Journal of Ancient Egyptian Interconnections

Neither Leisure Class nor Colonialists: Pre-Great War Slovak Travelers in Egypt

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Abstract

Prominent narratives of the 19th century dealing with Egypt were mostly written by members of the colonial powers, but individuals of other nations and nationalities also longed to see Egypt without having any ambitions there. This paper focuses on two travelers, Daniel Šustek (a traveling craftsman) and Ján Roháček (an itinerant Pietist preacher), from the northern Hungarian part of Austria-Hungary, which is now known as Slovak Republic, who visited Egypt in 1871 and 1910, respectively. For each of them Egypt was an exotic, difficult-to-reach destination, and this paper examines their views of Egypt.

Introduction

Prominent travel accounts of the 19th century dealing with Egypt were mostly written by members of the colonial powers—either travelers or residents in the country on the Nile. It is thus not surprising that Egyptomania as such is also mostly studied in countries that had "their interests" in Egypt. It has to be kept in mind, however, that there were also other nations and nationalities longing to see Egypt, without having ambitions there on either a colonial or personal level.

The present paper shall focus on two travelers, Daniel Šustek (1846–1927) and Ján Roháček (1869–1939), who visited Egypt in 1871 and 1910, respectively. They came from the northern Hungarian part of Austria-Hungary, which is now known as the Slovak Republic. In fact, these two men are the only Slovaks who wrote and published their memories before the First World War (1914–1918), i.e., in the period when strong Magyarization prevented oppressed and prosecuted minor nations in Hungary to express and develop their own culture at home.[1] It was only after the establishment of the sovereign state of Czechoslovakia in 1918 that this situation changed.

Šustek was a traveling craftsman, Roháček an itinerant Pietist preacher. For each of them Egypt was one of the most exotic and most difficult countries that one might reach. What was their view of Egypt? Their travelogues were initially published serially in journals and soon after collected and printed as books.[2] Since both were written in Slovak, they received little attention abroad.[3] Nevertheless, they offer low-cost, touristic views of traveling in Egypt during the so-called long 19th century (1798–1914) and a different version of the orientalism, so-called noncolonial orientalism:[4] "orientalism that is not based on direct or explicit colonial interests or overseas possessions."[5] Contrary to Western orientalism and its structures of dominance,[6] noncolonial orientalism was not based on the need to expropriate the Other.

The writings of Šustek and Roháček can be complemented by a short travelogue of a third Slovak in Egypt, the trader Július Kožuch, who visited the country in 1875 and whose letter to Slovak writer and columnist Zechenter Laskomerský about the beginning of his journey that was sent from Alexandria was published in the Slovak journal *Orol* (*Eagle*).[7]

"Our people are in Egypt"

Slovak National Movement in the Austrian Empire begun under the influence of 18th century Enlightenment, but with only limited reach outside the intelligentsia.[8] Egypt was far out of the view of this generation, with the

curious exception of the first volume of the first Slovak novel *René mládʼenca príhodʼi a skúsenosťi* (*The Tribulations and Experiences of a Youngster Rene*), written by Jozef Ignác Bajza, set in Egypt of the late 18th century.[9] The hero of the novel survives many adventures searching for his sister in Egypt, and during his journey he also visits the ruins of Memphis. Travel there was out of question for the author, so he widely used the works of ancient authors—Herodotus, Diodorus, and Strabo—for the description of ancient monuments, as well as yet unidentified contemporary sources. If Egypt was present in the consciousness of Slovak intellectuals, it was mostly because of its Biblical connotations and ancient historians. From another novel, *Ladislav*, written by Karol Kuzmány, comes a remark that "our people are in Egypt," comparing the situation of Slavic nations in the Austrian Empire, ruled by other nations, with the Hebrew slavery in Egypt.[10]

Slovak political demands were formulated shortly after the renewed codification of the written language in 1840s. They appealed for the recognition of Slovaks as a nation and autonomy inside the Austrian Empire, thus representing conventional demands for the recognition and self-determination of the European nations.[11] One of the gravest problems of the Slovak National Movement was that its ideas had only limited influence outside the intelligentsia. The northern part of Hungary was inhabited by a Slovak-speaking but mostly rural population that was concerned with satisfying the basic needs of daily life and had neither the education nor financial means, nor even the time, to occupy themselves with political questions. Furthermore, the lack of necessary means made it impossible to undertake adventurous journeys and study or hunting trips to broaden their worldview, and this was unfortunately true for Slovak intellectuals as well.[12] A country such as Egypt, for instance, was within reach for the upper class only, which in the Slovak territory was mostly espoused to the Hungarian nation. Members of noble families such as Andrássy, Zichy, Esterházy, or Pálffy visited Northeastern Africa, and much of the Aegyptiaca brought by them to Hungary are now parts of Slovak Egyptological collections.[13]

In the revolutionary years 1848–1849 Slovaks rose in arms against Hungarians alongside Austrians. The defeat of Hungarians was followed by only a few national concessions and granted rights. Some disappointed members of the Slovak intelligentsia thus turned their political expectations to Tsarist Russia. This meant that although the Slovak press supported other nations' struggles for independence, an exception was made in the case of the Polish uprising against Russia. The Slovaks hoped that the external changes in Europe of the second half of the 19th century could help their objectives, and the Slovak press eagerly followed European events. It was also critical of the foreign policy of the British Empire (but mostly in Europe), until the Triple Entente of the United Kingdom with France and Russia in 1907.[14]

After the fall of the Neo-Absolutist Austrian regime represented by the infamous Minister of the Interior Alexander von Bach (1859), Slovaks enjoyed the widest political and cultural freedom in the 19th century, including the possibility of having their own secondary education, establishing societies, and publishing more newspapers, literary, and scientific journals in Slovak. The cultural organization Matica slovenská was established in 1863 and had a leading role in the organization and revival of Slovak science and literature. Its seat, the town Martin, became a center of the Slovak national culture in the decades before the First World War.

This was about to change after the year 1867, when after the so-called Compromise Treaty Austria and Hungary created the Dual Monarchy. The dual state was united in the person of the monarch and in three common ministries—foreign policy, army, and finances. The executive power in the Hungarian part of monarchy was delegated to its government and the legislative power to the Hungarian Diet. The national law (*Nationalgesetz*) regulating the national rights in this part was adopted by the Diet in 1868. The law unified the Hungarian state and nation; Slovaks were considered, together with other non-Hungarian nations, to be a mere "nationality." The law conceded language rights to individuals, not to nationalities.

In 1874–1875, the only three Slovak grammar schools were closed down, and in 1875 even Matica slovenská was abolished. The policy of Magyarization was pursued with an attempt to create from the multi-national Hungarian state a state of only one nation with one language, Hungarian. Certain limited rights to use one's own language were retained, elementary education was possible in Slovak, and a few newspapers continued and new journals were founded. Paradoxically, also because of Magyarization the Slovak National Movement gradually gained support in other social strata and abroad, as well. Associations could be found, and one of them was an organization of the Pietists' Blue Cross in the town Stará Turá. Ján Roháček was among its members. Although they published in Slovak, in the eyes of the Protestant majority they were sectarians.

Increased contacts with Czechs lead to the formulation of new political objectives that were reached by the creation of the Czechoslovak Republic shortly after the First World War. The rights granted to Slovaks in the new republic were incomparable with their difficult situation in 19th century Hungary.

Figure 1: Portrait of Daniel Šustek made in Chicago and published in 1875. After Daniel Šustek, "Obrázky z amerikánskeho života" [Pictures from American Life], *Obzor. Noviny pre hospodárstvo, remeslo a domáci život* 13/26 (1875): 202.

Figure 2: Ján Roháček with Pietist women of Stará Turá. From left to right, upper row: A. Kyšková, Kristína Royová, Ján Roháček. From left to right, second row: Júlia Manicová, Mária Royová. Below: Františka Royová, mother of the Roy sisters. Undated. Photo © Courtesy of Literary Archive of the Slovak National Library in Martin (Signature SR 44/121).

From 1918 onward, the number of "Czechoslovak" travelers to Egypt and those actually living in the country upon the Nile increased and their identity and lives are better known and researched.[15] For instance, 244 Czechoslovaks settled in Egypt in 1925, whereas in 1938 the community already counted 477 members. The second Czechoslovak ambassador in Egypt was a Slovak writer and politician, Vladimír Hurban. Czechoslovaks predominantly belonged to an educated middle class that was underrepresented but needed in the Egyptian state of that period.[16]

Biographies Before Egyptian Travel

Both Šustek and Roháček came from humble families, and their personal ambitions strongly depended on the financial means available at the time. Both showed persistence in pursuing their personal aspirations, despite many obstacles.

Daniel Šustek (Figure 1) was born on January 28th, 1846, in Slovenská Ľupča (central Slovakia). He was intended to receive higher education, but the economic situation after the premature death of his father in 1855 forced him to become a carpenter.[17] He immersed himself in study, which he finished in 1862. From his childhood onward, he dreamt of becoming a traveling journeyman to improve his skills and especially to see the world beyond the borders of the monarchy. Gradually, he worked and traveled in Hungary and Austria, including Merano in today's Italy, and even spent a year in Paris. In 1866 he started to publish his travelogues in one of the few Slovak journals of that time, *Obzor* (*Horizon*). In 1870, he set off on a journey that led from Merano to Constantinople and further south. He came to Egypt in 1871, few years after Thomas Cook had arranged the first trip to the country on the Nile, i.e., in a time when even organized touristic travels to Egypt required substantial funds.[18] Šustek was certainly not the first Central European artisan to enter the Orient. Already in 1833, for instance, the Czech goldsmith Jan Žvejkal visited Egypt in the course of his third journey through the Near East and published a travelogue eleven years later.[19]

Ján Roháček (Figure 2) was born on 31st December 1869 in Stará Turá (western Slovakia). His parents were peasants. He finished his apprenticeship as a wheelwright, but both he and his youngest brother Michal became missionaries.[20] Roháček got in touch with a group of Pietists

of the town Stará Turá, the leaders of whom were Kristína and Mária Royová. At the age of 17, he converted and became engaged in social activities of this Protestant movement.[21] Between 1897 and 1901, Roháček studied at the missionary institute in St. Chrischona in Switzerland. After his return in 1901, he became a missionary of the Bible Society in his hometown. He was an itinerant preacher of the gospel, a colporteur of Christian prints, and a missionary in the Pietist service, mostly in Felvidék,[22] and often traveled to Switzerland, Prussia, and Vojvodina.[23] Interestingly, the early life of Roháček has traits similar to those of the early life of Thomas Cook, founder of the well known Cook travel agency, who was a Baptist missionary and a member of the temperance movement.[24]

In 1910, Roháček had the opportunity to undertake a pilgrimage to Egypt and Palestine. As a missionary, he was of moderate means and he would have never collected enough money to travel to the Holy Land on his own. The trip was an idea of his Swiss friend J. Bisang, who apparently provided the necessary budget.[25] Roháček traveled to Egypt in a time when fleets of British, American, and German companies competed on the Nile for passengers.[26] Judging from his travelogue, he was unaware of these entrepreneurial rivalries and focused mostly on the "Oriental" face of Egypt.

Reasons for Travel

Šustek described his reasons for travel in one of his latest travelogues, written on his way to the United States in 1872:

> The one traveled in good will, another was following some scientific aim, the third wanted to see "part of the world," the fourth was away on business, the fifth wanted to earn money by doing crafts, etc. But most of them were heading for the New World to search for a new homeland there, many of them with false expectations that roasted pigeons will fall into their lap. And why was I traveling? Fellow citizens, I could answer this question by saying because of all of those people together. But I will answer like a gentleman—just for fun, I just wanted to see the world and new people.[27]

At the end, America became his final destination, and he settled down in Chicago. As one of the first Slovak immigrants he played an extraordinary role in forming the Slovak community in the United States and was politically active.

For Roháček, as for Žvejkal, this travel to Egypt and Holy Land was a pilgrimage to the places where the stories of Bible were set. Completely different from Šustek, Roháček's primary aim was far from getting to know the "Others." At the end of his travel notes, he even discourages everyone reading his travelogue from undertaking a similar journey, convinced that his readers will hardly have the possibility to see Jerusalem themselves. Instead, he wishes them the heavenly Jerusalem that could be witnessed by those living in faith. His travelogue ends in addressing his readers with a question: "Dear reader, will you be among them?"[28]

Little is known about the motives of Július Kožuch, as his letter does not contain any details concerning the purpose of his journey. In contrast to Šustek and Roháček, however, he apparently had some business interests in Alexandria and Cairo.

Itineraries

Šustek and Roháček each published a book-length travelogue about his journey to Egypt and Holy Land.[29] Both were Christians, but Roháček was far more frequently using his belief to engage the reader and described his observations through the lens of a deep faith.

While Austria-Hungary was connected with Egypt by a regular steamship service of the Austrian Lloyd[30] from Trieste to Alexandria and from Port Said to Constantinople, Šustek, Roháček, and Kožuch are so far the only known Slovaks who undertook the journey. They did not claim identity or identification with the Austro-Hungarian colony in Cairo, which numbered about 5,000 residents, as some of the Czech travelers did.[31] Šustek was a Slovak without any proclaimed interest in contacts with Czechs, and Roháček felt sympathy with the fellow Czech Pietists, but their confession was more important than their national identity.

Having left Constantinople, Šustek arrived in Egypt on 11 January 1871. During his stay in Africa, he spent more than two weeks in Alexandria, Cairo, and Port Said. After three days in Alexandria, Šustek set off for Cairo. On January 18th he undertook a trip to the pyramids, and on January 21st he left for Ismailia, where his Bavarian friend Anton Rost joined him. Since they had not enough means for a boat trip on the Suez Canal, they had to walk along the canal all the way to Port Said, where they embarked on the steamer *Hungaria* to Jaffa.

Kožuch wrote a letter from Alexandria on 28 January 1875, already mentioning that he had visited Cairo and the pyramids at Giza.[32] He planned to travel to Upper Egypt, but more documents about his travel have been neither found nor identified so far.

The journey of Roháček and Bisang started at the end of March 1910 with the transport to Trieste, where they met,

amended the contents of their luggage, and bought supplies. On 2 April 1910 they set off for Alexandria on the steamship *Karlsbad*, stopping at Gravosa in Dalmatia and Brindisi in southern Italy, passing the Greek islands. They arrived to Egypt on April 7th. Even though Roháček and Bisang spent the next day in Alexandria, the travelogue does not contain any descriptions of the monuments or parts of the city they visited. On April 9th, the group took a train to the capital. In Cairo, Roháček and Bisang were awaited by Dr. Halblützel, a Swiss medical missionary and Bisang's friend, who was on his way home from Sudan. Halblützel took over the role of their guide, as he spoke Arabic, knew the city, and is said to have been acquainted with Egyptian antiquities. They visited Islamic Cairo during the first two days (April 10th and 11th), and the monuments of ancient Egypt at Saqqara and Giza on the following two days. On April 14th, Roháček and Bisang took a train to Port Said and from there a steamer to Jaffa.

Žvejkal, for his part, traveled in a different direction, since in 1833 steamship service was not available yet. He first entered the Holy Land, then sailed from Jaffa to Damiette, and from there to Cairo and Alexandria.

Low-cost Traveling

Most of the globetrotters of the 19th century and beginning of the 20th were wealthier and traveled with a certain standard.[33] In contrast, Šustek and Roháček were steadily forced to cut expenses, as their budgets were very low. Šustek was working at almost every destination to earn money for further travel and occasionally got into debt to be able to continue. Roháček had to select the cheapest means of travel available, as he was depended on Bisang. Only Kožuch was a first-class passenger, sharing a cabin with three American entrepreneurs, a Polish count, and people close to the Egyptian khedive. Their favorite pastime on the ship was hunting sea birds. He even claimed that he was able to be in contact with the higher echelons of the colonial society (contrary also to the experience of Czech travelers).[34]

For Šustek, job hunting was the primary activity at every place he reached and wanted to stay over a longer period of time. The salary had to cover living costs in the country, but it should also enable him to save money for the next journey. As stated by Kusý, Šustek was not just an observer; he was in fact an immediate actor in the socio-economic situation of each country he visited.[35] This makes him more concrete and more authentic than most of the noble travelers of his time. Being robbed of his money on a steamer from Jaffa to Beirut in March 1871, for instance, he was forced to take a job in the workshop of an Arab joiner in exchange for food and lodging. However, only two weeks later he switched to the workshop of an Italian master, due to his skillfulness and also because of the "unsuitable" household of the Arab master. He made a career in Beirut and left just one and a half years later for the United States because of his fondness for traveling was still not satisfied.

Roháček gives extensive practical information about traveling and often comments prices of goods and services. Together with Bisang, for instance, he chose to take a Russian ship from Port Said to Palestine because of its inexpensiveness. He used this opportunity to give an excursus on the price-performance ratio:

> Ships of English company "Khedive" are wonderfully built, but their prices reflect this. French ships are smaller and simpler, but clean enough. The dirtiest are Russian ships, shipping thousands of Russian pilgrims to the Holy Sepulcher each year. These are the cheapest. We had courage to join this motley crew to shorten our cruise, equipped with hammocks, which we hanged on the ship on a suitable spot.[36]

Ultimately, their constant lack of resources made Roháček and Bisang change their travel plans. Originally they had wanted to return back from the Levant to Europe together, but Bisang decided to go through Armenia first, and Roháček had to wait in Beirut for a cheaper steamship to Istanbul in order to save more money for Bisang. He bought a ticket in third class and intended to cook for himself. He prepared for the eight-day-long journey from Beirut to Constantinople by buying various things such as "matches, alcohol, a tea-urn, fat, salt, eggs, tea, chocolate, bread, Maggi cubes for soup, etc."[37]

Shock from the Otherness

A confrontation with other culture was shocking for both travelers, and the shock had surfaced already during the first hours on Egyptian soil, in Alexandria. They both defined themselves as members of Western Christian civilization in their approach toward Otherness and described contact with contemporary Egypt similarly to that of Czech travelogues of that time.[38] Also, Kožuch described the first moments in Alexandria from the point of view of an inhabitant of the "superior" continent: "Shouting, tumult, hustle and bustle welcomed us here, something that we have no conception of in our civilized Europe."[39]

Šustek's visit to the Arabic part of Alexandria astonished him, the glory of European Alexandria contrasting sharply with extreme poverty and dirt of the

Arabic part. Without trying to understand the causes for these social distinctions, he did not hesitate to identify the mud-made houses as homes of misery, impurity, and immorality. The former bearers of glory, power, and scholarship were now barely dressed, and their houses held almost no furnishings. Already in Constantinople he established a hypothesis that Turks did not need any furniture, because they use only carpets, mats, and divans.

Roháček's first notes on Alexandria deal with the topics typical for visitors to Egypt: diversity of its population, constant demand for *baksheesh*, omnipresence of various vendors and servants offering their services, and first contacts with Egyptian mosquitoes.

Roháček, Kožuch and Šustek were similar to contemporary tourists in how little information they had about the current political and social situation in Egypt. They could have compared the situation of the Egyptians with their own "colonized" nation back home in the Hungarian part of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy, but they were unable to communicate in the local language and to understand the complex situation of the relations in the colonial Egypt.

Contacts with Islam

Both Šustek and Roháček perceived Islam and the Muslims from what they saw, but they at least stressed their lack of knowledge of the local language. They had hardly any opportunity to have a conversation in a Western language with the Egyptians about their religion. Contemporary Czech travelogues showed slightly deeper attempts to describe and comprehend its character, although already the preconceptions were negative and their approach was summed up as "contempt, assimilation, ignorance."[40]

In a separate chapter, Šustek gave a detailed account of Arab weddings and funerals and compared them with traditions typical of his culture. For instance, he described the wedding procession as a street comedy and wondered why the male and female participants celebrated the act separately. Regarding the Muslim funeral, he compared the forms of grave-pits and appreciated the fact that the Arabs did not know the funeral lunch common in Europe, at which drunken persons often offended the memory of the deceased.

Kožuch also witnessed a funeral march: "Right now an Arabic funeral march marches under my windows. Instead of the Viennese *'Entreprise de pompe funebre'* (funeral company), camels stand in for it in the front, with bags on their backs filled with dates and bread." He described people included in the march and concluded: "When a European observes this strange funeral march, his eyes become involuntarily filled with tears—of laughter."[41]

The Pietist and "sectarian" Roháček revealed himself as the most humanistic of the Czech and Slovak travelogue authors of the 19th century, showing compassion and understanding of other Christian denominations and religions. He was in fact not confessionally blinded and was critical of all confessions, hating bigotry in all of them and making a difference rather between good and malicious people. The phenomenon of alcoholism plays a special role in Roháček's text. As a member of the abstinence society of the Blue Cross, he stressed the worth of clean water and praised the attitude of the Orient where bad water is more valuable than good wine. On the other hand, on the first day the travel group had the opportunity to observe an Arabic wedding. In this respect, Roháček wondered about the lascivious character of the dance that they witnessed, which reminded him of New Testament Salome.[42]

Monuments of Ancient Egypt

Both Šustek and Roháček included in their itineraries visits to the ancient Egyptian monuments. While Šustek viewed them through the practical eyes of a craftsman, for Roháček they were biblical monuments and their meaning in the contemporary world was defined by their role in the Old Testament.

Šustek used, for instance, simple means to visualize the size and decoration of Cleopatra's needle and Pompey's pillar: the size of the former is said to have been so wide that 24 persons could stand on its top side-by-side, and the latter was inscribed with the so-called bird script. In Giza, he tried to climb the pyramid of Khufu, got up to almost 80 meters, and was fascinated by the highest and greatest building in the world (Figure 3). In his opinion, it was even more overwhelming than his visit to the northern tower of Strasbourg Cathedral, which, in his time, was the world's tallest building. Šustek did not forgo measuring the pyramid on his own and found that each side of the base measured 360 steps, thus ca. 216 meters, a rather exact figure. He also visited the Sphinx, which he considered to be an astonishing masterpiece. It is interesting to note that seeing the monument Šustek remembered his stay in Budapest and compared the Sphinx to the lion sculpture that flanks the Széchenyi Chain Bridge. The approach of some of the Czech travelers is similar, e.g., comparing Cairo to Prague because of the presence of hundreds of minarets or spires, respectively. Sarah Lemmen has pointed out the paradox that even the cultural shock that awaited the travelers in Egypt did not prevent them from identifying

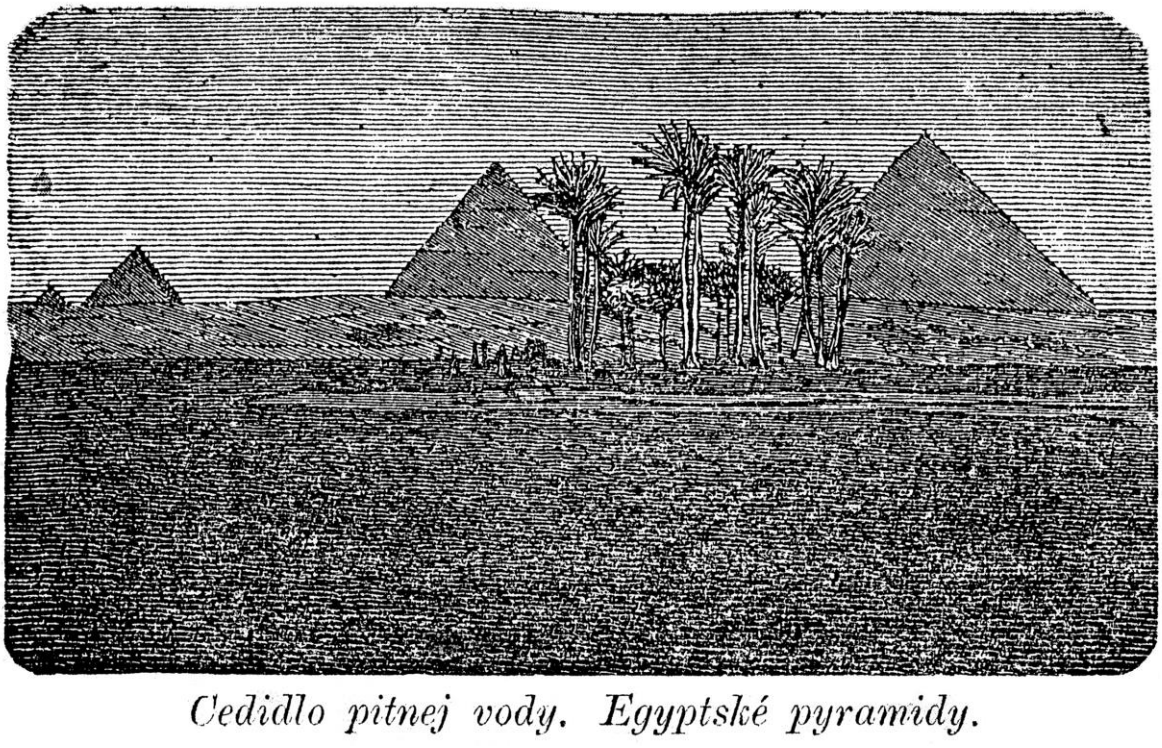

Figure 3: ***Cedidlo pitnej vody. Egyptské pyramidy*** **[Water Strainer. Egyptian Pyramids]. Reprint of a lithograph published in Šustek 1874, 43.**

with the country they visited, for instance by equating foreign monuments with those in their homeland.[43]

Kožuch, for instance, compared the height of one of the pyramids at Giza to the height of the tower of St. Stephen's dome in Vienna, stating that the pyramid is higher. The surroundings of Cairo were, according to his notes, full of monuments of "classical Prehistory."[44] He was the only of the three Slovak travelers to claim that he bought some ancient coins in Egypt and collected samples of minerals.

As a Protestant/Pietist, Roháček saw the ancient Egyptian monuments as a frequent reader and user of the Bible, and he thus described them from the point of view of the ancient Hebrews. His historical and cultural memory was biblical in nature; ancient Egyptian monuments and material culture were illustrations of the biblical stories, and their sole meaning for history was because of contact with the Hebrews. In this respect, the travelogue is clearly tendentious and contains Roháček's *interpretation* of what he saw and witnessed.

He was, for instance, astonished by the amount and diversity of the ancient Egyptian monuments in the Egyptian museum in Cairo, but sometimes used irony:

> For us, the most important thing was to see the mummy of Ramesses II, the former oppressor of the Israelite nation. Once famous and fabulously rich ruler can be seen here for a few *Groschen*. […] Looking at this faded famous person, one is being reminded of whole history of the Jewish nation in Egypt, its suffering and glorious liberation.[45]

He especially mentioned wooden forms used for making of mud bricks and mud bricks themselves, as in his eyes these were remnants of Israelite slavery in Egypt.

Next day, the trip by train led first to Bedrashein and then to Saqqara, to visit the Serapeum and the tomb of Ty, and later on to Giza, to see the three main pyramids and the Sphinx (Figure 4). Admiring the skills of ancient workers, the last remark related to Giza in the travelogue again addresses the Hebrews:

> Thus we were abandoning these monuments of antiquity with strange feelings. Jacob and Moses were looking at them too in the past. How life would be back there! How much ferocity those poor slaves endured, forced to work on such buildings! And now, everything is waste and barren![46]

Accentuation of biblical monuments is also characteristic for Žvejkal.[47]

Figure 4: Detail of the picture that decorated the cover page of Roháček's travelogue (1911), drawn most probably by Johannes Warns.

Different Education, Different Perception

Šustek represents a traveler with practical education, which became reflected in his writings. He tried to be systematic and described the schedule of each trip together with the places he visited. He delivered a detailed report on the landscapes, the structure of the cities, the inhabitants, their religion, costumes, and occupations; he pointed out the most important monuments and gives an overview of historical events that occurred in those places. To achieve the best possible result, he mentioned concrete measurements such as height or weight of the objects or monuments; he was methodical and tried to provide a material vision.[48] His travelogue has a journalistic character and might be considered "universal" in respect to its possible target group of readers.

Roháček was quite different in this respect. The value of his travelogue lies in its information about low-cost travel of his era and in the perception of Near East by a Slovak cleric at the beginning of the 20th century. The main readers of his travel feuilletons were apparently the readers of *Svetlo*, a specific and marginal group of Slovak Protestants: Pietists. The book edition of his travelogue, printed in 1911/1912, also aimed at this readership, although its publisher Ján Chorvát thought that this was the first published travelogue about the Holy Land in Slovak.[49] This assumption was, however, unfounded, as the first book-length travelogue about Near East had been written by Šustek and was published in 1874. Roháček's travelogue is not even mentioned in the contemporary journals published in Slovak. The majority of Slovak

Protestants apparently either ignored or despised the activities of the so-called sectarians in Stará Turá.

Conclusion: Discontinuity

Šustek traveled in the years when the Slovak National Movement was most active. He must have realized that he was the first Slovak informing the Slovak readership about Egypt in their mother tongue. His travelogue was published by Matica slovenská in 1874, shortly before the repression of the Slovak culture and increased Magyarization precipitated after the introduction of the Austro-Hungarian dualism in 1867.

Roháček was himself a "sectarian" in the eyes of the Slovak majority and traveled in the time when Magyarization reached its peak. After his return, he was apparently able to inform only his fellow Pietists about Egypt.

External factors, such as Magyarization, and internal factors, such as confessional and ethnic boundaries, caused discontinuity in Slovak culture and in its perception of modern and ancient Egypt. It is interesting to note that the travel companions and friends of Šustek and Roháček mentioned in their travelogues were speaking Czech or German. This could be attributed to their national sentiment, but this assumption is only hypothetical, as both of them also worked and traveled in Hungary.[50] For Šustek, Slovak identity was indeed most important, but for Roháček, confessional identity was pronounced more than nationality.[51]

The orientalism captured in the travelogues in question can be defined, with Lemmen's definition of Czech orientalism,[52] as a noncolonial, nonetheless with perception of Otherness and self-identification with Western and Christian civilization. Due to the humble means and general impoverishment of the Slovaks, neither Šustek nor Roháček encouraged their fellow nationals to visit Egypt. Although they themselves were members of an oppressed nation, they did not recognize the formation of the anti-colonial, nationalist discourse in Egypt.[53] Neither had academic training in the Oriental languages. Šustek traveled widely throughout Europe, and his preconceptions might have been confirmed by direct observation. The orientalism of Roháček is different; for him, both ancient and modern Egypt were seen through the lens of biblical texts. For both of Roháček and Šustek, Europeanization of parts of Cairo and Alexandria was a positive phenomenon.

It is a paradox that the education of the Slovak intellectuals and representations of the Orient present in the Slovak culture and literature can explain how a Central/Eastern European nation might follow in some respects "Western" orientalism. Most Slovak intellectuals studied at the German universities, and the philosophy and nationalism that they brought home was largely inspired by German thinking, especially Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel (1770–1831) and Johann Gottfried Herder (1744–1803), who had forecasted a bright future for the Slavic nations. The *lingua franca* of the Slavic intellectuals of 19th century was indeed German. The main figure of the Slovak National Awakening, Ľudovít Štúr, expressed in one of his texts an opinion that Slavic nations were members of the Indo-European civilization continuity, in which ancient Egyptians were included as well.[54] At least for some Slovaks, ancient Egypt was related to their "Western" culture, but modern Egypt was a different, "Oriental" category. Yet to be undertaken is a study of information about contemporary Egypt available in the Slovak press of the 19th century and how this might have influenced Šustek, Kožuch and Roháček.

Notes

* This work was written within the Programme for the Development of Fields of Study at Charles University, No. P14 Archaeology of Non-European Regions, sub-programme Research of Ancient Egyptian Civilization: Cultural and Political Adaptation of the North African Civilizations in Ancient History (5,000 BC–1,000 AD).

1 Dušan Kováč, "The Slovak Political Programme: From Hungarian Patriotism to the Czechoslovak State," in Mikuláš Teich et al. (eds.), *Slovakia in History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 120–136.

2 Ján Roháček, *Cesta do Egypta a Palestíny* [Journey to Egypt and Palestine] (Stará Turá: Nákladom Jána Chorváta, 1991); Daniel Šustek, *Cesta ces Turecko a Egypt do Svatej Zeme* [Journey through Turkey and Egypt to the Holy Land] (Turčiansky Svätý Martin: Matica Slovenská, 1874).

3 See now separate studies on Šustek: Lubica Hudáková, "A Travelling Journeyman—The Carpenter Daniel Šustek (1846–1927) Hunting for a Job in Egypt and the Near East," in Konrad Antonicek, Regina Hölzl, and Libor Jůn (eds.), *Representations: Egypt and Austria VII*: *Proceedings of the Symposium Held at Kunsthistorisches Museum Wien from September 21st to 24th 2010* (Vienna: Academy of Performing Arts in Prague—Film and TV School of Academy of Performing Arts in Prague, 2012), 101–116; and on Roháček: Lubica

Hudáková and Martin Odler, "The Travelogue of the First Slovak Cleric in Egypt—Ján Roháček (1910)," in Lubica Hudáková and Jozef Hudec (eds.), *Egypt and Austria IX—Perception of the Orient in Central Europe (1800–1918), Proceedings of the Symposium Held at Betliar from October 21st to 24th 2013* (Krakow, 2016), in press.

[4] Sarah Lemmen, "'We were enchanted, Cairo is like our Prague:' Travelogues on Egypt as a Mirror of Czech Self-perception around 1918," in Johanna Holaubek, Wolf B. Oerter, and Hana Navrátilová (eds.), *Egypt and Austria III: The Danube Monarchy and the Orient: Proceedings of the Prague Symposium 2006* (Prague: Set Out, 2007), 167–176; Sarah Lemmen, "Noncolonial Orientalism? Czech Travel Writing on Africa and Asia around 1918," in James Hodkinson et al. (eds.), *Deploying Orientalism in European Culture and History* (Rochester, NY: Camden House, 2013), 209–227. For Russian and Polish Orientalism, see Izabela Kalinowska, *Between East and West: Polish and Russian Nineteenth-Century Travel to the Orient* (Rochester: University of Rochester Press, 2004).

[5] Lemmen 2013, 209.

[6] Edward Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Pantheon, 1978).

[7] Juraj Kožuch, "Z Triestu do Egyptu," *Orol, Časopis pre zábavu a poučenie* 4 (1875a): 106–108; Juraj Kožuch, "Z Triestu do Egyptu," *Orol, Časopis pre zábavu a poučenie* 5 (1875b): 126–129.

[8] Eva Kowalská, "The Enlightenment and the Beginnings of the Modern Slovak Nation," in Mikuláš Teich et al. (eds.), *Slovakia in History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 87–100.

[9] Jozef Ignác Bajza, *René mláďenca príhoďi a skúsenosťi* (Bratislava: Ján Michal Landerer, 1783).

[10] Karol Kuzmány, *Ladislav* (Bratislava: Tatran, 1968), 62.

[11] Miroslav Hroch, *Social Preconditions of National Revival in Europe: A Comparative Analysis of the Social Composition of Patriotic Groups among the Smaller European Nations*, second edition (New York: Columbia University Press, 2000).

[12] For the analysis of the social structure of the Slovak National Movement, see Hroch 2000, 98–106.

[13] Jozef Hudec, "Slovakia and Egypt," in Lubica Hudáková and Jozef Hudec (eds.), *Egypt and Austria IX*: *Perception of the Orient in Central Europe (1800–1918), Proceedings of the Symposium Held at Betliar from October 21st to 24th 2013* (Krakow, 2016), in press.

[14] See Dušan Kováč, "Internationale Zusammenhänge der slowakischen Frage in den Jahren 1849-1867," in Dušan Kováč, Arnold Suppan, and Emilia Hrabovec (eds.), *Die Habsburgermonarchie und die Slowaken 1849–1867* (Bratislava: Academic Electronic Press, 2001), 37–44, and also other studies in this volume.

[15] See, e.g.. Adéla Macková, "The Czech Community in Egypt," in Johanna Holaubek, Hana Navrátilová, and Wolf B. Oerter (eds.), *Egypt and Austria II: Proceedings of the Prague Symposium 2005* (Prague: Set Out, 2006), 107–114; Adéla Macková, "Travellers to Egypt in 1920s and 1930s," in Johanna Holaubek and Hana Navrátilová (eds.), *Egypt and Austria I: Proceedings of the Symposium* (Prague: Set Out, 2005), 81–85.

[16] Macková 2006.

[17] Štefan Veselý, *Po tom šírom sveta poli*, with an epilogue by Ivan Kusý (Bratislava: Tatran, 1985).

[18] Andrew Humphreys, *On the Nile in the Golden Age of Travel* (Cairo: American University in Cairo Press, 2015), 15.

[19] Cf. Hana Navrátilová, *Egyptian Revival in Bohemia 1850—1920: Orientalism and Egyptomania in Czech lands* (Prague: Set Out, 2003), 66–68.

[20] Ján Potúček, *Evanjelista a misijný pracovník medzi Cigánmi Ján Roháček (1869–1939)* (Bratislava, 1969); Augustín Maťovčík (ed.), *Slovenský biografický slovník V [R–Š]* (Martin: Matica slovenská, 1992), 101.

[21] Kristína Royová, *Za svetlom a so svetlom. Rozpomienky Kristíny Royovej* (Stará Turá: Vlastným nákladom, 1928), 65.

[22] Felvidék, or Upper Hungary/Upland, was a term used to describe the territories of the Kingdom of Hungary north of the river Tisza, including the present-day Slovakia. Today it usually refers to the portions of southern Slovakia with a strong Hungarian minority.

[23] Vojvodina is a historical territory that was part of Austria-Hungary until the end of the First World War. Today, it is an autonomous province of the Republic of Serbia.

[24] Humphreys 2015, 10–11.

[25] Potúček 1969, 38; Roháček 1991, 3.

[26] Humphreys 2015, 123–132.

[27] Daniel Šustek, *Potulky svetom*, with an introduction by Štefan Veselý (Martin: Osveta, 1957), 126.

[28] Roháček 1991, 71.

[29] Roháček 1991; Šustek 1874.

[30] Georg Pawlik and Dieter Winkler, *Der Österreichische Lloyd 1836 bis heute* (Graz: Weishaupt Verlag, 1989).

[31] Lemmen 2007, 174–175.

[32] Kožuch 1875b, 126–129.

[33] Lemmen 2007, 169.

[34] Lemmen 2013, 219–220.

[35] Veselý 1985, 208.

[36] Roháček 1991, 22.

[37] Roháček 1991, 66.

[38] Lemmen 2007, 172; Lemmen 2013, 216.

[39] Kožuch 1875b, 127.

[40] Petr Pabian, "Islam in Czech Travel Literature of the Nineteenth Century," in Luďa Klusáková (ed.), *We and "the Others:" Modern European Societies in Search of Identity: Studies in Comparative History*, Studia Historica 53 (Prague: Charles University/ Karolinum Press, 2004), 193–203.

[41] Kožuch 1875b, 128–129.

[42] Mark 6:17–29.

[43] Lemmen 2007, 174.

[44] Kožuch 1875b, 129.

[45] Roháček 1991, 15.

[46] Roháček 1991, 19.

[47] Navrátilová 2003, 66–68.

[48] Zlatko Klátik, *Vývin slovenského cestopisu* (Bratislava: Slovenská Akadémia Vied, 1968), 222.

[49] Potúček 1969, 40.

[50] Šustek began his very first journey in Hungary by traveling to Esztergom, Pest, and Szekesfehervar and later on to Veszprem.

[51] Cf. Eva Kowalská and László Vörös, "Collective Identities and Their Borders: A Slovak Perspective," in Luďa Klusáková and Steven G. Ellis (eds.), *Frontiers and Identities: Exploring the Research Area* (Pisa: Pisa University Press, 2006), 137–146.

[52] Lemmen 2013, 209–227.

[53] Ehud R. Toledano, "Social and Economic Change in the 'Long Nineteenth Century,'" in M. W. Daly (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Egypt 2*: *Modern Egypt, from 1517 to the End of the Twentieth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 252–284.

[54] Ľudovít Štúr, *Spisy Ľudovíta Štúra. Sväzok druhý, O národných povestiach a piesňach plemien slovanských* (Martin: Matica slovenská, 1932).