsin. After an anguishing delay of three months spent in a camp near Bremen because of a strike of the crew from the troop ship that was to take her to New York, she finally arrived in Appleton in January 1947, to be reunited with Herbert and to meet his wife, Eldora, and their daughter, Gwen, and later, Lynne, after her birth in April 1948. Lise's health soon deteriorated and she died later in the year on Christmas Day. Her gravestone resembles that beneath which the ashes of Wilhelm are buried in Munich.



Lise, her sister Fanny and George (Wilhelm's younger brother) at their reunion in Appleton, Wisconsin, 1947

Herbert went on to become a professor of philosophy at Washington University, St Louis, Missouri in 1963. He died on 6 September, 1990. He is best known for his work on phenomenology. His two volume opus, *The Phenomenological Movement*, chronicles the history of this branch of philosophy and remains the most encompassing and comprehensive history of the movement. Herbert also devoted himself to moral and legal philosophy. According to Sebastian Luft, author of Herbert's entry in the Dictionary of Modern American Philosophers:

The individual and the ensuing solidarity of individuals in our global society are the focus of his ethical essays written between 1944 and 1983 which Spiegelberg collected in his *Stepping Stones Towards an Ethics for Fellow Existents*. In these essays he addressed specific contemporary moral issues in the nuclear age... Besides systematic pieces on the problem of selfhood, human equality and human rights and the question of fairness, Spiegelberg offers a number of incredibly timely reflections on contemporary issues. He takes position on issues such as the rights of the 'naturally handicapped', the burning problem of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict and the question of civil disobedience in a nation that is preparing for nuclear warfare. These reflections culminate in the recurring phrase of the individual's 'accident of birth' that merely by chance places one among a group or nation of 'haves' or 'have nots'. From this follows not only the demand for solidarity in our global society but also the duty for those born as 'haves' to lend support to the 'have nots'. This is already formulated in his 'Creed' of 1937, written in Latin: *In consortis locum quem casu totem non occupas te transpone et sortem actu suam tuam potentia respice.*

'Transpose yourself into the position of your companion in fate, it is only by accident you do not occupy his place; and respect the fate that is his by actuality as the one which could potentially be yours.'

This is perhaps a fitting epitaph for Wilhelm and his family. It was, after all, an 'accident of birth' that caused the family to be uprooted from their much loved home in Strasbourg at the end of World War I. And it similarly was an 'accident of birth' that forced Herbert and his brothers out of Germany in the 1930s. Their 'accident of birth' was borne stoically and unselfishly, as Herbert's 'Creed' prescribed. It is remarkable how much father and son managed to achieve despite what must have been seen at times as overpowering odds against them. They made the very most of their 'accident of birth'.

Wilhelm's legacy as a Demotist

The Demotic script was in use in Egypt for over 1,000 years, covering the late pharaonic years and the period under the Ptolemies. It is a cursive form of Egyptian script and followed 'hieratic' which appeared and was developed alongside the more formal hieroglyphic scripts throughout the period of the pharaohs. Demotic scribes wrote everything from tax receipts, land purchase/sale agreements and marriage contracts to religious compositions and stories. Difficult to decipher and interpret, Demotic has posed a considerable challenge for scholars over many years.

It has also enjoyed a complex relationship with 'main line' Egyptology, as Richard Jasnow⁸⁸, to whom I am indebted for most of what follows, has pointed out. The earliest Egyptologists, notably Jean-François Champollion and Thomas Young, the English scientist (1773-1829), were deeply 'invested' in Demotic—32 lines of the Rosetta Stone (the middle section), on which they achieved their ground-breaking decipherment of the hieroglyphic text, are in Demotic. But since then, Demotic studies have sometimes been marginalized. Some academics have even doubted whether it actually belongs to Egyptology. "Some Pharaonic colleagues," according to Jasnow, "still roll their eyes at the mention of Demotic. Some think us outsiders as representing "The Other.""

At the end of the 19th century, Erman and his colleagues in Berlin treated Demotic with considerable suspicion and did not regard highly the work of Wilhelm. Around this time, the German and French Demotists, Heinrich Brugsch and Eugene Revillout (1843-1913) respectively, were at loggerheads—Wilhelm, writing in the *ZÄS* in 1924, thought that the bitter polemics between the German and Frenchman

88 Richard Jasnow, *op.cit.*

brought Demotic into disrepute in the late 19th Century, and made Demotic the “*Aschenbrödel*” (“Cinderella”) of Egyptology.

It was not until 1934 that Demotic became an essential part of the Egyptology Honours Degree course at Oxford University. According to ‘Jack’ Battiscombe Gunn (1883-1950)⁸⁹, who succeeded Francis Llewellyn Griffith as Egyptology Professor of Oxford following the death of Griffith: “The time has come for this; too long has Demotic been regarded as a thing apart, not really ‘Egyptian,’ a great speciality that may safely be left to three or four people with exceptional inclinations and opportunities in each generation, with the result that a gap is left of about a thousand years in the continuity of the language.”

Jasnow has identified 75 significant Demotists over the years and has described Wilhelm as ‘a foundational figure’ in Demotic studies. In his *Egyptian Grammar*, Sir Alan Gardiner acknowledged Wilhelm in the following words: ‘In the domain of Demotic, Wilhelm Spiegelberg proved the most prolific and serviceable editor of texts.’ After the publication of his Demotic Grammar and Coptic Dictionary, Wilhelm set to work on his next seminal contribution to Demotic studies, his Demotic Dictionary which was unfinished at the time of his death. It was on this important final project that his relationship with William Edgerton and the Oriental Institute of Chicago University where Edgerton was shortly to become Associate Professor, played a central part.

The Oriental Institute was established in 1919 by James Henry Breasted (1865-1935), the first professor of Egyptology at an American university, with funds donated by John D. Rockefeller Jr. The latter also funded the launch of the Egyptian expedition to Thebes, where William Edgerton and his colleague John Wilson, based at Chicago House in Luxor⁹⁰, were assigned the task of publishing the many Demotic graffiti found at the Theban temples at Medinet Habu. For this purpose they

89 During World War II, several of his students worked on code breaking at Bletchley Park

90 Chicago House, founded in 1924 by the University of Chicago to undertake the Epigraphic Survey recording through photographs and precise line drawings the inscriptions and relief scenes on major temples and tombs at Luxor for publication. More recently the Survey has expanded its programme to include conservation, restoration, and site management.

were sent to Munich to work with Wilhelm in the summer semesters of 1927 and 1928.

In Germany, Edgerton lived with Wilhelm and his family in their apartment on Konradstrasse 16a. Edgerton recalls: ‘reading Papyrus Insinger⁹¹ with Spiegelberg (just the two of us; and we meet right in his study), so that I hardly see the inside of the University at all. P. Insinger is a highly moral document of the Roman Period. It has been translated by Boeser, and, again, very recently (and much worse) by Lexa (*a pupil of Wilhelm with whom he fell out over his plans to publish his own Demotic Grammar in competition with Wilhelm’s*)’.

In Egypt, Wilhelm was a regular visitor at Chicago House—his name appears in the guest book in 1927 and 1929—and became a close friend of Edgerton, both personally and professionally, as well as his mentor and collaborator, as the following letter (4 March, 1928) from Wilhelm to Edgerton shows:

Dear Herr Dr.!

Much thanks for your detailed letter of 16. Febr.! I was very happy to see from this that you wish to remain true to Demotic (*dass Sie der Demotistik treu bleiben wollen*), and I only hope that I can bring you in the coming semester again a good bit further. If you can successfully maintain both your present [New Kingdom epigraphic] activity and your previously acquired knowledge (of Demotic), then that is a great achievement. That you are proceeding only slowly with the Setne facsimile [which I showed earlier], I totally understand. You are completely correct, one must absolutely understand the text in order to be able to copy the weak ink traces- of which there are unfortunately enough. Working with the Late Egyptian of the Medinet Habu Texts is a good education for Demotic grammar, which is in the main Late Egyptian. It would be a great joy to discuss with you difficult passages. The semester will not begin before the third of May, but it would be a good thing if you could arrive to us a few days earlier. It is a great joy to me to hear that Breasted has been relieved by his son of administrative work and now has more time for scholarship. I have

91 Named after Jan Herman Insinger, a Dutch antiquarian dealer, to whom it was sold in 1895 in Luxor. It contains one of the oldest (2nd century AD) extant writings about Egyptian wisdom teaching (Sebayt). It is kept in the Rijksmuseum in Leiden and was translated by the Dutch Boese and the Czech Lexa.

received today truly important photographic material for my Dictionary, many wonderful photographs of Demotic Pap.(yri) of the Museum in Michigan. ... I use these documents only for my Wörterbuch and hope (between us) that YOU at some time will publish these as well as other papyri from American collections (e.g., the Historical Society in New York). Naturally, I have no control over them, but can suggest you as editor. I myself have no time, as you know, [I] have too many other irons in the fire. We can speak about all of this soon. Hopefully you are both enjoying good health. We are happy to be able to greet you soon as house guests.

With hearty greetings to you both.

Yours truly,

W. Spiegelberg

It is clear that Wilhelm took a great interest in the career of Edgerton, and indeed used his influence to advance it, as Wilhelm wrote in 1928:

Dear Edgerton,

Yesterday, however, I have returned from Brompton, near Scarborough, where I and my wife have spent 2 nice days in the guesthouse of [Sir Alan] Gardiner. There I met also Breasted (with son) and had the opportunity to discuss with him in all quiet your future and my Demotic plans. As far as you yourself are concerned, it was very easy for me to convince Breasted that it was necessary to free you up [from Edgerton's Epigraphic Survey obligations] so that you could more and more make the transition to Demotic. Breasted said the following: 'I am happy to hear from you that Edgerton will become a Demoticist.'

Later, in 1930, just before he died, Wilhelm wrote to Edgerton:

Dear Herr Colleague!

Much thanks for your last extensive letter. I am happy to see from it that you are both (*William and Jean Edgerton*) doing well, and that you are making good progress with your work, in which I will always have the greatest interest. It is for me a particular joy that you have now a secure life-position [tenure, promotion to Associate Professor], and thereby "firm ground under the feet!" That is for many people a sign to rest. With you I know that it is, on the contrary, a motivation to scholarly work, for which you will now have the proper peace of mind. You will naturally in the next years have much to do with teaching (which will nevertheless help you much, as the saying goes,

“we learn by teaching,” *docendo discimus*), nevertheless, there will be time for Demotic, which gives me joy, that you will continue the planned works (Setne, Palaeography, Medinet Habu Graffiti and Ostraca..

After his death, the greater part of Wilhelm’s archive was given to the Oriental Institute where Edgerton continued to work on the monumental Demotic Dictionary which Wilhelm had left unfinished. In a real sense that work, which continues to this day under Professor Janet Johnson, can trace a direct lineage back to Wilhelm, who taught Edgerton, who taught his successor George Hughes, and who taught his successor Professor Johnson, who has taught and teaches today’s Demotists.

Richard Jasnow should have the last word on Wilhelm’s legacy as a Demotist. He concluded his address to the 12th International Congress of Demotic Studies in Würzburg on 1 September 2014 with the following:

My title is “Why we do Demotic!” Perhaps you expect an answer? Well, we don’t do it for money or fame. There are easier ways to make the one and win the other. My wish to explore the emotional side of Demotic was, of course, in part an excuse to conjure up past Demoticists, an intriguing lot I think. Beneath our bland exterior there is a good deal of passion. Clearly we thrive on the challenge of decipherment and joy of discovery. We live with our texts for a long time and thus become deeply attached to them. A spirit of competition pervades our field, generally healthy, sometimes slightly exaggerated. Think of Brugsch’s feelings of triumph at being the first to read the Story of Setne! Think of Revillout’s anger at..... whatever! Do we do Demotic for “love,” as I so blithely stated at the beginning of my talk? I myself find it hard to see that many on my list did Demotic for anything other than love, or something much like love. Undeniable is the powerful attraction of Demotic once hooked! One of you wrote to me: “The more I worked on Demotic, the more fascinating I found it.” I would add: the more you work on Demotic the more aware you become of what remains to be done, or, more specifically, what you haven’t done. Demoticists are a small group engaged on a vast scholarly enterprise, think of Gunn’s “thousand years.” This is both an inspiration and a burden. To be a Demoticist means never to be bored, but also never to be finished. Spiegelberg undoubtedly knew he could not complete most of his projects. Yet I suspect he felt some satisfaction and joy at what he had accomplished. Striking indeed is how often he uses the word “Freude” in his letters! Few of us

Demoticists will equal Spiegelberg or many others on my list, but all of us can do our part for that “most evil of evil Egyptian scripts.” If that is not a worthy way to spend one’s life, I do not know what is.



Sir Alan Gardiner (left) and William Edgerton from a Chicago House staff photograph, 1926/27

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Dr Alfred Grimm for his scholarly account of how Wilhelm assisted Thomas Mann in the preparation of *Joseph and his Brothers*;

Professor Richard Jasnow, Professor of Egyptology, Department of Near Eastern Studies, Johns Hopkins University, whose paper to the 12th International Congress of Demotic Studies entitled "Why we do Demotic—the mysterious attractions of that most evil of Egyptian scripts", happily coincided with my work on this memoir. Much of the final section on Wilhelm's Demotic legacy is based on his lecture;

Professor Janet Johnson, Morton D Hall Distinguished Service Professor of Egyptology, Oriental Institute, University of Chicago, who it can reasonably be claimed has charge of Wilhelm's Demotic legacy—work continues at Chicago

under her supervision on the Demotic Dictionary. She was taught by Professor George Hughes, who was taught by William Edgerton, Wilhelm's pupil and admirer who continued work on his Demotic Dictionary after Wilhelm's death in 1930;

Professor Richard Parkinson, Professor of Egyptology, Queen's College, University of Oxford, for extending a warm welcome and helping hand at the beginning of my project;

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Dr Geneveva Rausch, Archivist of the Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften, who provided a copy of the citation of Wilhelm's nomination to the BAdW;

Dr Samuel Shaw, Post-Doctoral Associate in Prints and Drawings at the Yale Center for British Art, who drew my attention to the letters in the Houghton Library at Harvard University written by Wilhelm to his cousin, William Rothenstein;

Michael Simonson, Archivist of the Leo Baeck Institute (Centre for Jewish History) in New York for access to the Sethe and von Bissing letters expertly translated by Clarence Butler;

Dr Alice Stevenson, Curator of the Petrie Museum of Egyptian Archaeology, for her insight into the apparent reticence on the part of Sir Flinders Petrie in his autobiography about his own contribution to the Strasbourg collection of Egyptian antiquities for which he was awarded an honorary degree by the University;

Dr Patricia Usick, Honorary Archivist, Department of Ancient Egypt and Sudan, the British Museum, who made available photographs of the Marquis of Northampton's Theban expedition in 1898/1899, as well as copies of correspondence of Howard Carter, Lord Carnarvon and Wilhelm;

Professor Dr Sven Vleeming, Professor of Egyptology, University of Trier, for his detailed and scholarly article *Spiegelberg in Strasbourg* from which I have drawn extensively in the early part of the memoir. He told me he "got the idea for the article in the train rolling up to Strasbourg when I went there first, imagining how Wilhelm Spiegelberg would have approached the city, say, 100

years before as a student, just as excited as I was for my papyri.”

Cat Warsi and Dr Francisco Bosch-Puche, Griffith Institute, University of Oxford, for showing me Wilhelm’s Theban Fund Journal 1898/99, Percy Newberry’s diary of that expedition, Wilhelm’s ‘squeezes’ of the Banquet scene in the Theban temple of Hery, and other fascinating documents.

Paul Whelan for his detailed analysis of the diaries of Wilhelm and Percy Newberry recording their excavation of the Theban necropolis in the winter of 1898/99 sponsored by the Marquis of Northampton.

I must also express my thanks and appreciation to Lynne Morgan (Wilhelm’s grand-daughter). Lynne produced the short memoirs of Wilhelm and Lise written by her father, Herbert Spiegelberg. His Wilhelm memoir can now be found on the website of the Institut d’égyptologie, Strasbourg University.

I must also acknowledge the help and encouragement of my brother, Bill. In a sense, he blazed the trail for me, producing over 20 years ago a history of the family—*The Spiegelbergs from Hanover to Cheshire*—from which I have shamelessly taken some of the background on Wilhelm’s family. All along the trail, my wife, Suzanne, has been a constant guide, critic and mentor—*sine qua non*.

I would also like to thank the following for the use of the illustrations on the following pages: Griffith Institute (29, 32, 35 and 37); Metropolitan Museum of Art (30); Oriental Institute, University of Chicago (52, 53 and 102), Egyptian Museum, Berlin (80); Thomas-Mann Archiv, Zurich (82), Alfred Grimm (82).

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April 2015

Reading List

- Thomas Beckh—*Das Seminar für Ägyptologie der Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München im 20. Jahrhundert* (Master's thesis)
- M.L. Bierbrier—*Who Was Who in Egyptology*, 2012
- Fiona, Countess of Carnarvon—*Carnarvon and Carter: the story of the two Englishmen who discovered the tomb of Tutankhamun* (2007)
- Frédéric Colin—'Comment la création d'une 'bibliothèque de papyrus' à Strasbourg compensa la perte des manuscrits précieux brûlés dans le siège de 1870', *La revue de la BNU* 2, 2010, p. 24-47
- Margaret Drower—*Flinders Petrie: a life in archaeology*
- William F. Edgerton—*Wilhelm Spiegelberg*: *American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures*, Vol. 47 No 4. July 1931
- José M. Galan and Gema Menéndez—*The Funerary Banquet of Hery (TT12), Robbed and Restored*: *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, Volume 97, 2011
- Alfred Grimm—*Joseph und Echnaton—Thomas Mann und Ägypten*; Verlag Philipp von Zabern, 1992
- Ronald Hayman—*Thomas Mann*
- Hermann Kurzke *Thomas Mann: a Biography*
- T.G.H. James—*Howard Carter: the path to Tutankhamun*
- Richard Jasnow—'Why We Do Demotic! The Mysterious Attraction of that "Most Evil of all Evil Egyptian Scripts"': 12th International Congress of Demotic Studies, University of Würzburg, 2014

Sebastian Luft: biography of Herbert Spiegelberg; *The Dictionary of Modern American Philosophers*

Neil MacGregor—*Germany: Memories of a Nation* (2014)

Thomas Mann Diaries (1918-1939), selection and foreword by Hermann Kesten; translated by Richard and Clara Winston

Thomas Mann *Joseph and His Brothers*

Percy Newberry—*Diary 1899*, Griffith Institute

Richard Parkinson—*The painted tomb-chapel of Nebamun* British Museum, 2008

William Matthew Flinders Petrie—*Seventy years in archaeology*

Egyptology from the First World War to the Third Reich—Edited by Thomas Schneider and Peter Raulwing

Journal of Egyptology —Wilhelm Spiegelberg obituary by Percy Newberry: Volume XVII, 1931

Herbert Spiegelberg—family memoirs of Wilhelm and Elisabeth Spiegelberg

Herbert Spiegelberg—*Stepping Stones Towards an Ethics for Fellow Existents*—essays 1944-1983

Wilhelm Spiegelberg—*Fundjournal: Theben, 7 November, 1898 -31 January 1899*, Griffith Institute

Wilhelm Spiegelberg, William Spencer Compton Northampton (5th Marquis) and Percy Newberry: *Report On Some Excavations In The Theban Necropolis during the winter of 1898-9:*

Wilhelm Spiegelberg—*The credibility of Herodotus' account of Egypt in the light of the ancient monuments:* lecture delivered at the 55th Congress of German Philologists and Schoolmasters, published in English by Basil Blackwell, 1927

Five Years Explorations at Thebes; being a record of work done 1907-1911: the Earl of Carnarvon and Howard Carter. With chapters by F. Ll. Griffith, George Legrain, George Möller, Percy E. Newberry and Wilhelm Spiegelberg

Wilhelm Spiegelberg, James Quibell and R.F.E. Paget: *The Ramesseum*

Flinders Petrie and Wilhelm Spiegelberg: *Six Temples at Thebes. 1896*

Wilhelm Spiegelberg, Otto Rubensohn, Wilhelm Schubart: *Elephantine-Papyri*

Wilhelm Spiegelberg—*Translation of Hieratic Papyri, Mayer A & B*, Museum Report No. 5, Free Public Library Museum and Walker Art Gallery, Liverpool

Zum Andenken an Wilhelm Spiegelberg—tributes by senior academics from Heidelberg and Munich Universities, and the Bavarian Academy of Sciences and Humanities

Jonathan Steinberg—*Bismarck: A Life* Oxford University Press, 2011

S.P. Vleeming—*Spiegelberg in Strasbourg*: *Enchoria: Zeitschrift für Demotistik und Koptologie*, 1982

Paul Whelan—‘*The Marquis’ Excavations: a tale of two diaries*’. Proceedings of the International Conference held on the occasion of the presentation of Progetto Rosellini. Pisa, June 14-16, 2012

Addendum

I am most grateful to Isolde Lehnert, Egyptologist and Chief Librarian of the Deutsches Archäologisches Institut in Cairo (DAIK) for the following. She is currently researching a biography of Max Meyerhof, a first cousin of Wilhelm (the son of Eduard Spiegelberg's sister, Lina)—the two were close friends since their school days in Hanover.

Max Meyerhof (1874-1945) worked as an ophthalmologist, orientalist and medical historian in Cairo from 1903 until his death, only interrupted by World War I. In 1922, he was one of the first Germans to get a permit to return to Egypt thanks to his good reputation and the intervention of international friends. His house in Cairo was always open for Wilhelm during his sojourns in Egypt. It was a center for scholars from all parts of the world and later on during the Nazi regime in Germany a place of refuge for exiles from across Europe. He felt obliged to help as much as he could. He was able to escape Nazi persecution because he took Egyptian nationality in the 1930s.

Besides his practice and his many efforts to improve the public health service in his adopted homeland, he found time for scientific research, publishing over 300 books, articles and first editions of hitherto unknown manuscripts concerning medieval Arab medicine and Jewish physicians, such as Maimonides. Most of these publications, together with minor parts of his huge library as well as personal papers, are now in the archive of the DAIK.

For decades, even after his death, he was affectionately known by thousands of Egyptians as “Dr. Max”, the one who saved them from blindness.

Errata

Isolde very kindly read a late proof of my Wilhelm memoir and has pointed out the following:

p. 45: Dr Edgar Sober (not Soter), the same doctor who also treated Max Meyerhof in Hanover.

p. 73: the final two lines of the Sethe letter should read: ‘Have you seen the book by Woess about the right of asylum? His elucidation of katoche as asylum arrest bears some significance.’ He was referring to Friedrich von Woess’ work: *The asylum system of Egypt in the Ptolemaic period and its subsequent development*, published in 1923.