



Karl Benedikt Hase's Journey to Algeria. Notes from the Diary of 1839

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Abstract

This article focuses on Karl Benedikt Hase's 1839 journey to Algeria, documented exclusively in his personal diary. While scholars know of his stay through correspondence, official records, and Dübner-Reinach's summary, the full diary remains unpublished and offers unique insights into Hase's writing and his distinctive use of Greek. This study reconstructs his itinerary — challenging due to cryptic transliterations — to assess whether his travels align with established routes and reflect his scholarly priorities as an editor of epigraphic finds. It examines (1) the sites visited in relation to Hase's academic interests; (2) the motivations behind his journey within the context of the 'Commission Scientifique pour l'Exploration de l'Algérie', supported by archival correspondence; and (3) his interaction with the Maghreb, considering the influence of French colonialism. By situating this overlooked document within colonial and political frameworks, the article offers fresh perspectives on Hase's role as both scholar and colonial agent.

Introduction

Among the scholars most actively engaged in the early scientific missions to French Algeria was Karl Benedikt Hase (1780–1864), a German-born Hellenist and long-standing member of the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres.¹ His interest

¹ For H.'s biography and the transmission of his diary, see I. Ševčenko, 'The Date and Author of the So-Called Fragments of Toparcha Gothicus', *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 25, 1971, pp. 115–88. See also the broader historical and cultural profile in È. Gran-Aymeric – J. von Ungern-Sternberg, *L'Antiquité partagée : correspondances franco-allemandes, 1823–1861: Karl Benedikt Hase, Désiré Raoul-Rochette, Karl*

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in the archaeological and epigraphic discoveries emerging in the wake of the French occupation was well known,² as was his active role in the Commission Scientifique pour l'Exploration de l'Algérie, established in 1833 under the authority of the Ministry of War and coordinated by the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres.³ Yet nothing captures his involvement more vividly than the firsthand account of his journey to Algeria, now accessible through the original version of his travel diary—a rare document that illuminates the entanglement of scholarly inquiry, archaeological practice, and France's colonial enterprise in North Africa. Remarkably, H. maintained throughout his adult life (1812–1863) a personal diary written in Ancient Greek. Of the originally 51 volumes he is believed to have compiled (as noted in Supp. Gr. 1363, which refers to a significantly abridged version of the diary prepared either by his pupil Friedrich Dübner or by Salomon Reinach), only nine have survived. Long thought to be lost, they have recently resurfaced thanks to the research of William M. Barton (University of Innsbruck) and are now being studied for the first time as part of the LAGOOS project, funded by the Austrian Science Fund (FWF).⁴

This article aims to offer a closer examination of Hase's journey (henceforth H.) through Algeria, exploring both the motivations behind his travels and his personal perspective through the reading of the original version of his diary. While it does not alter the established understanding of H.'s role in early 19th-century archaeological missions—as notably outlined by É. Gran-Aymeric through archival sources—this new perspective enriches and adds considerable complexity to that account.

Without claiming to be exhaustive—given the richness and complexity of the diary—the analysis presented here brings to light H.'s intellectual pursuits, his network of contacts, and his individual viewpoint, not only as a scholar of antiquity but also as a man navigating the sweeping transformations of his time. His firsthand

Footnote 1 (continued)

Otfried Müller, *Otto Jahn und Theodor Mommsen*. Paris 2012 (with final bio-bibliography), and the surveys by O. Jacquot, *Charles Benoît Hase (1780–1864), un philhellène allemand à la Bibliothèque nationale*, 2023. Available online [<https://doi.org/10.58079/m3xo>]. Id., *Charles Benoît Hase (1780–1864): bibliographie*, 2023. Available online [<https://doi.org/10.58079/m3xw>].

² See É. Gran-Aymeric, 'Karl Benedikt Hase (1780–1864) et Désiré Raoul-Rochette (1789–1854). D'après leur correspondance : deux médiateurs culturels entre France et Allemagne à la Bibliothèque nationale (1801–1864)' in *S'écrire et écrire sur l'Antiquité : l'apport des correspondances à l'histoire des travaux scientifiques*, ed. C. Bonnet – V. Krings, Grenoble 2008, pp. 83–103; Ead., *Épigraphie française et allemande au Maghreb. Entre collaboration et rivalité (1830–1914)*, *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts. Römische Abteilung*, 117, 2011, p. 567–600; É. Gran-Aymeric – J. von Ungern-Sternberg, *L'Antiquité partagée. Correspondances franco-allemandes (1823–1861)*, *Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres* 47, Paris, 2012, pp. 24–5 (*et infra*).

³ See M. Dondin-Payre, *La commission d'exploration scientifique d'Algérie : Une héritière méconnue de la commission d'Égypte*, Paris, 1994.

⁴ H.'s Greek diary is preserved at the Klassik Stiftung Weimar Goethe- und Schiller-Archiv under the sig. 108/2923 and available online on Kalliope website (<https://kalliope-verbund.info/de/ead?ead.id=DE-2060-BE-108-432004>). The diary is also being published in a digital edition via Transkribus, accompanied by regesta and named-entity tags, as part of the 'LAGOOS Project' (<https://lagoos.org/>), directed by W. M. Barton and hosted by the University of Innsbruck (Grant <https://doi.org/10.55776/Y1519>).

account offers a valuable point of departure for exploring how early 19th-century intellectuals engaged with the unveiling of North Africa's archaeological and cultural heritage—an engagement shaped not only by their encounter with the region's deep historical layers, but also by the enduring stereotypes that influenced its reception in Europe.

Academic and Institutional Context of H's Journey

France began its conquest of Algeria in 1830, but what started as a 'simple promenade militaire'⁵ evolved into a perilous war that paused only briefly in 1848 when Algeria was officially declared part of France.⁶ In parallel with the military takeover, the French government organized a series of scientific expeditions to Maghreb aimed at acquiring knowledge of the territory and its inhabitants and exploiting its resources.⁷ As noted in previous studies,⁸ scientific missions in Algeria—and more broadly in North Africa—followed in the footsteps of earlier expeditions to Egypt and the Morea⁹; unlike the latter, however, Algerian exploration unfolded within a distinctly colonial framework, which shaped its specific features, particularly in terms of the ideological tools employed. Nevertheless, this case saw the same involvement of a complex network of agents on the ground, often entangled in dynamics of both cooperation and competition.

⁵ On the widespread idea of the Algerian conquest as a 'promenade militaire', see, for example, what was reported in *Le Moniteur algérien*, September 1844 (quoted in *La Presse* on October 3, 1844) concerning the expedition against Kabylia.

⁶ Among the substantial body of literature on the conquest of Algiers, the following works are particularly noteworthy: C.-A. Julien – C.-R. Ageron, *Histoire de l'Algérie contemporaine*, 2 vols., Paris, 1964–1979. (espec. vol 2 by Julien); M. Lacheraf, *L'Algérie, nation et société*, Paris, 1965; M. Kaddache, *L'Algérie des Algériens : Histoire de l'Algérie, 1830–1962*, Algiers, 1998; C. Zytnecki, *La Conquête : Comment les Français ont pris possession de l'Algérie, 1830–1848*, Paris, 2002; J. Frémeaux, *La France et l'Algérie en guerre, 1830–1879, 1954–1962*, Paris, 2002; M. Kaddache, *L'Algérie des Algériens : de la préhistoire à 1954*, Paris 2003; J. Frémeaux, *La Conquête de l'Algérie. La dernière campagne d'Abd el-Kader*, Paris, 2016; A. Ruscio, *La première guerre d'Algérie: Une histoire de conquête et de résistance, 1830–1852*, Paris, 2024 (which includes an additional and comprehensive bibliography on the subject).

⁷ M.-N. Bourguet – B. Lepetit – D. Nordman – M. Sinarellis, *L'Invention scientifique de la Méditerranée : Égypte, Morée, Algérie*, Paris, 1998; M.-N. Bourguet – D. Nordman – V. Panayotopoulos – M. Sinarellis, *Enquêtes en Méditerranée : Les expéditions françaises d'Égypte, de Morée et d'Algérie*, Actes du colloque d'Athènes–Nauplie, 8–10 juin 1995, Athens, 1999; D. Nordman, 'Exploration scientifique de l'Algérie' in *Dictionnaire des orientalistes de langue française*, ed. F. Pouillon, Paris, 2008, pp. 367–68.

⁸ See Dondin-Payre, *La commission d'exploration scientifique* (n. 3 above), pp. 7–10; B. Lepetit, 'Missions scientifiques et expéditions militaires : remarques sur leurs modalités d'articulation' in *L'Invention scientifique de la Méditerranée* (n. 7 above), pp. 97–116.

⁹ Drawing on these precedents, both the practical and ideological tools for fieldwork were established tools that, with some adjustments, would also be applied to the exploration of Algeria. As before, research in the Maghreb fell under military authority, still engaged in the territorial conquest. However, the shift to a colonial framework shaped its distinct features, starting with the reference to Roman occupation and the idea of an *exercitus Africae* (African army); see Lepetit, 'Missions scientifiques et expéditions militaires', (n. 8 above), pp. 97–116.

From a scientific perspective, however, the role of the Commission Scientifique pour l'Exploration de l'Algérie was the most significant.¹⁰ The Commission was established in 1833 by the Minister of War and placed under the supervision of the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, with the mandate to establish clear guidelines for conducting scientific research in Algeria.¹¹ Initially composed of three members—C. A. Walckenaer (1771–1852), Dureau de La Malle (1777–1857), and H. himself—the group gradually expanded and evolved over the years, providing support to scientific expeditions in African territories.¹² Through the drafting of a detailed report, they outlined key archaeological sites for the study of Antiquity and offered comprehensive guidance for future investigations.¹³

Although the report was limited by the scarce information available on Africa at the time, its scope went beyond the framework of Minister of War's initial directives. While the military prioritized key strategic fields like geography and linguistics, scholars such as H. advocated for the inclusion of archaeology and epigraphy, resulting in tensions between the two groups.

After the conquest of Constantine in 1837, General Bernard, the Minister of War, recognized the need to recruit experts to advance and coordinate research in North Africa. However, the recruitment process was slow, hindered by the ongoing tensions between the military and academic parties. The military was hesitant to accept external members, while the academics insisted on selecting the most qualified individuals. As a result of these disagreements amid escalating hostilities against Abd el-Kader, the delegation of experts experienced setbacks, eventually departing only in 1840, under the command of Colonel Bory de Saint Vincent, the former leader of the Morea expedition. However, the difficulties they encountered became immediately apparent. The challenges they faced proved extraordinary, marked by enduring conflicts, harsh environmental conditions, and, perhaps most critically, a lack of cooperation from the military. Security concerns and a desire to assert dominance meant that the armed forces hindered the scholars' efforts, resulting in numerous complaints addressed to the Minister of War. Despite these hurdles, the project yielded results, with numerous reports submitted to the Commission. However, financial constraints brought the work to a definitive end in September 1841.

Once the mission was completed, the next step involved preparing the publication of the final reports. Initially, this task was assigned to Colonel Bory, before being transferred to the Institut de France, until the Minister of War established an

¹⁰ See D. Nordman, 'Science et rivalités internationales en Afrique du Nord : la France et l'Allemagne (XVIe–XIXe siècle)' in *Savoirs d'Allemagne en Afrique du Nord XVIIIe–XXe siècle*, ed. A. Abdelfettah – A. Messaoudi – D. Nordman, Paris, 2012, pp. 25–54 (38–49).

¹¹ See Dondin-Payre, *La commission d'exploration scientifique* (n. 3 above), p. 22.

¹² See *Ibid.*, pp. 25–36.

¹³ The first report is from 1833: « Rapport fait dans la séance du 27 décembre 1833 au nom de la seconde commission nommée relativement à la lettre du ministre de la Guerre, en date du 18 novembre 1833; par M. Walckenaer »; the second is from 1838: « Sur les recherches archéologiques à entreprendre dans la province de Consantine et la régence d'Alger ». Both were published in *Mémoires de l'Institut de France*, AIBL, t. XII, 1839.

academic commission to oversee the process. The commission, made up of 20 members, included representatives from the Academy such as H., Raoul-Rochette, and Dureau de la Malle. The process faced several challenges, chiefly stemming from ongoing tensions with the Minister who ultimately supervised the work, financial difficulties, and strained relations with authors reluctant to comply with reviewers' demands. After a series of setbacks, including the 1848 war, the budget and publication year were finally set for 1850.¹⁴

The records reveal H.'s pivotal role in several successive commissions, each pursuing its own specific objectives: He maintained active correspondence with key figures and institutions. In August 1839, ahead of the mission's official launch, discussions around candidate selection—particularly for the archaeological correspondents—led H. to strongly endorse Adrien Berbrugger, who would later become a key figure in Algerian archaeology.¹⁵ Taking advantage of the situation's standstill, H. reached out to Berbrugger directly, as revealed in a letter included in his letter notebook, now preserved at the Goethe- und Schiller-Archiv in Weimar,¹⁶ to arrange a meeting in Algiers and ask him to serve as his guide during his journey. In the autumn of 1839, against the backdrop of expanding French colonization in Algeria and persistent resistance from Abd el-Kader, H. undertook, from September 1 to October 14, an institutional mission directly related to his position in the Commission Scientifique pour l'Exploration de l'Algérie.¹⁷

H's Itinerary Through Algeria

Although the preserved portion of the diary represents only a fraction of the original, the nine extant volumes are already sufficient to illustrate the unique features of Hase's private writing, both in linguistic and stylistic terms as well as in the nature of the content he chose to record. At its core, the diary is a true *ἡμερολόγιον*, kept on pre-printed in-octavo agenda sheets. The entries are relatively brief (two days per page), noting significant moments in his personal life and academic career.

¹⁴ Cf. Dondin-Payre, *La commission d'exploration scientifique* (n. 3 above), pp. 101–15.

¹⁵ Louis Adrien Berbrugger (1801–1869) was a central figure in the cultural and archaeological development of French Algeria. After settling in Algiers in the 1830s, he founded the city's first public library and museum, ensured the conservation of thousands of Arabic manuscripts, and contributed significantly to the identification of Roman sites. He also established the *Revue Africaine* and remained a key intellectual presence in Algeria until his death. See R. F. Wood, 'Berbrugger, Forgotten Founder of Algerian Librarianship', *The Journal of Library History* (1966–1972) 5, no. 3, 1970, pp. 237–56.

¹⁶ This is a notebook, cataloged under the entry 'Briefkonzeptbuch' in Kalliope database (GSA 108/2915), in which H. wrote the first drafts of his letters. It constitutes an unpublished and important document because it offers the advantage of collecting his correspondence, year by year, which is scattered across various archives. The letter cited here is GSA 108/2915, pp. 2–3.

¹⁷ This is attested, among other things, by the draft of a letter (see 'Briefkonzeptbuch': GSA 108/2915, p. 76) in which H., in replying to Nicolas (possibly 'Nicolas, Ch.', author of the letter sent to H. in 1839, reference GSA108/1820 in the Kalliope database), apologizes for his delayed reply attributing it to his stay in Algeria, which he conducted 'pour préparer des voies à l'expédition scientifique qui doit partir sous peu pour explorer nos possessions africaines'.

Recurring themes include Hase's scholarly commitments (consultation, revision, and drafting of research works, academic meetings, and institutional affairs), the maintenance of his wide and diverse intellectual network, financial matters, and interpersonal relationships. What emerges is the portrait of a highly meticulous and methodical individual, discreet in expressing personal opinions or judgments on the people and events he records.

Hase wrote in a 'mixture of classical high-style Byzantine and katharevousa Greek',¹⁸ a register heavily indebted to classical Greek, especially in its morphology and syntax, but also marked by a pragmatic openness to lexical choices drawn from a broad spectrum—from archaisms to contemporary modern Greek.¹⁹

The Algerian portion of the diary, composed mostly in situ but also on scattered sheets later recopied, consists primarily of travel notes. While reflecting the author's antiquarian curiosity, it generally adheres to his usual writing practices and the standard structure of his entries. Only in a few cases—owing to the exceptional nature of the experiences described—do his notes exceed the limits of the pre-printed pages, forcing him to continue writing in blank spaces left elsewhere in the volume.

What follows is a detailed account of the diary material, including selective Greek quotations where relevant—particularly in descriptions of places and the use of toponyms—to convey the distinctive style of Hase's writing. The Greek passages are presented in diplomatic transcription, accompanied by my English translations. Place and personal names are rendered in English when their identification is secure; otherwise, they appear in the original Greek.

1.09 H. leaves Paris by carriage (ἐν τῷ καλουμένῳ κουπέ²⁰) on September 1, 1839.²¹ The journey continued throughout the day, passing through Avallon ('Αβάλλων²²), and extended into the night.²³

¹⁸ Ševčenko, 'The Date and Author of the So-Called Fragments of Toparcha Gothicus (n. 1 above), p. 167.

¹⁹ W. M. Barton, 'La langue grecque dans le journal intime de C.-B. Hase', *Camenae*, 29, 2023, pp. 1–23 (12–3), available online: https://www.uibk.ac.at/latinistik-graezistik/mitarbeiterinnen/william-m-barton/docs/camenae_21-barton-william-2.pdf.

²⁰ 'In the so-called coupé'. The 'coupé' was one of the compartments in carriages, reserved for higher-ranking passengers: see A. Remond, *L'histoire de la diligence : un moyen de transport révolutionnaire*, *Revue Histoire*, 2024, available online: <https://revue-histoire.fr/histoire-contemporaine/histoire-de-la-diligence-un-moyen-de-transport-revolutionnaire/>.

²¹ On August 31, in preparation for his trip, H. made a list of personal items to bring: in addition to letters, maps, and legal documents (πιττάκιον Παιηπιστειμίου and ξυγγραφή ἀράβωνος, the latter possibly a legal document containing evidence of a bond), he explicitly mentions, among the items to carry in his pocket (ἐν τῷ ἐπὶ), the diary (δελτοδρόμιον) and sheets to write on it (πιττάκιον ἐν δέλτῳ τουτωί).

²² Ἀβάλλων is the Hellenized form of the Latin toponym 'Aballum', referring to modern-day 'Avallon': see J. G. Th. Grässe, *Orbis Latinus: Lexikon lateinischer geographischer Namen des Mittelalters und der Neuzeit*, Grossausgabe, bearb. und hrsg. von H. Plechl unter Mitarbeit von S.-C. Plechl, Braunschweig, 1972, s.v. 'Aballo'.

²³ H. follows the so-called 'route de la Bourgogne' for the outbound trip from Paris to Lyon, as described, for example, in Pignel, *Conducteur, ou Guide du voyageur et du colon de Paris à Alger et dans l'Algérie*, Paris, 1836, pp. 16–41, one of the travel guides published during the initial phase of colonization. For the return journey, the 'route du Bourbonnais' was chosen (covering an area roughly corresponding to modern-day Allier and part of Cher), from Lyon to Paris, perhaps to vary the itinerary

2.09 From Arnay-le-Duc (Ἀρναί λε Δὺκ)²⁴ to Chalon sur-Saône (Καβιλῶνα),²⁵ the journey continues in the same carriage towards Lyon (Λούγδουνον).²⁶ The harsh conditions of travel force H. to urinate in the carriage, enraging the hygiene officer (ἐν δὲ τῇ ἀμάξῃ ἔπαθον τοσοῦτον ὥστ' ἐμὲ κατουρῆσαι ἐν αὐτῇ· ὁ αἰσθόμενος ὁ παχὺς διευθυντῆς τῆς ὑγιεινότητος Παρισίων, ὠργίσθη σφοδρᾶ²⁷). The journey continues through Macôn (Δρόμος διὰ Ματισκῶνος)²⁸ in calm weather, but H. feels fatigued.

3.09 Upon arriving in Lyon, the journey continues with a navigation along the Rhône River to Avignon (Πέρασις πρὸς τὸν πλοῖον τοῦ Ῥοδάνου, ἐν ᾧ κατέβαλον λ' φρ. ἄχρις Ἀβενίωνος²⁹). The final stop takes them to Beaucaire (δρόμος ἄχρι Βέλλου Κούαδρου).³⁰ Dinner is served at the inn in the 'Great Garden' (τοῦ μεγάλου Κήπου), where they also spend the night.

4.09 Departure by boat in the morning from Beaucaire to Arles (πλοῦς ἀπὸ Βέλλου Κούαδρου εἰς Ἀρελάτην),³¹ where H. transferred to another steamboat named 'Eagle' (κάκεϊ μετακομιδὴ εἰς ἕτερον ἀτμόπλοιοι Ἀετὸς καλούμενον³²) commanded by Captain Ἰβιγνών. Upon entering the Mediterranean, the voyage continues in calm seas and H. reaches Arles. He spends the night at an inn and plans to continue the journey by carriage toward Toulon (εἰς Τέλωνα)³³.

Footnote 23 (continued)

and visit different places (see Pignel, *Conducteur, ou Guide du voyageur* [n. 23 above], pp. 6–15). In Avignon, travelers would board steamships to Marseille or Toulon (see Pignel, *Conducteur, ou Guide du voyageur* [ibid.], pp. 41–2).

²⁴ Ἀρναί λε Δὺκ is the Hellenized form of the French toponym 'Arnay-le-Duc'.

²⁵ Καβιλῶν is the Hellenized form of the Latin toponym 'Cabillonum', referring to modern-day 'Chalon sur-Saône': see Grässe, *Orbis Latinus* (n. 22 above), s.v. 'Cabalaunum'.

²⁶ Λούγδουνον is the Hellenized form of the Latin toponym 'Lugdunum', referring to modern-day 'Lyon': see Grässe, *Orbis Latinus* (n. 22 above), s.v. 'Leona'.

²⁷ 'In the carriage, I suffered so badly that I ended up urinating in it; the corpulent director of public hygiene in Paris, sensing it, was greatly angered'.

²⁸ Ματισκῶν is the Hellenized form of the Latin toponym 'Matisco' (or 'Castrum Matisconense'), referring to modern-day 'Mâcon' (Saône-et-Loire): see Grässe, *Orbis Latinus* (n. 22 above), s.v. 'Matisco Aeduorum'.

²⁹ 'I boarded the boat on the Rhône, paying 30 francs for the journey to Avignon'. Ἀβενίων is the Hellenized form of the Latin toponym 'Avenio', referring to modern-day 'Avignon': see Grässe, *Orbis Latinus* (n. 22 above), s.v. 'Avenio'.

³⁰ 'The journey continues as far as Bellum Quadrum'. Βέλλος Κούαδρος is the Hellenized form of the Latin toponym 'Bellicadrum', referring to modern-day 'Beaucaire': Grässe, *Orbis Latinus* (n. 22 above), s.v. 'Bellicadrum'.

³¹ Ἀρελάτης is the Hellenized form of the Latin toponym 'Arelate', referring to modern-day 'Arles': Grässe, *Orbis Latinus* (n. 22 above), s.v. 'Arelatensis colonia'.

³² 'there transferred to another steamboat called Eagle'.

³³ Τέλων is the Hellenized form of the Latin toponym 'Telo', referring to modern-day 'Toulon': see Grässe, *Orbis Latinus* (n. 22 above), s.v. 'Telo Martius'.

5.09 After passing through Ollioules (Ὀλιούλε³⁴), H. arrives in Toulon and meets with the ‘Sous-intendant militaire’ Ἀππέρτ³⁵ and Σοάνε³⁶. He visits the city’s harbor.³⁷

6.09 H. runs errands and meets with several people: Σοάνε, with whom he arranges a visit to the arsenal (ὄπλοθήκη)³⁸; the two Bentley brothers³⁹ (δύο ἄδελφῶ Βέντλειῦ) and some colleagues from the École polytechnique with whom he spends time.

7.09 H. embarks on a trip with Γαδυέλ⁴⁰ to Saint-Mandrier-sur-Mer (Ἄγ. Μανδριέρ)⁴¹. Upon their return, they continue the journey by carriage toward Hyères (Ἐπάνοδος καὶ δρόμος ξὺν τῷ Γαδυέλ Μασσαλιώτῃ ἐν μονίπῳ εἰς Ἱεράν. Φοῖνικε· λιμωναί· ἀνάβασις εἰς τὸ ὑψηλὸν κάστρον· θεωρία ἐκεῖθεν λαμπρά)⁴². They visited the castle⁴³ and had dinner with colleagues from the École polytechnique.

³⁴ Ὀλιούλε is the Hellenized form of the French toponym ‘Ollioules’, commune in the western suburb of Toulon.

³⁵ It is difficult to identify this individual; according to the alphabetical index of the *Service historique de la défense, Division guerre et armée de terre*, (Sous-série GR, 2Ye, Officiers supérieurs et subalterns (1791–1847), Répertoire alphabétique – Aa à Az), Château de Vincennes 2018 available online: https://www.servicehistorique.sga.defense.gouv.fr/sites/default/files/2022-12/SHDGR_REP_2Ye_1_122_Aa_Az_1.pdf), several individuals are listed under the name ‘Appert’, but we do not have conclusive evidence for identification.

³⁶ This is an unidentified individual, but he may have been the commandant de place of Toulon, since H. addresses him — as was customary — to request access to the arsenal the following day.

³⁷ The port of Toulon is described in a contemporary guidebook with these words: ‘La rade est immense et offre un coup d’œil admirable, lorsqu’il s’y trouve un certain nombre de vaisseaux et frégates; on remarque encore dans cette rade (en 1836) les carcasses des bâtiments de guerre pris sur les Algériens lors de la conquête d’Alger’ (see Pignel, *Conducteur, ou Guide du voyageur* [n. 23 above], p. 72).

³⁸ The Toulon arsenal is featured in contemporary guides as one of the city’s main attractions, hailed as ‘le plus beau de l’Europe’ (see Pignel, *Conducteur, ou Guide du voyageur* [n. 23 above], pp. 72–3).

³⁹ It could refer to Richard (1794–1871) and Samuel (1785–1868) Bentley, printer and antiquarian, proprietors of the renamed firm Richard Bentley and Son; see R. Harrison, ‘Bentley, Richard (1794–1871)’ in *Dictionary of National Biography*, vol. 4, ed. L. Stephen, London, 1885, p. 316; L. Stephen, ‘Bentley, Samuel (1785–1868)’ in *Dictionary of National Biography*, vol. 4, ed. L. Stephen, London, 1885, p. 317.

⁴⁰ H. refers to him as one of the ‘élèves de l’École polytechnique’ in the diary entry of September 6th, yet his identity remains unknown.

⁴¹ Ἄγ. Μανδριέρ is the Hellenized form of the French toponym ‘Saint-Mandrier-sur-Mer’ (department of Var, Provence-Alpes-Côte d’Azur region). Originally an island, Saint-Mandrier-sur-Mer was linked to the mainland by a 17th-century causeway. Inhabited since Phoenician times, it later served military and naval functions, including a naval hospital founded in 1818 (and visited by H. in his excursion).

⁴² ‘Return and journey with Γαδυέλ the Marseillais in a one-horse carriage to Hyères. Palm trees, lemon groves, ascent to the high castle, splendid view from there’. Ἱερὰ is a phonetic transliteration of the French name ‘Hyères’; on the other hand, the Latin name of the location is ‘Areae’: see Grässe, *Orbis Latinus* (n. 22 above), s.v. ‘Areae’. Hyères is also known as Hyères-les-Palmiers for the 7,000 palm trees housed in its gardens.

⁴³ A medieval castle known as ‘Arearum Castrum’.

8.09⁴⁴ H. departs with Σουχάμ and Βίχε⁴⁵, returns to shore, and embarks on the Chimère (Επάνοδος εις γῆν, καὶ ἐπίστρεψις πρὸς τὴν Χίμαιραν)⁴⁶. At 10:00, they depart and tour Fort de Balaguier (ἡ γρόσσε τοῦρ· λὰ τοῦρ δὲ Μπαλαγιέρ)⁴⁷. He has lunch on board with Captain Fouque (Ὁ Φούκε καπιτάνος)⁴⁸, Βρετουίλ⁴⁹, and Texier (Τεξιέρ)⁵⁰.

9.09 At half-past nine, the Chimère is located between Toulon, Marseille, and the Balearic Islands (Ἥμεθα δὲ τῇ στιγμῇ τῇδε, ἐννάτῃ καὶ ἡμισείᾳ, μεταξὺ Τέλωνος [supra scriptum] [crossed out] τε καὶ τῶν νήσων τὴν βαλεάραν⁵¹). The ship arrives at Minorca at 2:00 PM (Ὁ μόντε δὲλ Τόρρ τῆς Μινόρκας)⁵².

11.09 After a day of travel (10.09), H. arrives in Algiers (Ἰκόσιον)⁵³ where he visits Berbrugger (Βέρβρυγκερ) and tours the city, including what had once been the Janissaries' barracks (ἄφιξις εἰς τὴν παλαιὰν λαύραν (caserne) τῶν γενιτζάρων⁵⁴). He has lunch with Berbrugger at 'Latour du Pin' (ἐν ξενοδοχείῳ Λατούρ ντο

⁴⁴ In this diary entry, H. refers to the list of items deposited in Toulon — recorded on 26 August in a previously blank space — and to his 20 August note describing an evening's entertainment aboard ship during the voyage. This instance exemplifies one of numerous internal cross-references within his diary (as noted below): the diminutive format of the notebook proved inadequate for the volume of his observations, compelling H. — who also employed loose sheets (see the diary entry for 30 August) — to inscribe supplementary notes in the blank margins of the August entries.

⁴⁵ Unidentified 'élèves de l'École polytechnique'.

⁴⁶ 'Return to land and reboarding onto the Chimère'.

⁴⁷ 'le gros tour, le tour de Balaguier'. The Fort de Balaguier, built in 1636 in La Seyne-sur-Mer (Var, France), was designed to protect Toulon harbor from Habsburg threats. It was part of a defensive project initiated by Cardinal Richelieu, including a series of towers along the Provence coast, see C. Corvisier and B. Fournel, *Dossier d'œuvre architecture IA8300146 3 : Fort de Balaguier. Enquête thématique régionale*, Architecture militaire de Provence-Alpes-Côte d'Azur, 2011, available online: <https://dossierinventaire.maregionsud.fr/dossier/IA83001463>.

⁴⁸ Fouque (n.d.), lieutenant de vaisseau according to the *Annales Maritimes et Coloniales* of 1839 [https://diffusion.shom.fr/media/wysiwyg/pdf/sommaires_AMC_1830-1846.pdf]. He also addressed two letters to H., now held in the at the Klassik Stiftung Weimar Goethe- und Schiller-Archiv under the sig. 108/896. The 1839 letter in particular was written by the captain to welcome H. on his journey to Algiers.

⁴⁹ He might be Achille Le Tonnelier de Breteuil (1781–1864), a French politician; however, there is no reliable evidence to confirm this identification.

⁵⁰ Félix Marie Charles Texier (1802–1871) was a French historian, architect, and archaeologist. He was appointed 'Inspecteur general des batiments civils en Algerie' in 1843, overseeing Hippo Regius; see G. Walter, *Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture: An Annotated Bibliography and Historiography*, Boston, 1992, p. XXXIV; D. Avon, *Dictionnaire des Orientalistes de langue française*, Paris, 2008 pp. 921–22; S. Pedone, 'Charles Texier', in *Personenlexikon zur Christlichen Archäologie*, ed. S. Heid and Ma. Dennert, Berlin, 2012, pp. 921–22.

⁵¹ 'We were at the moment, at half-past nine, between Toulon and the Balearic Islands'. Additional travel details appear in the 28 August diary entry, where H. refers to this date.

⁵² Mount Toro is the highest hill on Minorca, standing at 358 meters above sea level.

⁵³ 'Icosium' is the name of the original Punic settlement of Algiers; however, its exact identification has been debated since the earliest French explorations of the site. H. himself confuses it with 'Iomnium', located at the site of present-day Tizgirt. See M. Le Glay, 'À la recherche d'Icosium', *Antiquités Africaines*, 2, 1968, pp. 7–54; E. Lipiński, *Itineraria Phoenicia*, Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 127, Leuven-Paris-Dudley, 2004, pp. 397–98 and 402.

⁵⁴ 'Arrival at the former military garrison (caserne) of the Janissaries'.

Πιν)⁵⁵, then meets with Charon (Χαρὸν)⁵⁶, and has dinner at Boblaye's (Δεῖπνον πολυτελὲς τοῦ Βοβλαῦε)⁵⁷.

12.09 In Algiers, H. meets with Marshal Valée (Βαλλέ)⁵⁸ and Berbrugger and takes part in meetings with the École Polytechnique group. Then he goes to the lighthouse, where the diggers are at work, and to the 'Hôtel du Gastronom' where the besieging forces are stationed ('Ἐδραμον οὖν πρῶτον μὲν εἰς τὸν Φάρον, ὅπου οἱ σκαβόλοι· ἔπειτα εἰς ξενοδοχεῖον τοῦ γαστρονόμου, ὅπου οἱ πολιορκητικοί⁵⁹). He climbs up to the Kasbah⁶⁰, towering above the city ('Αναβάς δ' εἰς κάσβαν, ὅπου ἡ κάγε αὐξ πουλᾶτο, κατεσχέθην δυσεντερία, μὴ ἐπιστάμενος εἰ ὅψομαι τὴν Γαλλίαν⁶¹), and dines later at Marshal Valée's.

13.09 In Algiers⁶², H. visits the bathhouse and then, together with a certain Τιβῆτ σκευοβόλος⁶³, and Berbrugger, proceeds to the castrum Bāb Azūn

⁵⁵ This hotel is still remembered as a gathering place in Algiers, described as an oasis of palm trees and bamboo, in a late-19th century guide: see É. Dallès, *Alger, Bou-Farik', Blidah et leurs environs : Guide géographique, historique et pittoresque*, Algiers 1888, p. 32.

⁵⁶ Baron Viala Charon (1794–1880) was a French general and politician who served as Governor-General of Algeria from September 1848 to October 1850. A decorated military leader, he was awarded the Médaille militaire in 1852 and named Grand Cross of the Légion d'honneur in 1857. Upon his arrival in Algeria in 1835, he spent nearly 14 years in active campaigns, rising through the ranks and defending key locations like Bougie and Blida against continuous tribal attacks; see C. Mullié, *Biographie des célébrités militaires des armées de terre et de mer de 1789 à 1850*, vol. 1, Paris, 1851, p. 301.

⁵⁷ Emile (Le) Puyon (or Puillon) (de) Boblaye, 'Capitaine d'Etat-major', 'chef du service topographique' in Algiers, presented by the 'Institut de France' as an associate member and later as a full member of ancient geography, see A. Robert – G. Cougny, *Dictionnaire des parlementaires français (1789–1889)*, vol. 4, Paris 1891, p. 111 and Dondin-Payre, *La commission d'exploration scientifique* (n. 3 above), p. 82.

⁵⁸ Marshal Sylvain-Charles Valée (1773–1846), a French general ennobled by Napoleon, served as Governor-General of Algeria from 1837 to 1840. A key military leader during the conquest of Algeria, he distinguished himself in the successful expeditions against Constantine and led the 1839–40 campaign against Abd el-Kader following the French breach of the Treaty of Tafna. Valée focused on consolidating French control through military fortification, infrastructure planning, and early colonization efforts, notably in Blida, Cherchell, and Coléa. His tenure ended amid political shifts in France and changing European dynamics, which curtailed further expansion in North Africa; see M. Girod de l'Ain, *Grands artilleurs. Le maréchal Valée (1773–1846)*, Paris, 1911.

⁵⁹ 'Thus, I first ran to the Lighthouse, where the diggers were; then to the Hôtel du Gastronom, where the besiegers were stationed'. The Lighthouse stood on a rocky outcrop that was the site of the first settlement (see A. Berbrugger, *Le Pégnon d'Alger, ou Les origines du gouvernement turc en Algérie*, Paris, 1860). The Spanish had built a fortress there, known as the Peñon. With the arrival of the French, extensive renovation works on the port were undertaken due to its state of decay, see J. M. Reynell, *Algeria: The Topography and History, Political, Social, and Natural*, London, 1875, pp. 66–71.

⁶⁰ The Kasbah, originally built in the 10th century by the Berber Zirids as a fortified citadel and seat of the Dey, forms the old heart of the city. Reached through a maze of narrow alleys, it preserves traces of Islamic-Maghrebian architecture. By 1854, however, it was scarcely recognizable — even to the local Arab population — due to the transformations imposed by the French, who had turned it into a military quarter (see Reynell, *Algeria: The Topography* [n. 59 above], pp. 74–5).

⁶¹ 'Having ascended to the Kasbah, where the cage aux poulets was, I was seized by dysentery, not knowing whether I would ever see France again'.

⁶² In this diary entry, H. cross-references 22 August; however, the entry for that date bears an annotation dated 18 September — an error most likely introduced during the transcription of his travel notes.

⁶³ Σκευοβόλος, a neologism? Derived from σκεῦος ('equipment') and βάλλειν ('to throw' or 'to cast'), it could be interpreted as 'the one who prepares things' or in a military context the 'aide-de-camp'.

(Βὰβ Ἀζούν)⁶⁴. He takes a carriage excursion to Koubah (Κοόβα)⁶⁵, dines at the 'Gastronome', and ends the day, not without renewed intestinal discomfort (καὶ τῇ ἐσπέρᾳ πάλιν κίνησις κοιλίας⁶⁶).

14.09 In Algiers, H. meets his companions at the carriage station, then departs for the Bab-el-Oued gate (Πάπ ἐλ εὐέδ)⁶⁷, continuing to Fort de l'Empereur (τὸ κάστρον τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος)⁶⁸, Βίλλα τοῦ βαλέα⁶⁹ and many other marvels. The journey includes stops at Dély Ibrahim (Δελὸ Ἰβραχίμ)⁷⁰, Douéra (Δουέρα)⁷¹, Bufarik (βουφαρική)⁷², and a meeting with Dubern (Δυβέρν)⁷³. He spends the night at Duvivier' camp (ὁ Δυβιβιέρ, καὶ τὸ κάστρον αὐτοῦ)⁷⁴.

⁶⁴ At the southern edge of the city, beyond the old Bab Azoun gate, lies the suburb that shares its name. Following the conquest, the French rebuilt the area to improve access to the city (see Reynell, *Algeria: The Topography* [n. 59 above], pp. 81–2).

⁶⁵ Koubah is a fortified site along the coastal road, known for its lush gardens and Moorish-style villas. The area, once wealthy, still preserves traces of Roman and Moorish irrigation systems (see Reynell, *Algeria: The Topography* [n. 59 above], p. 102).

⁶⁶ 'In the evening, a bowel movement again'.

⁶⁷ Bab-el-Oued is a northern suburb of Algiers, reached through the gate bearing the same name. The gate opens onto a wide valley that was once home to pirates, but since 1830 housed colonial government institutions. Bab-el-Oued is also one of Algiers' three main arteries — together with Bab-azoun and the Rue de la Marine — that run through the city from north to south (see Reynell, *Algeria: The Topography* [n. 59 above], p. 66 and 81).

⁶⁸ The term may refer to the Emperor's Fort (Charles V), a structure that was used in 1843 as a prison for officers. Under the Turkish Empire, it was the largest fortification near the city. Located 1,100 meters above sea level to the south of the Kasbah, on the right side of the city, it overlooked the main access points. From its elevated position, it offers a wide view of the city and its main streets (Reynell, *Algeria: The Topography* [n. 59 above], p. 98 and 104–5).

⁶⁹ This location remains difficult to identify due to the ambiguity of the term βαλέα. However, it may denote a site connected to Marshal Valée, who was active in land acquisition during the military colonization phase (see Reynell, *Algeria: The Topography* [n. 59 above], p. 92 and 101).

⁷⁰ One of the first villages to be colonized — alongside Kouba — thanks to the initiative of the Duke of Rovigo (1774–1833), who in 1832 established an initial settlement of Alsatians there (see H. Klein, 'Les Premiers Colons' in *Les Feuilles d'El-Djezaïr, Les rues de l'ancien et du nouvel Alger – L'esclavage européen*, 6, 1913, pp. 135–39; C. Robert-Guiard, 'The First Female Migrants (1830–1840)' in *European Women in Colonial Contexts*, Presses universitaires de Provence, 2009: <https://doi.org/10.4000/books.pup.7062>, and the discussion below).

⁷¹ Douéra, a suburb of Algiers, began as a French military camp and hospital in 1830 on the site of a former Turkish post, Bordj El Hamar, overlooking the Mitidja plain. Officially established as a rural commune in 1835, it developed slowly as a colonization village, mainly inhabited by military personnel guarding nearby settlements, see H. Busson, 'The Geographical Development of Agricultural Colonization in Algeria', *Annales de Géographie*, 7/31, 1898 pp. 34–54; N. Biskri, 'Un établissement pénitentiaire singulier dans 'l'archipel punitif' de l'armée française en Algérie : L'établissement des fers de Douera puis de Bône (1855–1858)', *L'Année du Maghreb*, 20, 2019, available online: <https://doi.org/10.4000/anneemaghreb.4458>.

⁷² Boufarik, a town in northern Algeria, was founded in 1836 by Governor Clauzel on malarial swampland in the Mitidja plain. Designed with straight, tree-lined streets, it prospered through intensive agriculture and lies between the Wadi el-Khemis, Wadi Bouchemla, coastal hills, and the Atlas foothills, see C. Trumelet, *Bou-Farik : une page de l'histoire de la colonisation algérienne*, Algiers, 1887; Dallès, *Alger, Bou-Farik* (n. 55 above); Ruscio, *La première guerre d'Algérie* (n. 6 above), pp. 237–47 and 483–87 et infra.

⁷³ Prosper Eugène Dubern (1802–1870), a French general, significantly contributed to Algeria's conquest. He distinguished himself at battles such as Temzouat (1833), Mouleï Ismael (1835), and Méheris (1837), see É. Férét, *Personnalités et notables girondins*, Bordeaux, 1889, p. 200.

⁷⁴ François Duvivier (1794–1848), a French general, played a key role in the conquest of Algeria, see Mullié, *Biographie des célébrités militaires* (n. 56 above), pp. 486–87.

15.09⁷⁵ H. overnights in the village of Blida⁷⁶, near the military camp (Διανυκτέρευσις ἐν χωρίῳ τοῦ Βελίδα, πλησίον τοῦ στρατοπέδου). In the morning, he departs and has lunch at the camp of Boufarik, with the Prince of Württemberg (ὁ ἄναξ τοῦ Βύρτεμβεργ)⁷⁷ and Dubern. He returns to Douéra and meets the young Μαθίλδη Βέλλεκουρ and her mother⁷⁸, recently arrived from Paris. He visits a cemetery⁷⁹. Dinner at the ‘Hôtel Du Nord’ (ἐν ξενοδοχείῳ τοῦ Νόρδ).

16.09 In Algiers⁸⁰, H. starts his day with a bath opposite the exarchate (Εὐθὺς πρῶτῳ λουτρὸν ἀντικρυς τοῦ ἐξαρχείου⁸¹), followed by lunch at the ‘De la Bourse’ restaurant (ἐν θερμωπωλείῳ ντε λα Βούρσε). In the afternoon, he sets off on a carriage tour with Berbrugger to the river Harratch, visiting the residence, Maison Carrée, and the Café of the Plane Trees (Ὁ Ἀρράτζ· ἡ οἰκία· ἡ τετράγωνος, τὸ θερμωπωλεῖον τῶν Πλατάνων ἡγουν Πλάτωνος⁸²). Later, he is visited by Count

⁷⁵ Additional information regarding the visit to the city of Blida is recorded under 14 and 23 August in the blank spaces; in both instances, however, no cross-references are provided.

⁷⁶ Blida is located in northern Algeria, on the southern edge of the Mitidja plain, at the foot of the Tell Atlas Mountains, about 30 miles (48 km) southwest of Algiers. Founded in 1553 by Moorish refugees from Andalusia, it was once walled with six gates. The town, French in character, was surrounded by orchards and known for its orange and flour trade, along with light manufacturing. It was also the site of a significant military battle in 1830 during the French occupation, which ended in a victory for the Algerians, see H. Chisholm, ‘Blida’ in *Encyclopædia Britannica*, 11th ed., vol. 4, Cambridge, 1911, pp. 58–9. For an account of Blida at the time of the French colonization see M. Côte, ‘L’exploitation de la Mitidja, vitrine de l’entreprise coloniale?’ in *Histoire de l’Algérie à la période coloniale 1830–1962*, ed. A. Bouchène – J.-P. Peyroulou, O. S. Tengour – S. Thénault, Paris–Alger, 2012, pp. 269–74.

⁷⁷ Paul Karl Heinrich Friedrich August Prinz von Württemberg (1785–1852): see Gerald Maier, ‘Paul Friedrich Karl August’ in ed. L. Sönke – D. Mertens – V. Press, *Das Haus Württemberg. Ein biographisches Lexikon*, Stuttgart, 1997, pp. 313–15 and the letter sent to H. in Weimar’s archive (GSA 108/2828).

⁷⁸ Both have yet to be identified.

⁷⁹ It could refer to the cemetery located at the entrance of the city of Blida, known for its distinctive sepulchral stones — signs of the affection its inhabitants had for their native place, which they used to call the ‘second Damascus’ (see Reynell, *Algeria: The Topography* [n. 59 above], pp. 117–18).

⁸⁰ Further details are recorded under 13 August, added in the previously blank spaces.

⁸¹ ‘Early in the morning, a bath across from the headquarters’. The noun ἐξαρχεῖον may be derived from ἐξαρχος. In antiquity, this term denoted a military leader (cf. e.g. Aelian, *Tactica* 9.2; Arrian, *Tactica* 10.1), whereas in the Byzantine period, it came to indicate a high-ranking ecclesiastical or civil official presiding over an ἐξαρχία, one of the administrative divisions of the Empire. In this context, however, H. employs the form ἐξαρχεῖον, unattested in either Ancient or Byzantine Greek, possibly in reference to the headquarters of an Ottoman authority. If that’s the case, the location mentioned might be one of the Dey’s buildings on Place du Gouvernement (later known as ‘Place Nationale’), near which we know there were also baths or hammāms. ‘Place Nationale’ was the main square in Algiers, lined with trees, as briefly described by H. (see Reynell, *Algeria: The Topography* [n. 59 above], p. 66 and 93).

⁸² ‘The Harrach; the house; the square (building); the Café of the Plane Trees, or rather, of Plato’. H. visits an area near the Haratch River, the site of the Fort de l’Empereur, built by the Turks outside Algiers but occupied by only a few ‘disciplinaires’ by Reynell’s time (see Reynell, *Algeria: The Topography* [n. 59 above], p. 98). The τετράγωνος may refer to the ‘Maison Carrée’, a quadrangular fort visited with Berbrugger, as indicated in a letter dated 19.01.1840 (see ‘Briefkonzeptbuch’: GSA 108/2915, p. 85). The fort was a French advanced post, but swamps in the valley made it unhealthy for Europeans. The high rates of disease and mortality led to the evacuation of the permanent garrison and a five-day rotation of regiments stationed in Algiers (see Reynell, *Algeria: The Topography* [n. 59 above], p. 100 and 103; Y. Bourouina – M. O. Ouadjhane, ‘Habitat sur les berges d’El Harrach’ *Mémoire de Master 2*, Institut d’architecture et d’urbanisme, Université Saad Dahleb, Blida 01, 2018/19). He finally visits the famous Café of the Plane Trees (also known as the Café of Hammah), named after the plane trees that were there.

ντε Βρέτουιλ, accompanied by another officer and his son, as well as Texier and Γερμώνδ. He dines at the 'Hôtel de l'Ours' (ἐν ξενοδοχείῳ Ὑρκτου).

17.09 In Algiers, H. holds meetings with Ῥογυὶν, 'trésorier de l'armée', Guyot (Γυιότ)⁸³, the military physician Guyon (Γυιών ἀρχίατρον)⁸⁴, Marshal Valée, Marengo (Μαρέγγω)⁸⁵, 'président de la place' (πρόεδρόν ντε λα πλάσε), Βρετουὶλ and Latour du Pin (Λατούρ δυ Πίν)⁸⁶. Around three o'clock, he sets off on a carriage tour with Berbrugger to Pointe Pescade (ἄκρας Πεσκάδας)⁸⁷ and the salt flats⁸⁸, visiting several marvelous castles along the way (Περὶ δὲ τρίτην ἔδραμον ἐν ἀμάξῃ ξὺν Βερβρυγγέρῳ ἄχρι τῆς ἄκρας Πεσκάδας· τὰ ἀλμυρὰ ἤγουσιν σαλίνες· ἀνήφορον καὶ κατήφορον⁸⁹). He dines at the restaurant of the Régence (ἐν ξενοδοχείῳ τῆς ρεγένσε).

⁸³ Eugène Guyot (1803–1868), a senior French official and son of General Claude Étienne Guyot, played a key role in the early French administration of Algeria. Appointed sous-intendant of Constantine in 1838 and later Director of Interior and Colonisation under General Bugeaud, he oversaw the creation of the first European settler villages in the Algiers Sahel — the so-called 'Plan Guyot'. His efforts led to the founding of 22 colonial villages. Two towns were named after him: Saint-Eugène (now Bologhine) and Guyotville (now Aïn Benian). See J. Hanoune, 'La haute administration civile en Algérie sous la monarchie de Juillet : Le rôle du comte Eugène Guyot', *Outre-Mers*, 2, 392/93, 2016, pp. 209–36 available online : <https://doi.org/10.3917/om.162.0209>.

⁸⁴ Jean Louis Geneviève Guyon (1794–1870), French military physician, served in Algeria from 1833, becoming Chief Surgeon of the Army of Africa in 1838. He contributed to medical knowledge during the colonization and later served as Medical Inspector in Algiers. A corresponding member of the Académie des sciences from 1856.

⁸⁵ Gaspard Joseph Marie Cappon(e), known as Marengo (b. 1787, Casale, Piedmont), was a French military officer of Piedmontese origin who played a significant role in the colonization of Algeria. After serving in major European campaigns under the Empire, he was stationed in Algeria from 1833 to 1848, commanding the Fort-Neuf and later the city of Algiers. He later served as mayor of Douéra, where he resided, see L. de La Mettrie, *Biographie du colonel Marengo, commandeur de l'ordre impérial de la Légion-d'Honneur, Inspecteur général des milices en Algérie, maire de Douéra; Des milices au point de vue de la colonisation et de la sécurité en Algérie, des gardes nationales en général*, Paris, 1854.

⁸⁶ Louis Gabriel Aynard de La Tour du Pin (1806–1855), colonel on the General Staff and commander of the Orders of the Legion of Honour and of the Dannebrog, took part in numerous distinguished campaigns in Africa, Belgium, Denmark, and Crimea. He is the author of *Dernières opérations de l'armée d'Afrique*, published in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, 1 April 1846 (see Ruscio, *La première guerre d'Algérie* [ibid.], p. 354, n. 1309).

⁸⁷ Pointe Pescade (now Raïs Hamidou) marks the western limit of the Bay of Algiers; three forts were located there. The area was surrounded by steep slopes, and the soil was clayey and calcareous; see Reynell, *Algeria: The Topography* [n. 59 above], p. 62 and 136.

⁸⁸ For details on the saltworks scattered along the Algerian coast, see V.-Y. Boutin, *Aperçu historique, statistique et topographique sur l'État d'Alger à l'usage de l'armée expéditionnaire d'Afrique*, Paris, 1830, p. 174. In this case, the reference may be to the salt pans near present-day Arzew in the Oran province, though this remains speculative.

⁸⁹ 'Around three, I traveled by carriage with Berbrugger to Cape Pescade, the saltworks: uphill and downhill'.

18.09 H. prepares for embarkation⁹⁰, but the journey is postponed (ἀφικόμενοι [μετ' ἄριστον] εἰς τὸν λιμένα ἐπυθόμεθα ὅτι ἡ Χίμαιρα κινεῖ μόνον αὔριον⁹¹). In the meantime, H. sets off on a carriage tour to the village of Birkadem (βίρ Καδὲμ)⁹² and Dély Ibrahim (Δέλι Ἰβράχιμ), along the southern edge of the city. The view is magnificent, but the outing entails 'new and unbearable expenses' (ἀλλὰ καὶ νέαι δαπάναι ἀνυποφόρητοι⁹³). He dines at the Régence.

19.09 H. spends the morning at Berbrugger's museum and has lunch at the 'Hôtel de l'Ours' (ἐν ξενοδοχείῳ τῆς ἄρκτου). Around noon, he embarks on the Chimère, which sets sail toward Cape Matifou (Ἡ ἄκρα Μάτιφου)⁹⁴.

20.09 Near Cape Carbon (ἄντικρυ τῆς ἄκρας Κάρβων)⁹⁵, H. witnesses the risky maneuver of another vessel before disembarking at *Saldae* (ἡ σάνδαλος Μαυρικὴ, μὴ ἔχουσα σημαίας καὶ ἀναγκαζομένη πέμψαι τὸ σκαφίον· αὐτῆς εἰς διάλυξιν· θαυμαστὴ τοποθεσία τῆς ὀρεινῆς Σαλδῶν. Μετὰ δὲ τὸ ἐν πλοίῳ τῇ Χιμαίρᾳ ἄριστον κατέβημεν εἰς γῆν⁹⁶). H. admires the striking landscape surrounded the mountainous *Saldae*⁹⁷. He then explores the Fort Moussa (ἐπίσκεψις τοῦ κάστρου Μούσα) and ascends Mount Gouraya (ἀνάβασις εἰς κορυφὴν ὀρεινὴν τοῦ Γουράγια)⁹⁸. After visiting the Fort Clauzel

⁹⁰ In the list of personal effects, H. mentions a travel diary (τὸ δελτοδρόμιον), a manuscript by Laurent (τὸ τοῦ Λαυρένσε: possibly Pierre Alphonse Laurent (1813–1854), mathematician and military officer stationed in Algeria from 1830 to 1840), a circular by Vaillant (τὴν ἐγκύκλιον τοῦ Βαλλάνδ: Jean-Baptiste Philibert Vaillant (1790–1872), appointed commander of the École Polytechnique in 1839, served as Minister of War from 1854 to 1859), a map of Algiers, Hippo, and Bougie (πίνακε Ἰομνίου, Ἰππωνος καὶ Σαλδῶν), a book by Ferdinand Denis (Τὸ βιβλίον Φερδινάνδου Δενίς: Ferdinand Denis (1798–1890), French orientalist, historian, and philologist, author of *Voyage en Algérie* (1837), *Histoire de l'Algérie* (1838), *Essai sur l'histoire et la géographie de l'Algérie* (1838), *Mémoires historiques et géographiques sur l'Algérie* (1839), and the work of Leo Africanus (Λέων ὁ Λίβυς).

⁹¹ 'when we arrived (after breakfast) at the port, we learned that the Chimère would leave only tomorrow'.

⁹² It is a village south of Algiers, with beautiful European-style houses, Moorish-style cafés, and a marble fountain in Byzantine style, see Reynell, *Algeria: The Topography* [n. 59 above], p. 101.

⁹³ 'but also new and unbearable expenses'.

⁹⁴ Cape Matifou forms the eastern edge of the Bay of Algiers, rising on the site of the ancient city of Rusguniae (see Reynell, *Algeria: The Topography* [n. 59 above], pp. 449–50). Its strategic position made it an ideal landing point for military forces (Ibid., pp. 63–4).

⁹⁵ A renowned promontory near the city of Bougie (now Béjaïa); while ancient geographers claimed its inlet could accommodate entire ships, Reynell (*Algeria: The Topography* [n. 59 above], p. 260) notes that by the late 19th century it had become considerably diminished in size.

⁹⁶ 'The Mauritanian sandal, not having a flag and being forced to turn its hull to its destruction. A remarkable site of the mountainous Saldae. After the breakfast on board of Chimère, we disembarked onto the land'.

⁹⁷ Σαλδῶν is the Hellenized form of the Latin 'Saldae' (see Grässe, *Orbis Latinus* [n. 22 above], s.v. 'Saldae'), which corresponds to modern Bougie ('Bidschajah'). Located in the Kabylia region at the base of Mount Gouraya, the city is divided by a ravine, which makes it especially appealing to visitors (see Reynell, *Algeria: The Topography* [n. 59 above], pp. 256–57; Lipiński, *Itineraria Phoenicia* [n. 53 above], pp. 396–97).

⁹⁸ On Forts Moussa and Gouraya, see S. Aigoun – S. Osmani, 'Valorisation d'un héritage défensif, entre mémoire et contemporanéité: Cas du fort Clauzel, Bejaia', *Mémoire de Master en Architecture*, Université Mouloud Mammeri de Tizi Ouzou, June 2016, p. 53; Lipiński, *Itineraria Phoenicia* (n. 53 above), pp. 406–9.

(κάστρον Κλαυσέλ)⁹⁹, he returns to the Kasbah, re-embarks on the Chimère, has dinner with General Bedeau (Ἀνάπλους εἰς τὴν Χιμαίραν, ὅπου ἐδείπνησε μεθ' ἡμῶν ὁ δοῦξ Σαλδῶν Βαδεαύ (?)¹⁰⁰) and sets sail through the night toward *Igilgilis* (Ἰγίλγιλίς)¹⁰¹.

21.09 H. visits *Igilgilis* and its Fort Duquesne (ἐν κάστρῳ Δυκνέσνε). He then returns by ship, heading toward the highlands of Sebba Rous (σέββα ρούς)¹⁰² and continues the navigation through the night.

22.09 In the morning, the ship arrives off the coast of *Philippeville* (Φιλίππεβίλλας)¹⁰³ and H. visits the ruins of *Rusicada*, accompanied by Admiral Fouque (θεωρία τῶν ἐρείπιων Ρουσικάδας ξὺν τῷ ναυάρχῃ Φούκες, τοῦ τε θεάτρου φημί, τῶν κινστερνῶν, τοῦ ἀμφιθεάτρου¹⁰⁴). In the afternoon, sailing past Cape de Fer (τῆς ἄκρας τοῦ σιδήρου)¹⁰⁵, H. catches the first sighting of *Hippo* in

⁹⁹ Fort Clauzel is located to the west of the city and was built by the French military engineering corps, on the orders of Marshal Bertrand Clauzel (1773–1842) in 1835, following the capture of Bougie in 1833, see Aigoun – Osmani, 'Valorisation d'un héritage défensif' (n. 98 above), pp. 53–4.

¹⁰⁰ 'We returned aboard the Chimère, where General Bedeau, the commandant of Saldæ, had dined with us', Marie Alphonse Bedeau (1804–1863) was a French general who played a prominent role in the conquest of Algeria. He led campaigns in Sétif (1838–39), Cherchell (1840), Miliana, and notably in Bougie during the 1847 Kabyle expedition. He was appointed commander-in-chief of the province of Constantine and briefly served as acting Governor-General of Algeria in 1847, see Mullié, *Biographie des célébrités militaires* (n. 56 above), pp. 51–2.

¹⁰¹ *Igilgilis* (modern Djidjelli) lies at the eastern extremity of the Bay of Bougie, perched on a seaside cliff and historically inhabited by Arabs and Turks. Located along the Roman road connecting Bougie to Hippo Regius, it was protected from the southeast by Fort Duquesne (Reynell, *Algeria: The Topography* [n. 59 above], pp. 94–197). Initially a Carthaginian trading post, it became a Roman colony under Augustus (Pliny the Elder, *Natural History* 5.21). The site, strategically positioned on a low peninsula ringed by hills, served as a notable port through the Byzantine period, with six roads radiating from it. Archaeological finds — primarily Punic necropoleis, Roman baths, mosaics, and various artifacts — are preserved in museums in Skikda, Algiers, and the Louvre (see S. Gsell, *Atlas archéologique de l'Algérie*, vol. 7, Paris, 1911, n. 77; J. Alquier – P. Alquier, 'Tombs phéniciennes à Djidjelli (Algérie)', *Revue Archéologique*, 31, 1930, pp. 1–17; M. Astruc, 'Nouvelles fouilles à Djidjelli', *Revue Africaine*, 80, 1937, pp. 188–255).

¹⁰² Sebâ Rous, also known as Sept Caps due to its seven crests, is a mountain range located in the Gulf of Skikda (the so-called Sinus Numidicus of Antiquity, or Gulf of Numidia). The Gulf of Skikda is formed by Ras Bougaroun (Cape Bougaroun), also known as Sebâ Rous (Sept Caps), to the west, and Ras-el-Haddid (Cape de Fer) to the east. This wide recess is the largest on the Algerian coast. A brief description can also be found in Reynell, *Algeria: The Topography* (n. 59 above), pp. 196–97.

¹⁰³ Philippeville (modern Skikda) was founded in 1838 by Marshal Valée on the ruins of Roman Rusicada, itself built over earlier Phoenician settlements. Abandoned in the Middle Ages, the site was repurchased from local Arabs. Remains include parts of the Roman theatre and restored reservoirs still in use; the amphitheater was dismantled for construction, and a railway now crosses its site (see H. Chisholm, 'Philippeville' in *Encyclopædia Britannica*, 11th ed., vol. 21, Cambridge, 1911, p. 390; Lipiński, *Itineraria Phoenicia* [n. 53 above], pp. 392–96). In Reynell's work (*Algeria: The Topography* [n. 59 above], pp. 199–202), Philippeville is described as an entirely European town, two days from Constantine, populated mainly by settlers from Provence, Marseille, and Corsica. Also known as Fort de France, it was then considered the region's principal port, set amid fertile hills.

¹⁰⁴ 'A viewing of the ruins of Rusicada with Admiral Fouque, the theatre, I say, the cisterns and the amphitheater'. Among the ruins still visible in Reynell's time (*Algeria: The Topography* [n. 59 above], p. 200) were cisterns and baths restored by the French.

¹⁰⁵ See Reynell, *Algeria: The Topography* (n. 59 above), p. 157 and 166.

the distance (Περὶ δὲ δείλην ἤδη ὄψιν εἶδομεν τὸν πρὸ Ἴππωνος)¹⁰⁶—that is, *Hippi promontorium*, and Cap de Garde (ἄκραν Ἴππου ἡγουν κάπ δε Γάρδε)¹⁰⁷.

23.09 H. disembarks at *Hippo Regius* (Ἴππωνα Ῥήγιον)¹⁰⁸. Afterward, he meets Laborie¹⁰⁹ in Bona and has lunch with him and the monks at the Grand Restaurant de la Colonie (ἐν τῷ Γράνδ ῤεσταυράντ δε λα κολωνίε). He then goes on a horseback ride with Laborie to the Kasbah and back (δρόμος ξὺν τῷ Λαβορίε ἔφιππος εἰς τὴν Κάσβαν, ἔνθεν θεωρία θαυμαστή. Ἐπειτα δεύτερος δρόμος εἰς Ἴππωνα Ῥήγιον ἐπὶ τῷ ἵππῳ τοῦ καλλίστου Κοτεαῦ¹¹⁰). He visits the cisterns (αἱ κινεστέριαι)¹¹¹, the Bougiema River (ἡ βουγιμά)¹¹² and the Seybouse (ἡ Σοῖβούσε)¹¹³. After a French-style bath (λουτρὸν γαλλικόν), he dines at the Grand Hôtel (ἐν τῷ μεγάλῳ ξενοδοχείῳ).

24.09 H. wakes up in the morning near Cap de Fer (ἄκραν Σιδέρου), also known as Ras-el-Haddid (ῥαζ Χαδιδ), a Numidian promontory. He disembarks at *Rusicada* (Κατάβασις ἐν Ρουσικάδα), where he meets the beautiful Βίλλερς (ἐπίσηκῃς παρὰ τῇ καλλιστῇ Βίλλερς ὅπου ἐπίομεν οἶνον γλυκὺν ἐφίλησα δ' αὐτὴν δίς¹¹⁴). After visiting the military camp, he embarks again and sets sail.

25.09 The journey continues off the coast of *Saldae*, passing Cape Carbon and Roche Percée (ρόχε περσέε) before arriving to *Igilgilis*, where H. explores again the city.

26.09 In the morning, H. shops in the city and makes arrangements for the journey. He departs by sea and sails past Cape Tédèles (τῆς Τέδλες ἄκρας)¹¹⁵, not far

¹⁰⁶ 'As for late in the afternoon, we had already seen the promontory before Hippo'. Hippo lay just south of modern Bona (French Bône), also called in Arabic Blaid-el-Anabe or Anabahu due to the jujube trees found there. See Reynell, *Algeria: The Topography* (n. 59 above), pp. 203–13.

¹⁰⁷ Heading east from Philippeville, beyond the Sinus Numidicus, one reaches Hippi Promontorium (also known as Cape Rouge) and the city of Bona (see Reynell, *Algeria: The Topography* [n. 59 above], p. 202). Cape de Garde lies to the north of Bona's port (see *Ibid.*, p. 209).

¹⁰⁸ Hippo Regius, a prominent seaport of Roman and early Christian Africa, lay just south of modern Bona, overlooking a sheltered bay. Though the site had Punic origins, most visible remains — forum, theatre, baths, market, and a large late 4th-c. basilica — are Roman. Excavations reveal a city with rich mosaics, inscriptions, and a layered urban history shaped by Phoenician foundations, Roman planning, and Christian adaptation, before its capture by the Vandals in 431 and later Arab destruction. See J. Las-sus, 'Hippo Regius' in *The Princeton Encyclopedia of Classical Sites*, ed. R. Stillwell et al., Princeton 1976; Lipiński, *Itineraria Phoenicia* (n. 53 above), pp. 389–92.

¹⁰⁹ Antoine Joseph Laborie, Ingénieur des Ponts et Chaussées, replaced Perrey in Bône (1838–1844); see *Archives nationales d'outre-mer*, s.v. 'Laborie, Antoine Joseph' (<https://recherche-anom.culture.gouv.fr/ark:/61561/rn397hbbijo>).

¹¹⁰ 'A ride with Laborie to the Kasbah, from where there was a magnificent view. Then a second ride to Hippo Regius on the horse of the most noble Κοτεαῦ'.

¹¹¹ Massive cisterns, the Church of Peace — where St. Augustine is said to have first served as a bishop — adorned with beautiful Corinthian capitals, and the remains of the Temple of Venus in the Aphrodisium are among the city's most significant ruins; see Reynell, *Algeria: The Topography* (n. 59 above), pp. 211–13.

¹¹² 'Armua' for the ancients: *Ibid.*, p. 210.

¹¹³ A wide river, its mouth once used as a Roman port, had already been closed off by a sandbar by the time of Reynell (*Algeria: The Topography* [n. 59 above], p. 210).

¹¹⁴ 'Visit to the beautiful Madame Βίλλερς, where we drank sweet wine and I kissed her twice'.

¹¹⁵ Cape Tédèles is a headland in Algeria, located between Algiers and Bougie (Béjaïa); see A. Bérard, *Description nautique des côtes de l'Algérie*, Paris, 1850, p. 54.

from Déllys (Δέλλυ)¹¹⁶ or *Rusucurru* (Ρουσουκούρρου)¹¹⁷. He enjoys a view of Cape Matifou, before having dinner with Berbrugger.

27.09 H. runs morning errands and attends meetings (with Βρετουίλ and Texier). In the afternoon, he departs toward Marengo (Μαρέγγω)¹¹⁸ where he has lunch with Ίοβιέν. Upon disembarkation, he has an audience with the ἄναξ and attends a banquet (Παράστασις παρὰ τῷ ἄνακτι καὶ δεῖπνον ξ' δ' ἀνθρώπων παρὰ πόλιν τῷ αὐτῷ)¹¹⁹.

28.09 H. visit the bishop and hands him both Laborie's letter and the tesserae (ἔτι πρότερον δραμὼν πρὸς τὸν ἐπίσκοπον καὶ δοὺς αὐτῷ τὴν τε τοῦ Λαβορίε ἐπιστολὴν καὶ τὰ ψηφία¹²⁰) and runs some errands. Subsequently, he attends a series of meetings, followed by a second lunch at the Régence with Berbrugger, Boblaye and Βλάχκι, before sailing (διάλογος ξὺν τῷ Βουγαμβίλλε, Φοῦκε, Πούδρας· δεῦτερον ἄριστον ἐν τῷ ξενοδοχείῳ τῆς ῥεγεύσι ξὺν Βερβρύγγερ, Βοβλαῖε, Βλάχκι, καὶ ἀπόπλους¹²¹).

20.09 The navigation proceeds through the Gulf of Lion (Ὁ κόλπος τοῦ Λεών), with H. reading *Charles the Bold* by Walter Scott (Κάρολον τὸν Θρασὺν τοῦ Βάλτερ Σκόττ).

30.09 Arrival at sunset at Port Mahon (ἐν Λιμένι Μάγωνος¹²²), with H. reading *The Fortunes of Nigel* by Walter Scott (τὰ ξυμβεβηκότα τοῦ Νίγελ) and engaging in conversations aboard the ship.

1.10 Navigation between the Balearic Islands and Toulon¹²³.

¹¹⁶ Dellys (Arab. Teddel), once part of the territory of Greater Kabylia, stood on the ruins of ancient Rusucurru; see Reynell, *Algeria: The Topography* (n. 59 above), pp. 264–65; Lipiński, *Itineraria Phoenicia* (n. 53 above), pp. 399–401.

¹¹⁷ The identification of ancient Rusucurru has been the subject of ongoing scholarly debate. While an inscription found at Tizirt pointed to that site as Rusucurru's location, a milestone unearthed 4.5 km west of Dellys — marking a distance of 4.8 km to Rusucurru — suggests that the ancient town more likely lies beneath modern-day Dellys, see P-A. Février, 'Rusucurru' in *The Princeton Encyclopedia of Classical Sites*, ed. R. Stillwell et al., Princeton 1976.

¹¹⁸ Marengo is the name given by the French to the Berber town of Hadjout, in the wilaya of Tipaza, 85 km southwest of Algiers. It was renamed in 1851 by decree of Louis-Napoléon Bonaparte, in honor of Colonel Gaspard-Joseph-Marie Caponne, known as 'Colonel Marengo' (1787–1862), who took part in the Algerian campaign. See C. Renaudin, *Atlas de l'Algérie 1830–1960*, Paris 2011, p. 80.

¹¹⁹ 'An audience with high-ranking official, and a dinner for sixty-four people at his table'. The reference to an ἄναξ remains ambiguous—it could point to a senior figure in the French military hierarchy or, alternatively, to a local tribal chief holding significant authority.

¹²⁰ 'previously running to the episcopo and giving him the letter of Laborie and the tesserae'. It is interesting to note what H. writes in the diary entry for September 25: 'Υστερον δ' ἐξέβημεν· δρόμος ξὺν τῷ Σεκουργεών· ψηφία ἃ διελύσαμεν βίᾳ καὶ σιδήρῳ, 'Later we set out on a journey with Σεκουργεών. Tesserae of what we violently and forcefully dismantled'. Here we find once again the use of the word ψηφία, which likely refers to the tesserae of a mosaic that H. and his companion forcibly dismantled. One is tempted to suppose that H. later donated these tesserae to the bishop mentioned in the present text.

¹²¹ 'A conversation with Βουγαμβίλλε, Fouque, and Πούδρας; then a second lunch at the Hôtel de la Régence with Berbrugger, Boblaye, Βλάχκι, and then departure by sea'.

¹²² See A. Schulten, 'Mago' in *Paulys Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, vol. 14.1, Stuttgart 1928, coll. 495–508

¹²³ Additional information on the sailing conditions appears on the blank page preceding the entry for 1 October.

2.10–7.10 H. arrives in Marseille (Μασσαλία) and placed in quarantine¹²⁴ with Ἀμαλεία δτε Λα Πιβιέρε¹²⁵ in the hospital, awaiting departure. In the meantime, he sends letters to Paris and Toulon to retrieve items left there during the outbound journey and visits the city. On October 7, he is visited by Dr. Lebeuf, an army doctor for an eye issue¹²⁶.

8.10 H. retrieves items sent from Toulon (see August 26) and departs for Aix-en-Provence. (εις Ἄκουας Σεξιτίας)¹²⁷.

9.10 H. visits Aix-en-Provence and the nearby Mount Sainte-Victoire (Δρόμος θαύματος εις τοὺς πρόποδας τοῦ ὄρους Ἀγίας Νίκης), with a stop at Βρεμόντ who lives on the way to Avignon.

10.10 H. spends the morning attending meetings in Aix-en-Provence, then has lunch in Avignon. He takes a stroll between Orange (Ἀραυσίωνες¹²⁸) and the fortress of Mornas (καὶ τοῦ κάστρου τοῦ μόρνας) and dines in Montélimar (Μοντιλιώ Ἀδεμάρδου¹²⁹).

11.10 H. travels along the Rhône region towards Vienne (Βιέννης), passing near Saint-Vallier (περί που τοῦ Ἁγίου Βαλλιέρ) and later spotting Servièrès (Σερβιέρους). He arrives near Lyon, dines at in the Terreaux market (ἀγορᾷ τῶν Τερρόραξ) and spends the night at the Hôtel de l'Ours.

12.10 H. meets with two students, then has lunch in Roanne (ἐν Ῥόαννῃ), after ascending Mont Tarare (τοῦ Ταραρικοῦ ὄρους). Dinner and overnight stay in Lapalisse (Λαπαλίσσε), in the company of a certain politician named βαγνιέν.

13.10 The journey continues to Moulins (Μουλινς) and Nevers (ἐν Νιβερνίῳ), where stops are made for a pleasant rest and meal; the travel continues overnight through Moulins, Nevers, La Charité-sur-Loire (Καριτάτεμ), Cosne-Cours-sur-Loire (Κονάδαν), Briare (εις Βριβόδοουρον), Montargis (ἐν Μονταργίῳ) and Nemours (εις Νέμους).

14.10 From Nemours to Fontainebleau (διὰ Φονταναβέλλας), and from there, H. arrives in Paris at 3 AM.

¹²⁴ It was a standard procedure for travels to Africa and the Middle East, see Pignel, *Conducteur, ou Guide du voyageur* (n. 23 above), pp. 208–22.

¹²⁵ The name and the period would seem to rule out a direct identification with Madame Rivière, née Marie-Françoise-Jacquette-Bibiane Blot de Beauregard (1773/74 – nd.), wife of Philibert Rivière de L'Isle (1766–1816), a high-ranking official of the First Empire, portrayed in a painting by Jean-Auguste-Dominique Ingres (this portrait is part of a series of Rivière family portraits exhibited at the 1806 Salon and is now on display at the Louvre Museum, see G. Tinterow – P. Conisbee, *Portraits by Ingres: Image of an Epoch*, Exhibition catalogue, New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1999, pp. 62–5). Still, it is not impossible that the individual in question belonged to the same family.

¹²⁶ On October 14, H. records the name and address of Dr. Lebeuf/Beuf in a blank space at the end of the page.

¹²⁷ Ἄκουας Σεξιτία, transliterated here into Greek, is the ancient name of the city known in Latin as 'Aequae Sextiae', see W. Smith, 'Aequae Sextiae' in *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Geography*, ed. W. Smith, London 1890.

¹²⁸ See Grässe, *Orbis Latinus* (n. 23 above), s.v. 'Oragnia'.

¹²⁹ Ibid., s.v. 'Ademari'.

H's Itinerary: Between Institutional Mandates and Scholarly Pursuits

Understanding H.'s chosen itinerary requires looking not only at the official 'Rapport'¹³⁰, to which he was a principal contributor for future explorers but also at the extensive corpus of travel and exploration literature on Algeria, which had a substantial history by that time.

A comparison between H.'s itinerary in Algeria and the route proposed just a year earlier by the Commission in its 'Rapport', reveals striking differences, including the notable absence of several key sites from his journey. The aforementioned report suggests a west-to-east route, starting in the city of Tlemsen in the Oran province and divided into three main geographical areas: the Regency of Algiers, the province of Constantine, the Kingdom of Tunis and the Regency of Tripoli. Although several cities were noted by earlier explorers for their ancient Roman ruins, only Algiers and Philippeville are included in H.'s itinerary. All locations in the Oran province are absent, as the itinerary understandably focuses on the Regency of Algiers, where H. meets his host, Adrien Berbrugger, and spends most of his time attending visits and meetings. He then explores the coastline to the east of Algiers, visiting the well-known cities of Bougie, Djidjelli, Philippeville, and Bona. This part of the journey focuses mainly on the coastal areas; more remarkably, the travelers revisit certain locations, such as Djidjelli and Rusicada. The emphasis on these sites, along with the practical navigational requirement to stop at the same locations on both the outward and return legs, offers a clear explanation for the repeated visits. H. also ventured into more inland areas, notably travelling several times along a route that began at the Bab-el-Oued gate, leading him through Dély Ibrahim, Douéra, Boufarik, and Blida. He goes on a horseback ride around Bougie, visited the castrum Moussa, and climbed Mount Gouraya. Among the inland locations, the city of Constantine—captured in 1837—clearly stood out as one of the most significant sites at the time. According to the 'Rapport' and other contemporary accounts, Constantine was the primary focus for Roman archaeological remains; yet it is notably absent in H.'s itinerary. This raises the question of whether H.'s route followed established paths, perhaps drawing on itineraries already known and used in Algeria and the Maghreb. It would be interesting to know, for example, why this specific route through the inland areas was chosen—might it have traced the remnants of an ancient Roman road? More broadly, what factors influenced his selection of certain sites over others, especially in light of the activities he records in his own diary?

When it comes to travel routes, the 'Rapport' itself reveals that members of the Commission drew on earlier travel accounts when drafting it. Alongside classical sources—such as Pliny, Ptolemy, Leo Africanus, the *Itinerary* of Antoninus (284–305), and the *Tabula Peutingeriana*—the works of Thomas Shaw¹³¹ and Grenville Temple are frequently referenced. Shaw, who lived in Algiers for twelve

¹³⁰ 'Sur les recherches archéologiques à entreprendre dans la province de Constantine et la régence d'Alger' *Memoires de l'Institut de France, AIBL*, t. XII, 1839, pp. 140–58.

¹³¹ See L. Sidney, 'Shaw, Thomas (1694–1751)' in *Dictionary of National Biography*, vol. 51, London, 1897, pp. 446–47.

years (1720–1732) and travelled widely in North Africa and the Near East, followed routes from the *Itinerary* of Antoninus and al-Idrissi¹³²; yet, apart from sites east of Algiers, his century-old account had little overlap with H.'s itinerary. The same can be said of Temple, author of *Excursions in the Mediterranean* (1835), based on travels in Algiers and Tunisia before 1834, whose work—rich in ethnographic observations and classical references—likely informed parts of the Rapport, but had limited direct relevance to H.'s route in Algeria.

It cannot be ruled out that Berbrugger may have influenced H.'s excursions by suggesting places of interest to him. This is especially true for the coastal areas, which, although mentioned in the previously discussed English itineraries, were explored and studied by Berbrugger and later became key destinations in the Kabylia region¹³³. Additionally, he was likely involved—perhaps upon the request of H.' or the Commission—in developing new itineraries for future explorers, a role that suggests the high level of confidence his colleagues and the Parisian academic institutions placed in his knowledge and experience of the region¹³⁴. As a result, Berbrugger may have recommended that H. prioritized established destinations over new exploration routes, which lay beyond his scope. Given the ongoing military activity, H. likely agreed to focus on safer, more familiar areas. This could explain the omission of Constantine, which was then the target of a counteroffensive by the Bey Ahmed¹³⁵.

The coastal route focused on sites of epigraphic and antiquarian interest¹³⁶, all located along a historic communication route still in use during the colonial period. H.'s interest in these places is evident from his publications on their inscriptions, especially in the *Journal des Savants* (1837)¹³⁷. The same applies to visits to Castrum Moussa, Fort Abd-el-Gader in Bridja, and the Roman city of Saldae, where, at the time of the French conquest, Roman walls were still visible and extensive remains were documented by H. himself.

¹³² *Travels, or Observations relating to several parts of Barbary and the Levant*, Oxford, 1738. The work was then translated into French in 1743 (*Voyages de Mr Shaw, M.D. dans plusieurs provinces de la Barbarie et du Levant*, Paris 1743) and 1830 (*Voyage dans la régence d'Alger*, traduction par J. MacCarthy, Paris, 1830).

¹³³ See A. Berbrugger, *Algérie historique, pittoresque et monumentale : Recueil de vues, monuments, cérémonies, costumes, armes et portraits, dessinés d'après nature, avec texte descriptif des localités, mœurs, usages, jeux et divertissements des habitants de l'Algérie* Par M. Berbrugger, voll. 1–3, Paris, 1843–1845; Id., *La Grande Kabilie sous les Romains*, Paris, 1853.

¹³⁴ In a letter to H. dated January 10, 1839 (GSA 108/202, pp. 7–8), Berbrugger outlines a possible itinerary through Mauretania that he hoped to propose to the exploration commission. It includes visits to Caesarea Colonia, Tipasa, and Casa Calventi, along with descriptions of the ruins visible at each site.

¹³⁵ See Ruscio, *La première guerre d'Algérie* (n. 6 above), pp. 297–309.

¹³⁶ See N. Oulebsir, 'Rome ou la Méditerranée? Les relevés d'architecture d'Amable Ravoisié en Algérie, 1840–1842' in *L'Invention scientifique de la Méditerranée* (n. 7 above), pp. 239–71.

¹³⁷ 'Rapport sur quelques inscriptions latines récemment découvertes dans l'ancienne régence d'Alger', *Journal des savants*, 07/1837, pp. 428–38; 'Rapport sur quelques inscriptions latines récemment découvertes dans l'ancienne régence d'Alger', *Journal des savants*, 11/1837, pp. 648–62; 'Rapport sur quelques inscriptions latines récemment découvertes dans l'ancienne régence d'Alger', *Journal des savants*, 12/1837, pp. 705–19.

The reasons for H.'s visits to Boufarik, Douéra, Bir Kadem, Dély Ibrahim, and Blida seem to be driven by factors other than archaeological or historical significance. None of these locations are mentioned in contemporary documents nor in the 'Rapport' as places of interest from an archaeological or historical standpoint. On the contrary, Boufarik is described as an unhealthy area, plagued by malaria due to its swampy terrain. However, by the late 1800s, these locations, including the city of Blida, had come to be recognized as points of interest, all situated within the Mitidja region¹³⁸. In fact, this region was identified soon after the French occupation as a fertile plain with high agricultural potential¹³⁹, leading to drain the land and establish colonial settlements¹⁴⁰. Although plans for such villages had existed since the early years of French rule¹⁴¹, their realization was largely due to the involvement of Eugène Guyot—the son of one of the Empire's most prominent generals. In 1838, after being appointed 'sous-intendant civil' of the province of Constantine by royal decree, Guyot launched a fully state-run system of civilian colonization later known as the 'Plan Guyot'¹⁴². Between 1842 and 1846, Guyot advanced from 'directeur de l'Intérieur' to overseeing public works and colonization. In a 1842 report to Marshal Soult he proposed either establishing new colonial villages or expropriating existing ones, organized by zones¹⁴³ and allocated to future settlers through a system of land concessions. This marked the beginning of a decisive phase of territorial dispossession in North Africa and the systematic establishment of a state-directed model of civilian colonization.

At the time of H.'s journey, this project was likely still in its early stages; however, it is plausible that he visited these locations to observe the work already underway

¹³⁸ See C. Trumelet, *Bou-Farik* (n. 72 above); Dallès, *Alger, Bou-Farik* (n. 55 above).

¹³⁹ The area was already regarded as particularly picturesque for its lush vegetation — especially the presence of orange groves — and its abundant wildlife, as noted in a contemporary travel guide, Pignel, *Conducteur, ou Guide du voyageur* (n. 23 above), pp. 182–86. In the same guide, Blida, one of the valley's main cities, is described as the 'paradise of Africa' (see Pignel, *Conducteur, ou Guide du voyageur* [ibid.], p. 143). The Mitidja plain was already listed among the recommended destinations, thanks in part to the presence of settlers, and was portrayed as well connected and easily accessible by stagecoach (see Pignel, *Conducteur, ou Guide du voyageur* [ibid.], p. 195).

¹⁴⁰ Côte, *L'exploitation de la Mitidja* (n. 76 above), pp. 269–74; Ruscio, *La première guerre d'Algérie* (n. 6 above), pp. 537–41 (with additional references on the subject).

¹⁴¹ The first attempts were carried out by General Bertrand Clauzel (1773–1842), who founded an early colony on the future site of the 'Maison Carrée', known at the time as the 'Ferme expérimentale d'Afrique' (later renamed 'Ferme modèle', see Ruscio, *La première guerre d'Algérie* [n. 6 above], pp. 483–87). These were followed by the establishment of military colonies under Marshal Thomas Robert Bugeaud (1784–1849), see Ruscio, *La première guerre d'Algérie* [ibid.], pp. 361–69.

¹⁴² See J. Hanoune, *La haute administration civile en Algérie* (n. 83 above), pp. 209–36 and Ruscio, *La première guerre d'Algérie* (n. 6 above), pp. 517–22.

¹⁴³ The villages were to be established in three fan-shaped zones radiating out from Algiers. The first zone included Kouba, Hussein-Dey, Birkadem, Dély-Ibrahim, Draria, El Achour, and Chéraga. The second zone encompassed Sidi Ferruch, Staouéli, Ouled-Fayet, Sidi-Soliman, and Saoula. The third zone, centered around Douéra, comprised Ouled-Mendil, Douéra, Maelma, El-Kadjer, and Benkadoura. Further out, near Blida and Coléah, were the villages of Beni-Mered, Ouled-Yaich, Meddouba, Fouka, and Douaouda.

or in the planning phase. In fact, Guyot is, explicitly mentioned in his travel notes¹⁴⁴; H. reportedly met with him and Marshal Valé several times. Therefore, while H.'s stops in Algiers and the surrounding coastal areas, align with his cultural and academic interests, and his role in the 'Commission Scientifique', these excursions seem to have been motivated by personal curiosity and his social connections.

Encounters and Impressions from H.'s Journey through Algeria

The reader approaching the pages dedicated to H.'s stay in Algeria in search of explicit reflections on his encounter with this 'new world'—then still in the early stages of exploration—is likely to be disappointed. The same can be said of his 1837 travel diary entries from Greece. Alexandros Rizos Rangavis (1826–1892), himself a Hellenist and diplomat, remarked with some surprise on the lack of cultural or linguistic commentary in Hase's Greek diary—a portion of which he edited and published in the *Ethnikon Hēmerologion* for the leap year 1868—interpreting it as a purely mnemonic tool rather than a vehicle for intellectual engagement¹⁴⁵:

'Some may be surprised that the renowned Hellenist, while traveling through Greece and taking note of various locations, makes no mention of local customs or traditions, nor does he reflect at all on the Greek language itself, offering neither observation nor critique. Yet what we observed with regard to the language applies equally to the content of these journals: they are not the products of intellectual reflection, revealing the writer's thoughts to others, but rather simple notes on small daily occurrences, meant solely to aid the memory of the writer himself'¹⁴⁶.

While the largely report-like nature of Hase's diary notes—clearly intended for personal use—is undeniable, it remains equally true that 'jamais un voyageur ne part sans bagage—savoir, images et attentes—, et moins que tout autre celui qui prend le chemin de la Méditerranée'¹⁴⁷. Even the most minimal travel record carries with it the weight of prior knowledge, cultural expectations, and ingrained ways of seeing.

This perspective opens up a more nuanced reading of Hase's travel notes from Greece and Algeria. While Rangavis's judgement underscores the diaries' lack of

¹⁴⁴ On 13 September, he accompanied H. on an excursion to Kouba, one of the villages later incorporated in the colonial settlement plan. Further visits are recorded on 17 and 28 September.

¹⁴⁵ For context, see W. M. Barton, 'The Passage of Greek Parchment to Paris: Narratives of Possession in 19th-Century Scholarship', *Byzantina Symmeikta*, under review.

¹⁴⁶ A. R. Rhangabe, *Ethnikon hēmerologion*, Leipzig, 1868, pp. 72–83 (74): Θέλουσιν ἴσως τινὲς ἐκπλαγῇ ὅτι ὁ διάσημος Ἑλληνιστὴς εἰς Ἑλλάδα περιηγούμενος καὶ περὶ Ἑλλάδος σημειῶν, οὐδὲν ἀπομνημονεύει περὶ τῶν ἡθῶν καὶ ἐθίμων, περὶ τῆς γλώσσης αὐτῆς, οὐδεμίαν ἐπιφέρει σκέψιν ἢ κρίσιν. 'Ἄλλ' ὃ, τι παρετηρήσαμεν ὡς πρὸς τὴν γλῶσσαν, ἐφαρμόζεται καὶ ὡς πρὸς τὸ περιεχόμενον τῶν ἐφημερίδων τούτων, αἵτινες εἰσὶν οὐχὶ προϊόντα τῆς διανοίας, τὰς σκέψεις τοῦ γράφοντος εἰς ἄλλους ἀποκαλύπτουτα, ἀλλ' ἀπλᾶς σημειώσεις τῶν μικρῶν καθημερινῶν συμβάντων, πρὸς μόνην τὴν βοήθειαν τῆς μνήμης αὐτοῦ τοῦ γράφοντος.

¹⁴⁷ M.-N. Bourguet, *De la Méditerranée en L'Invention scientifique de la Méditerranée* (n. 7 above), p. 10.

explicit commentary, recent scholarship suggests that even such seemingly neutral records are far from devoid of intention. As suggested by Lev Shadrin's analysis Hase's Greek travel notes enact a form of scholarly self-fashioning through their linguistic texture; his deliberate oscillation between classical and Byzantine registers, as Shadrin convincingly argues, reflects not neutral reportage but a deliberate expression of his identity as a philologist¹⁴⁸. In contrast, the Algerian entries, although written in a similarly concise and impersonal style, are marked by a greater attention to culturally charged impressions—visual cues, suggestive atmospheres, and embodied perceptions—which resonate with broader discursive patterns of Orientalist travel writing. The divergence is subtle but significant: where the Greek diary performs identity through language, the Algerian one reveals it through a gaze shaped by inherited cultural frameworks.

Such a shift is inseparable from its broader historical context. By the early nineteenth century, a well-established image of Algeria had already circulated, largely shaped by Western explorers' travel accounts and deeply rooted in longstanding stereotypes and prejudices about the Arab-Muslim world.¹⁴⁹ These clichés would prove instrumental in legitimizing the Napoleonic campaigns in Egypt, and ultimately the colonial occupation of North Africa, which began with the French conquest of Algeria.¹⁵⁰

This cultural backdrop is essential for understanding the few, yet meaningful, observations scattered throughout H.'s travel account—brief, fragmentary notes that, though largely detached from any sustained narrative or descriptive context, are all the more revealing because of it. Moreover, the narrative's emotional restraint and detachment stand out as particularly noteworthy. Among these notes, the most striking are vivid depictions of an exotic landscape: oppressive heat,¹⁵¹ lush vegetation,¹⁵² seductive vistas¹⁵³, remarkable fauna,¹⁵⁴ and Bedouins portrayed in quick,

¹⁴⁸ See L. Shadrin, 'Lexical Journeys: A Distant Reading Approach to Language Variation in Karl Benedikt Hase's 1837 Greek Diary', DHQ forthcoming

¹⁴⁹ P. Crowley, 'Introduction. Travel, Colonialism and Encounters with the Maghreb: Algeria', *Studies in Travel Writing*, 21/3, 2017, pp. 231–42. On attitudes toward Islam, see Ruscio, *La première guerre d'Algérie* (n. 6 above), pp. 616–21 (with references to earlier literature).

¹⁵⁰ The 17th and 18th centuries witnessed the development of the concept of a European 'civilizing mission' directed toward the so-called barbarian populations of Africa — a discourse frequently cast in religious terms as a confrontation between Christianity and Islam; see Ruscio, *La première guerre d'Algérie* (n. 6 above), pp. 39–42 and 228–37.

¹⁵¹ See diary entry dated 17 Sept.: Καύσις ἐτι φρικτῆς σήμερον ὁμως ἄνευ διαρροίας, 'A still terrible heat today, though without dysentery'.

¹⁵² See diary entry dated 16 Sept.: Χάκτος ἀγάνη ἀλοές· ντες τρέμβλες· κρυπάρισσοι· φρίνικες· ὕμιλις. Τῖται πλευρεῖρες... Ζέφυροι· θῶδες, 'Cacti, agaves, aloes; poplars; cypresses; palms; elms. Weeping willows along the sides... Zephyrs; foxes'.

¹⁵³ See diary entry dated 20 Sept.: Θαυμαστή τοποθεσία τῆς ὄρεινῆς Σαλδῶν, 'A remarkable site of the mountainous Saldæ'. See diary entry dated 23 Sept.: δρόμος ξὺν τῷ Λαβορίε ἐφίππος εἰς τὴν Κάσβαν, εἰθὲν θεωρία θαυμαστή, 'A ride with Laborie to the Kasbah, from where there was a magnificent view'.

¹⁵⁴ See diary entry dated 15 Sept.: Ἡ κάμηλος περὶ Εἰκόσιον ἀσθενὸς οὕσα οὐ φορεῖ σχεδὸν πλείω ἢ ἡμίονος· ἐστὶ δὲ καὶ σπανία, 'The camel at Icosium, being weak, can hardly carry more than a mule; it is also rare'.

suggestive strokes, identifiable by their distinctive attire.¹⁵⁵ There's also a brief mention of mosques, accompanied by a subtle, ironic tone regarding.¹⁵⁶ It conveys an image that is both alluring and menacing. This is reflected in the references to local diseases, such as 'ophthalmia, fevers, encephalitis, dysentery', which almost take on the character of exotic symptoms. This fits within a well-established colonial narrative.¹⁵⁷

As is common in travel accounts of this period, the female figure plays a central, symbolic role¹⁵⁸; the *εταίρα*¹⁵⁹, briefly mentioned in the upper margin of the diary, straddles the boundary between the exotic and the theatrical, embodying the allure of an idealized, sexualized Orient. Similarly, the annotation of the 'Moorish woman who is bathing'¹⁶⁰ echoes this exoticizing gaze. The note on the 'Bedouin who greets our ladies'¹⁶¹ subtly reveals the Western male perspective, suggesting an underlying sense of threat and the perception of the Other as both alluring and potentially dangerous. Even more telling are the notes that describe everyday scenes of European life imported onto African soil. These include the 'French-style' bath¹⁶², dinners in elegant hotels, encounters with the refined captain Fouque, who offers Roman and Arab coins as gifts¹⁶³, and visits to the beautiful Madame Βίλλερς¹⁶⁴. In these

¹⁵⁵ See the drawings in the diary entries dated 22.08; 12.09; 15.09.

¹⁵⁶ See diary entry dated 14 Agosto: 'Εν Βελίδα τζάμια ε' βρ.(ραῖς) κροϊάνς, ἃ λαπριέρε· λὰ βίε ἐστ κοῦρτε, λ' ἐτερνιτέ ἱμμένσε. βραῖς κροϊάνς, 'In Blida, five mosques vraies croyants, à la prière. La vie est courte, l'éternité immense. vraies croyants'.

¹⁵⁷ See diary entry dated 25 Sept. (upper margin): Νόσοι πλεῖσθαι ἐν Λιβύῃ ὀφθαλμῖαι, πυρετοὶ ἐγκεφάλου, δυσεντερῖαι, 'The most common illnesses in Libya are eye diseases, cerebral fevers, and dysenteries'. Same lists are in Jean-Léon L'Africain. *Description de l'Afrique*, Nouvelle éd. trad. de l'Italien par A. Épaulard, Paris, 1956.

¹⁵⁸ See, for instance, the representation of female figures in the Orientalist painting of Delacroix and Chassériau, see L. O. Michalak, 'Popular French Perspectives on the Maghreb: Orientalist Paintings of the Late 19th and Early 20th Centuries', in *Connaissances du Maghreb*, Paris, 1984, pp. 47–63; L. Thornton, *La femme dans la peinture orientaliste*, Paris, 1994; C. Taraud, 'Les femmes, le genre et les sexualités dans le Maghreb colonial (1830–1962)', *Clio. Femmes, Genre, Histoire*, 33, 2011, pp. 157–91; Ruscio, *La première guerre d'Algérie* (n. 6 above), pp. 673–76.

¹⁵⁹ See diary entry dated 13 Sept. (upper margin): Ἡ ἐταίρα, τοῖς μὲν Σαρακηνοῖς Αἰσχά κεκλημένη, τοῖς δὲ Ῥωμαίοις Ῥώζα· Καπνίζει καὶ στιχοποιεῖ. Καταφιλήμα καὶ λουλούδια, 'The courtesan — called Aïscha by the Saracens and Rosa by the Romans — smokes and composes verse. Kisses and flowers'.

¹⁶⁰ See diary entry dated 17 Sept.: ἡ Μαῦρα ἢ Σαρακηνὴ λουόμενη, 'The Moorish or Saracen woman bathing'.

¹⁶¹ See diary entry dated 21 Sept.: ὁ Βεδουῖνος ἀσπαζόμενος τὰς ἡμετέρας κυρίας, 'The Bedouin greeting our ladies'.

¹⁶² See diary entry dated 23 Sept.: λουτρὸν γαλλικὸν καὶ δεῖπνον ἐν τῷ μεγάλῳ ξενοδοχείῳ, 'a French bath and dinner at the Grand Hotel'. For the difference between 'Moorish' baths and French baths, see Pignel, *Conducteur, ou Guide du voyageur* (n. above), p. 174.

¹⁶³ See diary entry dated 24 Sept.: Περίπατος ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ, ἐκφερομένου νεκροῦ, καὶ ἀνάβασις εἰς τὸ πλοῖον ξὺν τῷ παγκάλῳ Φούκε ὃς ἔδωκε μοι γ' νομίσματα Ῥωμαίων, καὶ β' Ἀραβικά, 'A walk around the camp as a dead man was being carried out; and boarding the ship with the noble Fouque, who gave me three Roman coins and two Arabic one'.

¹⁶⁴ See diary entry dated 24 Sept.: ἐπίσκεψις παρὰ τῇ καλλιστῇ Βίλλερς ὅπου ἐπίομεν οἶνον γλυκὺν ἐφίλησα δ' αὐτὴν δῖς, 'Visit to the beautiful Madame Βίλλερς, where we drank a sweet wine and I kissed her twice'.

moments, the observer's detachment becomes clear, revealing a tendency to retreat into familiar comforts rather than fully engage with the world around him.

In conclusion, while these observations certainly merit deeper analysis and broader discussion, they suggest that H.'s account of his trip to Algeria could have been influenced by the stereotypes and cultural preconceptions of his time, subtly woven into the texture of his notes.

Conclusion

The analysis conducted so far shows that H.'s trip to Algiers was not motivated by exploratory or strictly scientific objectives. Rather, it was driven by academic and institutional concerns: assessing the progress of archaeological research, the library, and the museum in Algiers, and may have contributed to preparatory discussions for future initiatives, possibly including the so-called 'Plan Guyot'. After all, H. had already proven capable of publishing epigraphic evidence without having needing to travel to the site himself. His journey, then, was not one of classical discovery—unlike that of Otto Müller, who sacrificed his life while transcribing newly found Greek epigraphs¹⁶⁵—but rather a mission of oversight. Thanks to his prominent standing in the French academic world, established through years of study and teaching, H. was already a prominent figure in philology and required no further validation of his expertise. This position, combined with his extensive network of contacts, enabled him to exert considerable influence over scientific research and its outcomes¹⁶⁶.

Seen in this light, H.'s journey emerges as a complex interplay of scholarship, colonial interests, and the exercise of institutional power. His carefully chosen route, focused on coastal archaeological sites, along with his interactions with colonial authorities, illustrates how scientific survey was embedded within—and served—the broader framework of French colonial expansion. Moreover, the nuanced, culturally charged observations scattered throughout his diary reflect a Western intellectual perspective that distanced itself from local realities while asserting control over knowledge production. H. fully embodies the model of the Western intellectual whose knowledge and expertise extend beyond mere mastery: he not only possesses

¹⁶⁵ See H. Döhl, 'Karl Otfried Müllers Reise nach Italien und Griechenland 1839/40', in *Die klassische Altertumswissenschaft an der Georg-August-Universität Göttingen*, ed. C. J. Classen, Göttingen 1989, pp. 51–77.

¹⁶⁶ S. Maufroy, 'Hellénisme, philhellénisme et transferts culturels triangulaires : le cas de Charles Benoît Hase', *Revue germanique internationale*, 1–2, 2005, pp. 109–23; É. Gran-Aymeric, 'L'archéologie française au Maghreb de 1945 à 1962', in *Savoirs historiques au Maghreb. Constructions et usages*, ed. H. Bergaoui – H. Remaoun, Oran, 2006, pp. 243–66; É. Gran-Aymeric, 'Karl Benedikt Hase (1780–1864) et Désiré Raoul-Rochette (1789–1854) d'après leur correspondance (n. 2 above); S. Maufroy, *Le philhellénisme franco-allemand (1815–1848)*, Paris, 2011, pp. 65–112; É. Gran-Aymeric, 'Le Maghreb comme terrain de transferts : le cas de l'épigraphie latin' in *Savoirs d'Allemagne en Afrique du Nord* (n. 10 above), pp. 115–46.

erudition, but also exercises control over its dissemination, shaping its trajectory in accordance with his own cultural, political, and institutional agenda¹⁶⁷.

Ultimately, H.'s itinerary and notes exemplify how early 19th-century scientific missions were deeply entangled with the ideological and political imperatives of colonial empire-building.

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¹⁶⁷ B. Effros, *Incidental Archaeologists: French Officers and the Rediscovery of Roman North Africa*, Ithaca–London, 2018, pp. 54–6.