



SUDANSKA MISIJA
1848 - 1858

Slovenski etnografski muzej

SUDAN MISSION
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Slovene Ethnographic Museum

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Ignacij Knoblehar - misijonar, raziskovalec Belega Nila
in zbiralec afriških predmetov

SUDAN MISSION 1848-1858

Ignacij Knoblehar - Missionary, Explorer of the White Nile
and Collector of African Objects



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KRIŽ, SULICA IN ZRCALO

Novembra 1849 je misijonar dr. Ignacij Knoblehar zapustil Kartum in odplul po Belem Nilu proti ekvatorju. Pred njim je bila nepoznana dežela z nepoznanimi ljudstvi. Star je bil trideset let, ko je prvič prišel v Gondokoro na jugu Sudana. Med temnopoltimi ljudmi je njegova bela koža povzročila vznemirjenje, še bolj njegova brada. V negotovem in napetem ozračju je Knoblehar segel po harmoniki in pred poglavarjem zaigral veselo, poskočno vižo. Domačini so bili navdušeni, poglavar pa mu je bil pripravljen odstopiti svoje vodilno mesto. Knoblehar se je vljudno zahvalil in jim obljubil, da se bo vrnil in jim zaigral še kaj lepega. Ko je priplul naslednjič, je pripeljal harmonij, in ko se je spet vrnil, je pripeljal še tri cerkvene zvonove. To je bil del velikopoteznih načrtov za pokristjanjevanje poganov na robu ekvatorja.

Bil je prepričan, da bo s križem v roki dosegel vse, kar si je zamislil v svojem katoliškem zanosu. Toda pred njim se je pojavila sulica: ne kot orožje, marveč kot najmočnejši simbol ljudstev ob Belem Nilu. Poglavarji so mu jo podarili kot sveti predmet v znak najvišje časti. Knoblehar jo je sprejel in nanjo nasadil svoj lesen križ. S tem je bilo vprašanje svetosti zanj opravljeno. Vendar se je zmotil: dežela ni prenesla dveh verskih simbolov in njegovemu katoliškemu misijonu je bil usojen propad.

Knobleharjevo kratkotrajno sudansko poslanstvo sodi med najzanimivejša poglavja v zgodovini povezav med Afriko in Evropo. Številni arhivski, literarni in slikovni viri nam odpirajo pogled v bogato kulturno zapuščino ljudstev ob Belem Nilu, hkrati pa nas popeljejo v dobo, ko so se ljudje nekdanjega Avstrijskega cesarstva začeli srečevati z Afriko. Na ozemlju današnje Slovenije so se pojavili prvi stereotipi o črni celini in rasni predsodki. Čeprav je od takrat minilo že poldrugo stoletje, smo marsikateremu priče še danes.

Sudansko misijo in njeno dediščino lahko povežemo z zanimivo zgodbico. Misijonarja je obiskal temnopolti domačin, sproščeno se je sprehajal po prostorih, potem pa naenkrat otrpnil od strahu. Pred seboj je na steni zagledal obraz, ki je buljil vanj. Domačin se je rahlo premaknil in, glej, tudi pojava na steni se je premaknila. Ko se je še bolj premaknil, je obraz na steni izginil in ostala je samo svetleča površina med štirimi lesenimi palicami. Prestrašenemu obiskovalcu ni bilo jasno, kam je izginilo obličje in zato se je bliskovito pognal k steni in odmaknil svetleči predmet. Vendar zadaj ni bilo ničesar! Misijonar je pristopil k razburjenemu domačinu in mu pojasnil, da je zagledal sebe, v posebnem predmetu, v zrcalu, kakor temu reče beli človek. Domačin se ni pustil prepričati. Ne, to že ni bil on, to je bil nekdo drug. Tisti, ki se skriva zadaj.

Tudi sporočilo razstave in publikacije z naslovom *Sudanska misija 1848-1858* je kakor zrcalo. Vprašanje je le, koga v njem vidimo: Afričana, Evropejca, Slovenca, sebe? Nikogar? Potem poiščimo vsaj to, kar se skriva v ozadju...

Dr. Marko Frelih

NAKLJUČJE IN VIZIJA



Ignacij Knoblehar se je rodil 6. julija leta 1819 v vasi Škocjan na Dolenjskem (sl. 1-4).¹ Kot najstarejši sin bi verjetno nasledil očetov poklic ter postal gostilničar in mesar. Toda pričakovanje staršev se je razblinilo v trenutku, ko je mladoletni Ignacij slišal pridigo o pokristjanjevanju poganskih ljudstev. Pridiga, ki so jo sredi aprila leta 1837 poslušali verniki v Novem mestu, ni bila običajna: na prižnici je namreč stal Friderik Baraga, misijonar med severnoameriškim Indijanci (sl. 5).² Goreča izpoved slovitega misijonarja je mladega Ignacija popolnoma prevzela in mu zbudila željo, da bi sledil poslanstvu svojega dolenjskega rojaka. Knoblehar se je po končani gimnaziji v Novem mestu vpisal na licej v Ljubljani, dve leti pozneje, jeseni 1839, pa je bil sprejet v ljubljansko bogoslovje.

Že v drugem letniku je samozavestno odposlal pismo papeškemu nunciju na Dunaju in ga zaprosil za pomoč pri odločitvi, da gre študirat v Rim. Dva letnika študija sta bila za njim, ko je brez posebnih poprejšnjih priprav odpotoval v Rim in se prijavil v papeškem uradu za širjenje vere v poganskih deželah.³ Vodstvo urada je seveda zavrnilo naivnega bogoslovca in Knoblehar se je znašel na cesti z malo denarja v žepu in z nekaj osebne prtljage. Vendar ni obupal. Posrečilo se mu je dogovoriti, da lahko na misijonskem zavodu Propaganda posluša predavanja tujih jezikov, na jezuitskem Rimskem zavodu pa so mu prijazno omogočili navzočnost pri učnih urah iz medicine in naravoslovja.⁴ Knoblehar je bil izjemno nadarjen za učenje jezikov in kmalu je pritegnil pozornost profesorja Giuseppeja Mezzofantija, velikega italijanskega poliglota, ki je slovel po znanju številnih jezikov in narečij, med drugim tudi slovenščine, ki se jo je učil s Knobleharjevo pomočjo. Mezzofanti je bil varuh papeške knjižnice in kot kardinal je v Rimu užival velik ugled. Srečanje z njim je bilo za Knobleharja zelo pomembno, saj je kardinal odločilno vplival na vodstvo zavoda, da so vztrajnega Dolenjca poleti 1843 sprejeli na redni študij. Ravnateljstvo je bilo takrat v rokah jezuita Maksimilijana Rylla (sl. 20), po rodu Poljaka, doma iz pokrajine Samogitije (danes Litva).⁵ Ryllo je imel bogate misijonarske izkušnje, ko je razmišljal o novem izzivu: ustanoviti misijon v Afriki! Študent Knoblehar o tem ni še ničesar slutil. Prizadevno je študiral, sredi marca 1845 opravil novomašniško posvečenje, nato pa je končal še doktorski študij iz teoloških ved.⁶ Toda po končanem šolanju vodstvo Propagande ni prav dobro vedelo, kam z njim. Enkrat so ga nameravali poslati v Indijo, drugič na Švedsko, pa potem v Avstralijo, nato v Perzijo. Naposled so ugotovili, da bi morda lahko ostal v Rimu kot podravnatelj in profesor na Ukrajinskem zavodu.

Papež Gregor XVI. je 30. marca 1846 podpisal odlok o ustanovitvi apostolskega vikariata v osrednji Afriki.⁷ Ogromno ozemlje za pet misijonarjev, ki so sredi poletja zapustili Rim in odpotovali proti črni celini. Na francoskem parniku "Sesóstris" je med potniki sedel tudi Ignacij Knoblehar.

Misija se je zapletla v težave že na samem začetku, saj se je škof Anetto Casolani odpovedal vodstvu vikariata. Čakanje na odločitev iz Rima je Knoblehar izrabil za potovanje v Sveto deželo in v Sirijo, kjer je ostal osem mesecev. Medtem je bil za vikarja imenovan Ryllo, ki je takoj sklical vse sodelavce, da se mu pridružijo v Aleksandriji. Tam se je Knoblehar srečal z rojakom Antonom Lavrinom, avstrijskim konzulom, doma iz Vipave.⁸ Lavrin je bil misijonarjem v veliko pomoč, še predvsem ko je bilo treba posredovati pri turško-



-egiptovski vladi, da zagotovi varnostna pisma. Oblast je v misiji izbranih Evropejcev slutila prekrite namene, ki naj bi bili povezani s kolonialnimi interesi po nepoznanem ozemlju ob Belem Nilu v vzhodnem Sudanu. Arabci so razsežno ozemlje na planoti južno od Sahare med vzhodno in zahodno Afriko imenovali Bilad el-Sudan - *Dežela črnih ljudi*.

Območje vzhodnega Sudana je v Knobleharjevem času administrativno in vojaško sodilo pod egiptovsko-turško oblast.⁹ V času otomanskega imperija, ko je v Egiptu vladal Mohamed Ali (1805-1848), so pod egipčansko nadvlado med Asuanom in Kartumom nastale province Dongola, Berber, Sennar in Kordofan. Prebivalstvo je bilo v glavnem arabsko, veliko je bilo priseljencev iz Egipta, med njimi tudi nekaj Koptov. Mohamed Ali je bil pod močnim pritiskom Angležev in Istanbula, da si prisvoji in pridobi monopol nad južnim delom vzhodnega Sudana, predvsem v porečju Belega Nila. To je bila obsežna močvirna pokrajina, kjer je bila reka polna plavajočih otokov iz zraščene trave, ločja in različnih vodnih rastlin. Organiziranje večjih vojaških pohodov v tej pokrajini ni bilo izvedljivo, zato je generalni guverner v Kartumu opustili zamisel, da bi si muslimani podredili črnska ljudstva ob Nilu.

AKCIJA IN ILUZIJA

LETO 1848

Poleg Rylla, Knobleharja in Casolanija sta bila v skupini še duhovnik Angelo Vinco in pater Emanuel Pedemonte. Prispeli so v Kartum, ki so ga izbrali za izhodišče potovanj v južni del Sudana. Kupili so zemljo na levem bregu Modrega Nila in začeli s pripravami na graditev potrebnih objektov (sl. 19). Najprej so nameravali zgraditi bivalne prostore za misijonarje, kapelo, šolo in različne obrtniške delavnice. Toda delo je zastalo, saj je Ryllo hudo zbolel. V slutnji bližajoče se smrti je Knobleharja imenoval za namestnika in mu predal vsa papeška pooblastila za vodenje misijona.¹⁰ Ryllo je junija umrl, Casolani in Vinco pa sta se vrnila v Evropo. Da sta lahko preživela, sta si Knoblehar in Pedemonte sposojala denar in upala na pomoč iz domovine. Rojaki Knobleharja niso pozabili in z njihovo pomočjo je zaživela dejavnost v misijonu.

LETO 1849

Knoblehar se je znašel kot vodja misijonskega poslanstva v zelo neprijaznih okoliščinah. V Kartumu je bila trgovina s sužnji na vrhuncu, saj so iz južnih pokrajin vsako leto pripeljali 40.000 do 60.000 ljudi in jih prodajali v Egipt, Abesinijo in na Arabski polotok. Poleg Arabcev so bili v trgovanje vpleteni tudi Evropejci. Knoblehar se je zavedal, da bo prišel v stik z lokalnim črnim prebivalstvom, če jih bo zaščitil pred trgovci s sužnji. To je bila dobro premišljena poteza, saj si je tako pridobil veliko naklonjenost med domačini, hkrati pa so ga začeli spoštovati tudi v uradnih upravnih krogih. Na svojo stran je pridobil diplomacijo, še posebej avstrijskega konzula v Aleksandriji in v Kartumu. Knobleharjev boj proti suženjstvu je veliko prispeval k dokončni prepovedi te krute oblike človeškega ponižanja. Misijonarji so v Kartumu začeli na trgu odkupovati predvsem dečke, ki so postali prvi gojenci v šoli kartumskega misijona. Učili so se arabščino in italijanščino, pri verouku pa so se pripravljali na krst. Pri krstu so dobili novo ime, navadno po kakšnem svetniku. Prvemu krščencu je bilo ime Alojzij.

Dnevni red v misijonski šoli:¹¹

5.30 : bujenje, umivanje

6.00 : maša

6.30 : zajtrk

7.00-8.00 : priprave na pouk

8.00-9.00 : pouk v arabskem jeziku za mlajše učence / verouk za starejše učence

9.00-10.00 : pouk v arabskem jeziku za starejše učence / verouk za mlajše učence

10.00-11.00 : priprave za popoldanski pouk

11.00 : molitev v kapeli

Prosto

12.00 : kosilo

Prosto

13.30 : učenje

14.00-15.00 : učenje italijanskega jezika

15.00-16.00 : branje besedil v italijanskem jeziku za mlajše učence / matematika za starejše učence

Prosto

16.30-18.00 : pevske vaje in molitev rožnega venca

18.00 : večerja

Večerna molitev

Spanje

Knoblehar, Pedemonte in Vinco so se 13. novembra pridružili odpravi, ki jo je vsako leto proti jugu poslal kartumski upravnik. Namen odprave je bila oskrba egiptovsko-sudanskih vojaških oporišč ob Nilu. Pod upravnikovim okriljem so bili tudi trgovci, ki so v zameno za steklene bisere dobivali od domačinov slonovino. V pisani družini se je za tridesetletnega Knobleharja začela pustolovska plovba proti toku Belega Nila, proti ekvatorju.

LETO 1850

V Kartum so se vrnil 7. marca, potovanje pa je trajalo 113 dni. Dovolj dolgo, da je Knoblehar temeljito premislil, kaj mora storiti, da bi uspešno uresničil svoje misijonske načrte. V Evropo je odpotoval z jasnimi cilji: pridobiti dovolj finančnih sredstev, novih sodelavcev in opreme. Sredi avgusta je že stopal po ljubljanskih ulicah, oblečen 'po turško', v dolgi halji in s svilenim šalom povito glavo. Bil je prava atrakcija! Tako kakor njegova afriška zbirka, ki jo je rojakom razkazal v semenišču. Poleg predmetov so bili razstavljeni tudi različni kamni, naravna barvila, rastline, preparirani ptiči, živi puščavski skakač in ihnevmon (sl. 179-183). Del razstavljenih predmetov je Knoblehar odpeljal s seboj na Dunaj, kamor je prispel konec oktobra. Takoj je odšel na avdienco k mlademu cesarju Francu Jožefu I. Tam mu je obljubil osebno pokroviteljstvo nad misijonom in ustrezno gmotno podporo. Knobleharjev obisk Dunaja je v več pogledih spodbudil avstrijske interese po prevladi v vzhodni Afriki. Nadzor trgovskih poti na Nilu je bil za marsikatero evropsko državo odločilnega pomena. Tudi trgovanje s slonovino in z naravnimi dobrinami je imelo močan ekonomski učinek. Tega so se zavedali Angleži, Francozi, Nemci in vedno bolj tudi Avstrijci. Avstrijska vlada je v ustanovitvi misijona zaslutila priložnost, da postane politično in ekonomsko dejavna na afriških tleh.¹² Hkrati pa so se ustrašili Knobleharjeve naslednje poteze: če bi mu cesarski dvor zavrnil pomoč, je napovedal, da bo za pokroviteljstvo zaprosil Francoze. Bil



je spreten pogajalec, ki je očitno dobro premislil, zakaj je modro najprej prepričati cesarja in šele potem papeža. Predvsem Angleži so bili enotni v prepričanju, da je katoliški misijon samo kamuflaža za avstrijske politične in ekonomske interese v južnem Sudanu. Katoliški misijonarji so bili v njihovih očeh navadni špijoni in dobičkarji, ki se okoriščajo na račun domačinov in izrabljajo privilegije, ki jih omogoča njihovo poslanstvo.¹³ Zelo kritično mnenje o dejavnosti misijonarjev je s stališča Angležev razumljivo, saj so bili kot protestanti občutljivi na navzočnost katoličanov, hkrati pa so jim bili ambiciozni misijonarji s Knobleharjem na čelu resna ovira v načrtih njihove kolonialne politike.¹⁴

LETO 1851

Misijonar Vinco je že na začetku leta odpotoval na jug k ljudstvu Bari. Nekaj časa je preživel v kraju Ulibari, potem pa se je odselil v vas pod hribom Belenjan (sl. 61). Tam je imel dobro izhodišče za krajše pohode na ozemlje ljudstev Bari, Beri in Lira. Jeseni se je vrnil v Ulibari. Knoblehar je na Dunaju ustanovil društvo za podporo misijonu. Imenovalo se je "Marijino društvo za širjenje katoliškega misijona v osrednji Afriki" (Marien-Verein zur Beförderung der katholischen Mission in Central-Afrika) in njegov zaščitnik je bil praški nadškof kardinal in knez Friderik Schwarzenberg (sl. 30). Na začetku junija se je odpravil v München, nato še v Innsbruck in Brixen. Končno je prišel na vrsto Rim. Tam pa ga je čakalo veliko presenečenje: vodstvo kongregacije za širjenje vere je podpisalo odlok o ukinitvi misijona. Avdiencia pri papežu je bila nujna in 10. avgusta je Pij IX. več kot uro potrpežljivo poslušal zavzetega misijonarja. Knoblehar je papeško rezidenco zapustil z dragoceno popotnico. V eni roki je imel listino o imenovanju za provikarja, v drugi pa torbo z lesketa-jočim se papeževim darilom, s kelihom in monštranco. Na začetku septembra je bil spet na afriških tleh. V Kairu je od glavnega poveljnika pristanišča kupil skoraj novo ladjo, ki so ji dali ime "Stella matutina" (Jutranja zvezda) (sl. 41-42). Plovba proti jugu Egipta je potekala brez zapletov, potem pa so prišli do prvih brzic in tovor so morali pretovoriti na kamele (sl. 16-17). Knoblehar in sodelavci so najeli skoraj sto kamel, da so z njimi prenesli vse potrebno za misijon, vključno s prenosno tiskarno. Na ladji je ostal duhovnik Janez Kocjančič, ki je z velikimi napori premagal vseh šest brzic in šele po treh mesecih priplul v Kartum.¹⁵

LETO 1852

V kartumski misijonski hiši so intenzivno začeli z delom. Uredili so si lep vrt, za katerega je poskrbel dunajski dvorni vrtnar Andrej Hruška. S posebnim cesarjevim dovoljenjem in plačilom je odpotoval v Sudan, da pomaga misijonarjem. Na vrtu je posadil kar 1100 sadik pomarančevcev, datljevcev, bananovcev, granatnih jablan in drugih vrst (sl. 21).¹⁶ Iz Evrope je prihajalo vse več denarne pomoči in poleg stavb so dokupili še novo zemljišče. Stekle so priprave za zidavo cerkve po načrtih, ki jih je Knoblehar naročil na Dunaju. V njej naj bi bilo prostora za tri tisoč ljudi. Zaradi urejene okolice je misijonska hiša sodila med najimnitnejše v Kartumu in marsikateri popotnik se je rad ustavil in si jo ogledal. Na začetku leta je misijonsko središče večkrat obiskal ameriški popotnik, pesnik in pisatelj Bayard Taylor (sl. 29).¹⁷ Navdušen je bil nad misijonom, še bolj pa sta ga prevzela Knoblehar in njegovo izjemno poznavanje razmer v Sudanu.¹⁸ V tem letu Nil ni naplaval dovolj rodovitne zemlje in v Kartumu je bila velika draginja, ki ji je sledila lakota. V misijonu so dela zastala, saj so glavnino sredstev porabili za opremljanje odprave, namenjene v južni Sudan.

LETO 1853

Misijonar Vinco je po treh letih dočkal prijatelje iz Kartuma. Do njegovega misijonskega naselja Ulibari oziroma za razdaljo 1600 kilometrov so potrebovali 35 dni. Knoblehar in Vinco sta se vsak s svojim oslom odpravila proti jugu in poiskala nov prostor za misijon. Izbrala sta kraj Gondokoro na ozemlju ljudstva Bari (sl. 55). Knoblehar je v posebnem šotoru, ki so mu ga naredili na Dunaju, 20. januarja pripravil sprejem za dvanajst poglavarjev. Po srečanju je sestavil pogodbo v barijskem jeziku, poglavarji so ob svojem imenu naredili križec in pogodba je postala verodostojna: misijonarji so dobili ozemeljske pravice, poglavarji pa vrečo steklenih biserov. Tri dni pozneje je Vinco umrl. Sredi maja je bil Knoblehar spet v Kartumu, kmalu pa je nadaljeval pot v Aleksandrijo, da bi sprejel nove misijonarje. Misijonarji in sodelavci se v pristaniškem mestu Aleksandrija navadno niso dolgo zadržali. Glavno izhodišče na pot proti jugu je bil Kairo, kjer je bil nujen daljši postanek, da so nakupili živež in opremo za dolgo potovanje v Kartum (sl. 6-7). Med pripravami so izrabili čas za obisk svetopisemskih krajev in starih egipčanskih spomenikov. Skoraj vsi so obiskali drevo ob studencu, kjer je nekoč senco iskala Sveta družina (sl. 9). Duhovnik Jožef Lap se je tja odpravil kar z žago v roki in si za spomin odrezal vejo. V okolici je nabral tudi nekaj rožmarina. Priljubljen romarski kraj je bila tudi votlina, v kateri je Sveta družina preživela sedem let.¹⁹ Lap je pripovedoval, da je bila votlina delno poplavljen, toda vseeno si jo je ogledal in ker je imel spet pri sebi žago, je za spominek odžagal še kos lesene ikone z nabožnim motivom.²⁰ Navadno so si ogledali tudi bujno poraščen otok Roda, saj naj bi na njegovih bregovih faraonova hči odkrila plavajočo košaro z dojenčkom Mojzesom. Pogumnejši popotniki pa so se odpravili k piramidam v Gize (sl. 8). Tam jih je čakalo izjemno doživetje: vzpon na piramide. Obrtnik Jakob Šašel je splezal na Keopsovo piramido in na vrhu v kamnitni blok vrezal svoje ime (sl. 22). Po napornem vzponu si je v družbi prijateljev privoščil počitek v opuščeni grobnici, kjer so odprli steklenico francoskega vina in nazdravili v čast umrlim.

LETO 1854

Z juga ni bilo nobenih novic in sredi februarja je Knobleharjeva ladja zapustila pristanišče v Kartumu. Med potjo je Knobleharja prestregla novica, da je v Gondokorju umrl misijonar Martin Dovjak.²¹ Knoblehar je skupaj z duhovnikom Ignacijem Kohlom 2. aprila prispel v Gondokoro. Ponovno sta oživila misijon, predvsem s poučevanjem otrok. Knoblehar se je odpravil raziskovat rečni tok proti ekvatorju in dosegel brzice na točki 4° severne širine. Razgled z vzpetine na otoku Lomutat mu je potrdil domnevo, da je treba izvir Nila iskati južno od ekvatorja. Sredi junija je Kohl umrl. Barijci so pozno v noč sedeli ob njegovem grobu in peli žalostinke. Julija je bil Knoblehar že v Kartumu in se je lotil gradbenih del v misijonskem kompleksu. Jeseni so iz Evrope prispeli novi duhovniki in obrtniki.

LETO 1855

Medtem ko so se novinci iz Evrope privajali bivalnim razmeram, je Knoblehar spet dvignil sidro na svoji ladji in se v spremstvu 34 sopotnikov odpravil v Gondokoro. Na palubi je bilo postavljeno posebno leseno ogrodje, na katerem so viseli vsi trije zvonovi. Med plovbo so z njimi zvonili in na obrežje vabili začudene domačine. Vrnitev v Gondokoro je bila veličastna: pričakala jih je truma domačinov in med njimi tudi poglavar Nigila, v rdeči obleki, ki so mu jo misijonarji podarili pred štirimi leti. Obilno deževje je v tem letu uničilo letino in po deželi je razsajala huda lakota. Od trgovcev s sužnji je Knoblehar za misijonsko šolo



odkupil 30 otrok.

LETO 1856

Knoblehar je hudo zbolel za mrzlico. Spomladi je okreval in se junija že spet odpravil v Gondokoro. V Kartumu so odprli novo misijonsko šolo, ki je ob otvoritvi pritegnila pozornost številnih prebivalcev. Ljudje so se čudili poslikavam učilnic in zvokom harmonija, še bolj pa so bili presenečeni nad levom, ki se je lenobno sprehajal po misijonskem vrtu. Za novo cerkev na Dunaju (Votivkirche) je Knoblehar podaril slonova zoba in 23 kosov ebenovine. Tovor je na Dunaj odpeljal učitelj Jakob Danninger, ki se je za stalno vrnil v domovino.²²

LETO 1857

Novi misijonarji so prišli v Kartum, ko je v mestu razsajala kolera. Medtem je bil Knoblehar v Gondokorju. Tam so bile razmere zelo negotove, saj so se misijonarji znašli pod velikim pritiskom domačinov, ker je deželo zajela lakota. Težave je imel tudi Jernej Mozgan pri Sv. Križu, kjer so postajali Kiki vse bolj sovražni do misijonarjev.²³ V Kartumu so blagosloveli veliko kapelo s tremi oltarji. Geografsko društvo na Dunaju je 13. oktobra Knobleharja imenovalo za svojega častnega člana. Decembra se je odpravil na pot proti severu. Zaradi opešanega zdravja se je Knoblehar odločil za krajše okrevanje v Evropi.

LETO 1858

Knoblehar je težko prenašal plovbo iz Aleksandrije proti Italiji. Opustil je zamisel, da bi potoval v Rim in se je zato prej izkrcal v Neaplju. Hudo vnetje pljuč je preboleval v nekem gostišču, potem pa so ga k sebi v oskrbo vzeli menihi iz samostana bosonogih avguštincev. Zdravje se mu je občasno izboljšalo, toda od začetka aprila se je bolezen izčrpanega misijonarja spet okrepila. Vsak dan je bilo huje, močan kašelj, bolečine v nogah in v prsih, duševni nemir. Naposled je umrl od kapi. Knobleharjeva življenjska pot se je končala 13. aprila ob enajstih dopoldne. Star je bil 38 let (sl. 33).

MISIJON STEKLENIH BISEROV

Knoblehar se je z veliko iluzijo podal v misijonsko dogodivščino med ljudstva ob Belem Nilu. Zanj so bili to izgubljeni poganski divjaki, ki jih lahko pred pogubljenjem v peklju rešijo samo krst in drugi zakramenti ter seveda učenje krščanskega nauka. Vendar ljudje preprosto niso razumeli, kaj sploh pričakuje od njih. Imeli so popolnoma drugačne miselne vzorce, zakoreninjene v praktičnem pogledu na preživetje v krutih razmerah. Na eni strani jih je krojila narava z dolgotrajnimi sušnimi obdobji, po drugi strani pa so jim življenje ogrožali lovci na sužnje. V takšnih razmerah je bil Knobleharjev misijon pravzaprav samo še motnja več v njihovem okolju. Vendar so iznajdljivi domačini kmalu spoznali koristi prihoda misijonarjev: pri njih so dobili zaščito pred trgovci s sužnji, v času lakote pa so jih misijonarji oskrbeli s hrano. Tudi božji besedi so radi prisluhnili, če so jih le misijonarji prej obdarili s steklenimi biseri. Knoblehar je zato imel na ladji stalno nekaj vreč s pisanim steklenim okrasjem iz Benetk. Leta 1853 je v Gondokoro pripeljal 1200 kilogramov biserov. Samo v treh mesecih jih je razdal skoraj eno tona.²⁴ V pomanjkanju hrane in biserov pa so misijonarji takoj občutili sovražnost domačinov; takrat so bili misijonarji krivci za lakoto, boleznimi in umiranje. In sledilo je jasno sporočilo: Pojdite proč, z vašim Bogom vred!

Kritične misli do Knobleharjeve misije ob Belem Nilu so bile večkrat izrečene s strani njegovih ožjih sodelavcev in zunanjih opazovalcev. Toda katoliški tisk je vztrajno zavračal negativne ocene in je z načrtno propagando skrbel, da se med bralci ne bi pojavil dvom o smiselnosti njegovega dela. Šele po nekaj letih misijonske agonije se objavam kritik ni bilo več mogoče izogniti, Knobleharjeva smrt pa je dokončno potrdila, da je iluzije o velikem misijonu konec in da je prišel čas, ko se je treba spoprijeti z dejanskim stanjem. Knobleharjeva odločitev, da je ob vrnitvi v Evropo leta 1850 odšel najprej k cesarju in šele zatem k papežu, kaže njegovo osebno stališče do misijonske strategije na afriških tleh. Vodstvo Propagande je iz njegovih potez kmalu razbralo, da vodi samostojno misijonsko politiko in so ga na to kar nekajkrat ostro opozorili. V Rimu jih je predvsem motilo, da niso imeli pregleda nad finančnimi donacijami iz Evrope, še manj pa nad njegovimi bančnimi in trgovskimi posli, ki jih je sklepal v Kartumu. Na svetovnem tržišču je naraščalo povpraševanje po slonovini in po kavčuku in v tem pogledu sta imela Sudan in sosednja Abesinija zelo pomembno vlogo. Dobro organizirani belci so postajali vse resnejši tekmeci arabskim trgovcem in na Nilu se je začel odvijati boj za prevlado. Med najuspešnejšimi je bil trgovec Franz Binder, doma iz Transilvanije, ki se je v Sudanu dobro znašel in kmalu postal najbogatejši Evropejec v Kartumu.²⁵ Poslovno sodelovanje s Knobleharjem je bilo neogibno, saj so imeli tudi misijonarji svoje potrebe glede oskrbe, predvsem z evropskim blagom.²⁶ Prav tako pa je Knobleharja zanimala slonovina, ki jo je občasno daroval donatorjem v Evropi.

Knoblehar je živel za misijon, vendar na svoj način. Od misijonarja so v tistem času pričakovali skromnost in ponižnost, toda Knoblehar je vedel, da si mora v kaotičnem Kartumu zagotoviti suveren položaj, enakovreden vladajočim muslimanskim veljakom. Poskrbel je za dostojen videz misijonske hiše in za razkošno opremljenost misijonske ladje "Stella matutina", ki je bila hkrati njegova potujoča rezidenca. Poskrbel pa je tudi zase. Ko je zakoral po kartumskih ulicah, je med ljudmi završalo: po cesti ni stopal misijonar v oguljeni raševini, temveč mož, opravljen v najdražja oblačila, glavo je imel povito s svilenim šalom, ritem njegove hoje je odmeval v udarcih ob tla z masivno palico, okrašeno s srebrom in s slonokoščanim držajem v obliki roke, ki oklepa človeško lobanjo. To ni bil več Knoblehar, to je bil Abuna Soliman - *naš oče Salomon!*

Toda vsi se niso strinjali s takšno držo misijonarja. Jakob Šašel se je leta 1853 kot prostovoljec odpravil v Sudan.²⁷ Zaradi bolezni se je spomladi naslednje leto vrnil domov in leta 1863 je napisal v nemščini spomine na potovanje v Afriko.²⁸ Šašel je bil zelo kritičen do Knobleharja: očital mu je razsipnost in pretirano naklonjenost muslimanom. Omenil je, da je imel Knoblehar vinsko klet z izbranimi francoskimi vini in svojo zalogo kruha. Medtem ko so morali njegovi sodelavci preživeti s pičlo odmerjenim živežom, je vabil na večerjo Arabce iz visoke družbe. Prav tako se je Šašel zgražal, da so mornarji ladje "Stella matutina" imeli ljubice, Knoblehar pa se je sprenevedal, da o tem ni nič vedel. Zanimiva je omemba Knobleharjevega odnosa do sošolca iz ljubljanskega semenišča Jožefa Lapa, ki je z velikim veseljem pripotoval v prijateljev misijon. Knoblehar očitno ni bil navdušen nad njegovim prihodom, saj ga je popolnoma ignoriral. Medtem ko so vsi dobili svoje delo in namestitev, je Lap ostal prepuščen sam sebi. Kmalu je zbolel in po nekaj mesecih umrl star 36 let. Šašla je to zelo prizadelo in je o dogodku ogorčeno pisal v svojih spominih.²⁹



Knobleharjev odmaknjen odnos do rojakov je nekako razumljiv, ne pa opravičljiv. Čeprav je potreboval duhovnike, se je bolje razumel s tistimi, ki so prihajali s Tirolskega in drugih nemško govorečih avstrijskih pokrajin. Do slovenskih rojakov je bil zadržan, saj je slutil, da bodo s pisanjem v domovino hitro razširili glas o njegovem spornem vodenju misijona. Na Knobleharjevo srečo je uredništvo *Zgodnje Danice* vodil njegov prijatelj Luka Jeran, ki je vsa pisma iz Sudana temeljito cenzuriral. Dvom o Knobleharjevih vodstvenih sposobnostih je verjetno prikrito gojil tudi ljubljanski škof Alojzij Wolf. Misijonarja je imel zelo rad in mu je bil stalno v oporo, vendar je zelo verjetno imel pomisleke v zvezi z njegovimi finančnimi posli, saj ga je še kot študenta opozarjal, naj se nauči ravnati z denarjem.

Do Knobleharja je bil zelo kritičen tudi italijanski misijonar in poznejši kardinal Guglielmo Massaja. Kartum je obiskal leta 1851, medtem ko je bil Knoblehar v Evropi. Čeprav se nista srečala, je Knobleharja ocenil za človeka, ki je misijonu bolj škodil kakor koristil. Massaja je razmere v misijonu primerjal z zmešnjavo v babilonskim stolpu. Iz njegovega zapisa je razvidno, da ga je motil avstrijski vpliv in da je misijon vodil duhovnik, ne pa redovnik oziroma jezuit, kakor je bil npr. pokojni Rylo.

Po drugi strani pa številni zapisi, ki so bili zunaj dosega cerkvene cenzure, govorijo o Knobleharju z veliko mero občudovanja in spoštovanja. Nemški naravoslovec Alfred Brehm je o njem zapisal: *Duša misijona je bil slavno znani Ignacij Knoblehar iz Ljubljane ... Bil je prav tako ljubezniv kakor učen, neutrudljiv pri svojem delu, vesel v občevanju s sopotniki, skromen in plemenit.*³⁰ Pisni viri so neusklajeni tudi glede Knobleharjevega telesnega videza: doma so ga opisali kot srednje velikega močnega moža, v Kartumu pa kot majhnega in gracilne postave.³¹ Nasprotujoče si ocene Knobleharja in njegovega misijonskega dela opozarjajo na previdnost pri uporabi ohranjenih virov. Vsaka presoja njegovih dejanj mora temeljiti tudi na razumevanju okoliščin, v katerih je deloval. In te so bile zelo zapletene.

EPILOG SUDANSKE MISIJE

Katoliški tisk v Evropi je skrbel za ustvarjanje idiličnih podob o misijonarjih, ki so se žrtvovali za rešitev poganskih duš pred vrati pekla. Misijonarji so se dobesedno "žrtvovali", saj so zaradi različnih bolezni umirali v neznosnih podnebnih razmerah. "Človek je tukaj kmalu živ in mrtev," je domačim pisal Šašel in kritično oplazil poročila v *Zgodnji Danici* ter sklenil: "O dobrem je bilo pisano veliko, o slabem pa prav nič."³² V Kartumu je bil zelo cenjen francoski zdravnik Alfred Penney, ki je pogosto prišel zdraviti tudi misijonarje. Za lažje primere je poskrbel Knoblehar sam, saj si je med študijem v Rimu pridobil nekaj medicinskega znanja. Med vožnjo po Nilu je ob vsakem postanku na ladjo sprejemal ljudi z raznimi poškodbami. Zdravil je predvsem odprte rane, ki jih je najprej očistil, razkužil in obvezal. Najpogosteje je uporabljal arniko, ki jo je dobil iz Ljubljane od gospe Köstel.³³ Najhujši sovražnik misijona je bila zahrbtna mrzlica, proti kateri so bili občutljivi belci popolnoma brezmočni. Napadla je tudi duhovnika Lapa, ki si je najprej sam pomagal s homeopatijo. Ker se stanje ni izboljšalo, so poklicali zdravnika, ki mu je dal kinin, pa tudi to ni zaleglo. Šele arzenik mu je olajšal neznosne bolečine.³⁴ Homeopatsko lekarno je omenil tudi Knoblehar ob težavah z zdravjem leta 1853: "Pomagala mi je homeopatska lekarnica, ki jo je po naročilu gospe grofice, učeni Dr. Streinz, z zdravili napolnil, ki tudi v srednji Afriki

močan učinek dosežejo. Ob najhujših napadih sem vedno zaužil *Aconit*, potem večkrat *Bel-ladonno*, zaradi bolečin pa še *Nux vomica*, *Ipecac* ali *Pulsatilia*. In tako so se meni in mojim tovarišem zopet povrnila moči.”³⁵

Knobleharja so domačini seznanili tudi z zdravilnimi zelišči, ki so jih sami nabirali. Misijonarja je njihovo poznavanje zelišč zelo zanimalo, vendar ni poznano, ali jih je kdaj tudi sam nabiral in uporabljal. V enem izmed pisem, ki jih je poslal v Ljubljano, se lepo vidi, kateri medicini je najbolj zaupal: “Potrebovali bi dobro posušeneh kranjskih češpelj in na Kranjskem narejenega dobrega brinovca za zdravilo, ki nas bo obvarovalo boleznih v mokrem vremenu in v nezdravih krajih.” Knoblehar je bil v takratnih razmerah pravi medicinski čudež, saj so se ga številne bolezni dobesedno izogibale. Med glavnimi razlogi sta bila najbrž poleg odpornega organizma tudi nenehno gibanje in bivanje na ladji v zračnih in udobnih prostorih.

Zamisel o sudanskem misijonu bi se verjetno uresničila, če bi takrat že imeli učinkovito zdravilo proti smrtonosni malariji. Brez njega pa so bili Evropejci nemočni in drug za drugim so umirali mladi fantje, nekateri samo nekaj mesecev po prihodu v Kartum. V desetih letih je umrlo veliko ljudi, zaposlenih v misijonu, in skoraj dvajset duhovnikov in redovnikov.³⁶

Janez Kocjančič - 27 let
 Anton Castagnaro - 27 let
 Lavrencij Gerbl - 27 let
 Alojz Pircher - 29 let
 Anton Überbacher - 30 let
 Miha Wurnitsch - 30 let
 Martin Dovjak - 32 let
 Ignacij Kohl - 32 let
 Franc Reiner - 32 let
 Frančišek Oliboni - 32 let
 Angelo Vinco - 33 let
 Alojz Haller - 34 let
 Jernej Mozgan - 35 let
 Jožef Lap - 36 let
 Jožef Gostner - 36 let
 Oton Trabant - 37 let
 Matevž Milharčič - 40 let
 Maksimilijan Ryllo - 45 let

Ob Nilu so se vrstili grobovi mladih fantov in ko je spomladi 1858 umrl še Knoblehar, ni nihče več dvomil, da je prišel čas za razumno ukrepanje. Po Knobleharjevi smrti so misijonarji postopoma zapustili Gondokoro in Sv. Križ. Njegov naslednik Matej Kirchner je usmeril vse napore v zgraditev nove misijonske postaje v Šellalu na jugu Egipta.³⁷ Pri urejanju različnih dovoljenj mu je pomagal Jožef Švegelj, doma iz Gorij pri Bledu.³⁸ Zaposlen je bil kot uradnik na avstrijskem konzulatu v Aleksandriji. Leta 1867 je bil za provikarja imenovan Daniel Comboni.³⁹ Začela se je nova doba misijonske zgodovine, ki pa ni trajala dolgo.



Minilo je več kot pol stoletja, da so katoliški misijonarji spet zapluli proti ekvatorju toda nikoli se jim ni posrečilo uresničiti, kar si je zamislil Knoblehar. Natanko stoletje po njegovi smrti se je leta 1958 razvnela velika gonja proti kristjanom in poganom na jugu dežele in osrednji kartumski časopis “Al Ayam” je zapisal, da je Cerkev država v državi, ki si hoče podrediti Sudan. Pisec članka je vladi svetoval, naj iz države izžene katoliške misijonarje.⁴⁰ To je bil uvod v načrtno islamizacijo južnega Sudana, ki še vedno traja.

KAMOVI OTROCI

Knobleharjevo delo v Sudanu je med rojaki pritegnilo veliko zanimanje. K temu je največ prispeval tisk. Časopisje je vse desetletje redno poročalo, kaj se dogaja ob Belem Nilu. Katoliški list *Zgodnja Danica* je s kontinuirano objavo člankov poskrbel, da so lahko bralci sproti sledili razmeram v misijonu (sl. 31-32). Slovenci so se prvič v zgodovini temeljito seznanili s katero od afriških dežel. Knjiga *Potovanje po Beli reki* in Knobleharjeva afriška zbirka predmetov sta samo še spodbudili že tako veliko zanimanje. Vrhunec slovenskega stika z Afriko pa je bil zagotovo prihod sudanskih otrok v Ljubljano. Namen prihoda je bil del misijonskega načrta: otroke naj bi vzgojili za duhovnike in nune ter jih nato poslali nazaj v Afriko.⁴¹ Toda načrt se ni uresničil, ker otroci niso prenesli hladnih zim in jih je veliko umrlo za pljučnico. Cerkev je spoznala, da je takšno početje nekoristno, in misijonarji poslej otrok niso več pošiljali v severne kraje. Misijonarji so otroke kupili na suženjskem trgu v Kartumu ali v Kairu, potem pa so jih odpeljali v Evropo in tam razvozili po različnih krajih (sl. 38-39). Najprizadevnejši je bil duhovnik Nicolo Olivieri, ki je afriške otroke vozil predvsem v Italijo, južno Francijo in v avstrijske dežele.⁴² V 25 letih je iz Afrike pripeljal skoraj 500 otrok. Večkrat se je oglasil tudi v Ljubljani.

Apat je bil star sedem let, ko je 13. septembra 1856 prišel v Ljubljano, v Trnovsko faro. Ker se je po Ljubljani že sprehajal en črni Jožef s priimkom Kranjski, je Apat pri krstu postal Jožef Slovenski. Že spomladi naslednje leto je odšel v Neapelj. Nemirni afriški duh mu ni dopustil, da bi obstal na enem mestu, in je šel za leto dni v Aleksandrijo, potem spet nazaj v Ljubljano, od tam naprej na Dunaj, nato pa v Verono. Ime Jožef Slovenski mu je dal Josip Stritar, pozneje poznani pisatelj. Naključje je hotelo, da sta se nekega dne srečala v gostilni na Dunaju. Jožef je stopil v gostilno in zaslišal pri omizju slovensko govorico. Pristopil je in se v ljubljanskem narečju pogovarjal z družino pri mizi. Stritar je dogodek opisal v knjigi *Lešniki* leta 1906. O Jožefu je pisal z značilno odmaknjenostjo do tujca, ki si zaradi temne polti še bolj zasluži zaničevanja, a je le priznal, da je Jožefova črna duša v sebi imela tudi nekaj človeškega - ko je izrazil željo, da bi še kdaj videl svoje starše ...

“Dne 27. febr. 1859 je umrla naša pridna zamorka Marija Hamisa,” je zapisano v kroniki uršulink iz Škofje Loke (sl. 40). Hamiso je skupaj z deklico Gorunfilo iz Afrike leta 1856 pripeljal duhovnik Olivieri. “V začetku sta bila ta dva otroka zelo divja in neolikana. Vendar sta bili pozneje, ko smo ju poučili in sta se pripravljali na sv. Krst, mirni in dobri deklici. Dne 14. aprila 1857 ju je ob navzočnosti številne duhovščine in velike množice ljudstva krstil starološki dekan preč. g. Franc Kramar. Po svetem krstu sta med sveto mašo prejeli prvo sv. Obhajilo. Nepopisno ganljivo je bilo gledati ta dva črna otroke v belih oblačilih s svečo v roki, ki sta klečala in pobožno molila. Starejša deklica Hamisa je dobila ime Amalija

Marija Brezmadežnega Spočetja, druga Gorunfila je prejela ime Marija Ivana. Krstni botri sta bili kontesa Wolkenberg Amalija in gospa Pajkova.⁴³ Julija istega leta je zaradi jetike umrla tudi Gorunfila. V kroniki je bilo med drugim zapisano: "Kot leta svojega življenja, sta računali samo leta po svetem krstu."

Obred krsta je bilo najpomembnejše dejanje misijonarjev, saj so v tem videli edini način, da rešijo brezbožnike pred večnim pogubljenjem. Ko so afriški otroci prišli v Ljubljano, so se morali najprej pripraviti na krst. Brez krsta so bili zgolj zapuščene poganske sirote, rekli so jim "male črne duše Kamovega rodu". Beseda Kam izvira iz starodavnega imena za Egipt, *Kamit* ali *Črna zemlja*. Dežela ob Nilu pa je bila sinonim za poganski svet, o katerem pripovedujejo že svetopisemske zgodbe Stare zaveze. Vse, kar je bilo črno, so povezali s Kamom, arhaično različico imena za Satana, in zaradi črne polti so deklince in dečke imenovali Kamovi otroci. Krst je bil zanje edina rešitev, hkrati pa za pravoverne kristjane enkratna manifestacija zmage krščanstva nad poganstvom. V Ljubljani so leta 1856 krst afriških otrok opravili pri uršulinkah, obred pa je vodil prošt Ladinig. To je bil za mesto velik dogodek, o katerem se je časopisje na veliko razpisalo z natančnimi opisi. Obred ni bil običajen: najprej strogo izpraševanje in odpovedovanje hudiču, ki ga je prošt s trikratnim izdihom in polaganjem križa na otroške glave pregnal iz njihovih duš. Potem je otrokom dal v usta sol, kar je bilo znamenje očiščenja. Iz samostana so v procesiji odšli v cerkev. Takrat je nestrpna množica pred cerkvijo prvič zagledala *črne duše* v črnih oblekah. To je bilo znamenje, da je zlo še vedno v njih. Procesija je slavnostno stopila v cerkev in se pomikala proti glavnemu oltarju. Napetost se je stopnjevala. Z glasnimi molitvami in vzkliki zaničanja hudobnih sil so otroci prepričali pobožno množico in prošta, da jim je podelil zakrament. Polivanju z blagoslovljeno vodo in maziljenju je sledilo še oblačenje v belo obleko.⁴⁴

Krstni obred so izvajali v zelo arhaični obliki, saj je iz simboličnih dejanj razvidno, da je prošt nad otroki izvajal eksorcizme.⁴⁵ Ob koncu 8. stoletja je opat Alkuin, znameniti učenjak in teolog ter ožji sodelavec Karla Velikega, napisal pravila, kako naj duhovniki krstijo pogane.⁴⁶ Po enakem postopku so bili več kot tisočletje pozneje krščeni tudi afriški otroci v Ljubljani. Misterij javnega krsta je zadovoljil pričakovanja javnosti. O tem so si pisni viri enotni, nikjer pa ni zapisano, da bi se kdo spraševal o smiselnosti takšnega početja. To je bilo samo po sebi umevno, nikogar pa ni zanimalo, kakšen psihični pritisk in strah so doživljali otroci.

Pokristjanjevanje Afričanov je lep primer dvoičnosti družbe, saj so bili otroci kljub krstu še naprej zaničevani. Omenjeni Apat je postal Jožef Slovenski, naučil se je slovenščine in tekoče govoril v ljubljanskem narečju. Toda barve kože ni mogel spremeniti. Zato so ga ljudje prezirali in mu zaradi drugačnosti zbuvali občutek sramu. Spomin na javni krst afriških otrok je odmeval še desetletja. Obstajala je tudi otroška igrlica, ko je eden od nastopajočih igral Afričana, pobarvan s črno barvo. Drugi igralci so ga ob molitvi in prepevanju nabožnih pesmi umivali z vodo in ga na ta način simbolno očistili utelešenega zla. Otroci so se z igro naučili negativnega odnosa do temnopoltih ljudi in občutka pripadnosti večvredni rasi. V času Knobleharjeve misije so se na Slovenskem pojavili prvi vzorci stereotipov o afriških ljudstvih in marsikateri je preživel vse do današnjih dni.



V času Knobleharjevega bivanja v Sudanu ni bilo pretiranega zanimanja za raziskovanje reke Nil. Takrat je bila na zemljevidih vrisana gorska veriga z imenom "Mesečeve gore", spod katerih izvira reka Bahr el Abiad (Bela reka), arabsko ime za Beli Nil. Gorovje naj bi ležalo severno nad ekvatorjem oziroma na 7° zemljepisne širine (sl. 36). Ko se je Knoblehar leta 1850 vrnil v Evropo, je strokovno javnost seznanil z dejstvom, da tam ni nobenih gora in da je treba izvir Nila iskati južno od ekvatorja. S tem odkritjem je veliko prispeval k pobudi, da so se raziskovalci znova vrnil k sloviti reki.⁴⁷ Razvile so se živahne razprave in Knoblehar je postal pravi medijski zvezdnik. Med Ljubljano, Dunajem, Berlinom, Parizom in Londonom se je navdušeno govorilo o afriški avanturi slovenskega misijonarja.

O svojem prvem velikem potovanju po Nilu je Knoblehar napisal podrobno poročilo v ladijskem dnevniku. Na poti si je skrbno zapisoval podatke o smeri kompasa, hitrosti ladje, geografski položaj, vremenske razmere, toploto ozračja in vode, zračni pritisk. Opisal je tudi rečno strugo z vsemi otoki in obrežje. Včasih si je pomagal še s skicami, saj je bil večš risanja. Pri opisu je uporabljal lokalna ledinska imena. Natančno opazovanje je strnil v kratke in jedrnate stavke. Obsežnejše besedilo je včasih zapisal le pod rubriko 'popotno poročilo' (Reise Bericht). Na podlagi Knobleharjevih zapiskov in poročil v časopisju je profesor zemljepisa in zgodovine Vicencij F. Klun v Ljubljani leta 1850 pripravil nemško in slovensko knjižico z naslovom "Potovanje po Beli reki" (sl. 35).⁴⁸

Posebno pozornost je Knobleharju naklonila tudi dunajska akademija znanosti, saj je bila zainteresirana za njegove raziskave o Nilu. Plačali so mu nakup sodobnih merilnih naprav, vendar pod pogojem, da o rezultatih najprej poroča akademiji.⁴⁹ Naučili so ga tudi rokovati z vsemi inštrumenti, ki jih je odnesel v Kartum. Pri meritvah je dejavno sodeloval duhovnik Martin Dovjak iz Šentjerneja na Dolenjskem, ki je prišel v Sudan leta 1851. Meritve je redno opravljal do januarja 1854, ko je umrl star 32 let. Knobleharjeve in Dovjakove meritve je objavil K. Kreil leta 1859.⁵⁰

Knoblehar je že leta 1850 priplul približno do 4°40' severne zemljepisne širine, do 606 metrov visoke vzpetine Logvek (sl. 60).⁵¹ Ime hriba je bilo povezano s pogostimi potresnimi sunki na tem območju. Po tem granitnem osamelcu se je imenovala tudi bližnja vas. Povzpel se je na hrib in na skalnem vrhu pustil vklesan podpis. Štiri leta pozneje, v zadnjih dneh maja 1854, se je še bolj približal ekvatorju. Na podlagi ohranjenih virov je zelo težko določiti skrajno južno točko, ki jo je dosegel na tej poti. Iz vasi Tokiman, ki jo je prvič obiskal leta 1850, je šel še naprej proti jugu in z ladjo dosegel otok Kirigver. Zaradi skalnate struge ni bilo mogoče nadaljevati vožnje s težko železno ladjo "Stella matutina", zato je v manjšem čolnu s štirimi mornarji priveslal do otoka Lomutat.⁵² Pristali so ob otoku in se čudili bujnemu rastiču z orjaškimi drevesi in živobarvnimi ovijalkami. Med vzponom na bližnjo vzpetino je srečal tri Barijce, ki so ga prijazno vodili do kraja z izjemnim razgledom: med vodami šumečega Belega Nila so se dvigovali številni otoki, odprle so se prostrane razsežnosti raznovrstnega rastlinja, ki je v rahlo valovitem svetu izginjalo proti obzorju, omejenem z razvlečenim gričevjem.⁵³ Knoblehar se je zavedal veličastnega trenutka, saj je kot prvi beli človek stal na najjužnejši točki, ki je bila dosežena po reki Nil.

O Knobleharjevih raziskavah Nila ostaja veliko nerazrešenih vprašanj. Dokler ne bo omogočen pogled na ves njegov arhiv, je osrednjega pomena odgovori na vprašanje, do kod je v resnici prišel. Kljub uporabi merilnih inštrumentov so bile napake v meritvah takrat zelo pogoste. Problem je bil že v določitvi lege postaje Gondokoro in tudi misijonska postaja Sv. Križ ni bila nikoli točno lokalizirana. Knoblehar je za vasico Ulibary, ki je stala na desnem bregu reke, izmeril 4°49' severne zemljepisne širine.⁵⁴ Toda meritev se ne ujema s podatkom, da je Knoblehar šel naprej proti jugu v Gondokoro, ki naj bi bil na 4°54' severne zemljepisne širine.

Popotniki in raziskovalci so mere nenehno spreminjali, neenotni pa so bili tudi glede poimenovanja krajev, vzpetin in rek. Tako je bil npr. hrib Logvek na kartah vrisan enkrat na levem bregu reke Nil, drugič pa so ga premaknili na desni breg. Ob vsej kartografski zmešnjavi so svoje prispevali še posamični pisci, ki so v potopisih spodbijali dosežke drugih. Italijanski raziskovalec Giovanni Miani je npr. trdil, da Knoblehar nikoli ni prišel tako daleč, kakor se mu pripisuje. Franc Morlang je pisal, da Miani ni prišel dlje od Kartuma, iz poročil angleškega popotnika Samuela Bakerja pa dobimo vtis, da je bil Morlang zapit avstrijski agent. Eno je gotovo: vsak si je prizadeval za povečanje lastnih podvigov, tudi v škodo drugih. Podatke so pogosto prepisovali iz različnih virov, ki jih niso navajali, ali pa so si jih preprosto izmislili.

S poročili, ki so jih Knoblehar in njegovi sodelavci pošiljali v Evropo, se je razvnela razprava o izviri Nila. Angleži so se načrtno lotili raziskav in pet let po Knobleharjevi smrti sta John Hanning Speke in James Grant rešila zapleteno uganko skrivnostne reke.⁵⁵ Z južne strani sta februarja 1863 prispela v Gondokoro, kjer so ju čakali še drugi raziskovalci, ki so tja pripluli s severa. V tistem času je bila v Gondokorju odprava nizozemske pustolovke Alexandrine Tinné.⁵⁶ Z njo je bil tudi Janez Klančnik, ki so ga v Gondokorju najeli za vodiča.⁵⁷ Doma je bil iz Dovjega in se je leta 1853 kot obrtnik prijavil za delo v sudanskem misijonu. Izmed Knobleharjevih sodelavcev je bil Klančnik zadnji Slovenec, ki je še vztrajal v Afriki.⁵⁸

Ameriški pesnik in potopisec Bayard Taylor, ki je bil leta 1851 in 1852 v Kartumu, je večkrat obiskal Knobleharja, saj je pri njemu dobil veliko koristnih informacij o deželi. Misijonarja je opisal z naslednjimi besedami: *Mož je temeljito izobražen, govori več jezikov in ima mnogo znanja; zato bodo njegova prihodnja raziskovanja še veliko vredna. Ko sem se mudil v Kartumu, sem ga večkrat obiskal; od njega sem veliko zvedel o deželah in prebivalcih Sudana. Aboona Suleyman, kakor Knobleharja splošno imenujejo, je znan daleč naokrog in v vsem Sudanu visoko cenjen*⁵⁹

Taylor je tudi sam imel raziskovalni navdih, saj ga je še posebej pritegnila preteklost starodavne Nubije.⁶⁰ Ker se je zanimal tudi za južni Sudan, mu je Knoblehar dal na razpolago svoje popotniške dnevnik in skice. Taylor je pokazal veliko navdušenje nad raziskovalnimi poročili in jih opisal kot zelo temeljite in bistveno popolnejše v primerjavi s tistimi drugih raziskovalcev.⁶¹ Izrabil je priložnost in očitno s Knobleharjevo privolitvijo prepisal opis prvega potovanja po Nilu, ki ga je leta 1854 objavil v svoji knjigi.⁶² Minilo je že več let od srečanja s Knobleharjem, ko je Taylor 15. novembra 1875 pripravil predavanje za člane Ameriškega geografskega društva (American Geographical Society). Takrat je bila v



akademskih krogih razprava o izviri Nila še vedno živahna in Taylor je obudil spomin na Knobleharja ter ameriške geografje opozoril na njegovo delo.⁶³ Knobleharja je omenjal tudi slavni francoski inženir Ferdinand de Lesseps.⁶⁴ Preden je zaslovel z graditvijo Sueškega prekopa, je kot francoski diplomat po naročilu cesarske akademije in Napoleona III. raziskoval Nil. Leta 1856 je navezal stike s Knobleharjem, ta mu je dal na razpolago svoje zapiske. Lesseps jih je navedel v posebni Nilski spomenici. Pozneje je v objavljenih spominih omenil tudi "častitega in pogumnega predstojnika misijona v vzhodni Afriki" in poudaril njegov prispevek k raziskavam Nila.⁶⁵

Na sedežu Kraljevega geografskega društva v Londonu je Earl de Gray pripravil poročilo o Burtonovih in Spekeovih raziskavah. V besedilu je omenil, da sta Speke in Grant prispela v Gondokoro, v naselje, ki ga je ustanovil Knoblehar.⁶⁶ Podobno je pisal tudi Speke v članku, ki ga je leta 1863 izdalo isto geografsko društvo. Speke je poudaril, da je Knoblehar v Gondokorju opravljaj dolgotrajna opazovanja.⁶⁷ Tudi nemški naravoslovec Alfred Brehm je visoko cenil njegovo znanje in dragocene podatke v ladijskih dnevnikih. O Knobleharju je med drugim zapisal: *Razen naloge, ki so mu jo poverili nadrejeni, si je prizadeval samo za to, kako bi svoja dolga potovanja znanstveno izkoristil, ne glede na kakšen dobiček. Pisal je zares izvrsten znanstveni dnevnik. Njegova vztrajnost je bila podobna njegovim drugim lastnostim: bila je velikanska.*⁶⁸ Znanstveni dnevnik, ki ga je Brehm tako izrazito poudaril, pa ostaja do danes največja skrivnost Knobleharjeve zapuščine. Dnevnik, različni zapiski, skice in risbe so po njegovi smrti izginili. Ko je odpotoval v Evropo, da bi si utrdil zdravje, je bil prepričan, da se vrne nazaj v Kartum, in zato je na pot vzel najnujnejše stvari. Toda v Neaplju je umrl in delovna soba v Kartumu je bila prepuščena na milost in nemilost vsem, ki so bili prepričani, da so varuhi njegove zapuščine.

Ko je umiral, so se v Rimu bolj kakor za njegovo zdravje zanimali za njegovo lastnino. Po smrti se je razvnel boj, saj je poleg odločnega Rima ukrepal še Dunaj in zahteval svoj delež. Tudi Ljubljana se je oglasila in naivno čakala na pošiljko iz Kartuma. Na koncu je vsak dobil nekaj, najpomembnejše stvari pa so izginile. Knobleharjevi misijonski sodelavci so dobro vedeli, s kakšnim bogastvom razpolagajo. Verjetno nikoli ne bomo izvedeli, kaj se je dogajalo takrat, ko so v zavesti, da se nikoli več ne bo vrnil, "pospravili" njegovo pisarno z bogato dokumentacijo in knjižnico.⁶⁹ Ohranjeno in poznano arhivsko gradivo sudanskega misijona je danes razpršeno na več mestih: v Kartumu, Rimu, Veroni, Ljubljani, Brnu in na Dunaju.⁷⁰

Da je položaj Knobleharjeve zapuščine zelo zapleten, potrjuje časopisni zapis, v katerem Kristijan Pajer opisuje potovanje po Nilu novembra leta 1859.⁷¹ Potoval je proti Kartumu, saj ga je zanimalo delo v misijonu. Poleg svojih reči je prevažal tudi prtljago pokojnega Knobleharja.⁷² Od njegove smrti je minilo že več kot leto in pol in nenavadno je, da bi misijonarjeve osebne stvari s takšno zamudo nekdo pošiljal nazaj v Kartum. V zvezi s Pajerjem previdnost pri obdelavi arhivskih virov ni odveč. Raziskovalci njegovega življenja so si enotni, da je bil velik avanturist, ki je zaslovel, ko je v Aleksandrijo prispel kot črni potnik v posebej doma izdelanem zaboju.⁷³ Ukvarjal se je tudi s fotografijo in prav s tem namenom je potoval po Egiptu in Sveti deželi. Pripisujejo mu znameniti album fotografij iz Jeruzalema in Betlehema, ki naj bi ga bil podaril cesarju leta 1864. Album z žametnimi pla-

tnicami vsebuje 25 izbranih motivov svetopisemskih krajev z obširnimi opisi. K posvetilu cesarju Francu Jožefu I. je avtor dodal tudi komentar, v katerem je omenil, da je bil med letoma 1853 in 1856 sodelavec Knobleharjevega misijona v Sudanu. Namesto pričakovanega podpisa z imenom Kristijan, je pod komentarjem podpisan Alois Payer.⁷⁴ Ta je bil zares v misijonu, saj ga je v pismu leta 1855 omenil tudi Kirchner.⁷⁵

Zagotovo pa v Kartumu leta 1853 ni bil Kristijan Pajer, ker je bil takrat star šele 14 let! Zaradi njegove poznejše fotografske dejavnosti in podobnega priimka je bilo leta 1864 v *Zgodnji Danici* objavljeno, da je cesarju izročil album, cesar pa ga je nagradil s prstanom, v katerega je bilo vdelenih 16 dragocenih kamnov. Čeprav Kristijan Pajer ni nikoli videl Knobleharja, pa tudi cesarju ni ničesar podaril, ostaja ena protislovnejših osebnosti med slovenskimi popotniki v drugi polovici 19. stoletja.

O Knobleharjevem arhivu pa še ena zanimivost: ko so angleški raziskovalci videli njegove zapiske, so jih bili takoj pripravljene odkupiti za plačilo v vrednosti 1000 funtov. Toda Knobleharja kupčija ni zanimala, saj je nameraval svoja spoznanja o Nilu in nilotskih ljudstvih zbrati in objaviti v posebni študiji. Vsota, ki so jo ponujali Angleži, ni bila majhna. Marca leta 1861 je Kraljevo geografsko društvo (Royal Geographical Society) v Londonu izdalo poseben prospekt na štirih straneh z naslovom "Sources of the Nile" (Izviri Nila). Z prospektom se je društvo obrnilo na javnost, da podprejo ekspedicijo Johna Pethericka, ki se je nameraval vrniti v Gondokoro. Tam naj bi pripravil vse potrebno za namestitev in oskrbo Spekeove in Grantove odprave. Za kritje stroškov celotne odprave so potrebovali 2000 funtov. Iz tega podatka je razvidno, da so bili Knobleharjevi zapisi res izjemno dragoceni. Omenjeni prospekt pa je pomemben tudi za Knobleharjevo biografijo, saj je njegovo ime omenjeno na prvi strani.⁷⁶ To je še en dokaz, da so Angleži dobro vedeli, kdo je Knoblehar, čeprav so ga pozneje v prikazu zgodovine raziskav reke Nil pogosto spregledali. Ne glede na predsodke, ki so jih imeli do katoliškega misijonarja z raziskovalnimi ambicijami, pa je Knoblehar doživel svojevrstno priznanje v literarni zapuščini svetovno znanega pisatelja: Jules Verne je namreč v pustolovskem romanu z naslovom "Pet tednov v balonu" omenil tudi Knobleharja.⁷⁷ Prizor se dogaja v Londonu, v elitnem popotniškem klubu "The Traveller's Club" v Pall Mallu, kjer je potekala zdravica v čast najslovitejšim raziskovalcem Afrike. Kozarce, napolnjene s francoskim vinom, so vzdignili tudi v spomin na Knobleharja!

ČRNA LJUDSTVA OB BELEM NILU ►

V času Knobleharjevega prihoda v Kartum je bilo zelo malo znanega o ljudeh, ki so živeli na jugu ob Belem Nilu. Bilo je le nekaj redkih zapisov arabskih in evropskih popotnikov, ki so se v prvi polovici 19. stoletja odpravili proti ekvatorju. Ljudstva v porečju Belega Nila so imenovali Niloti. Najštevilčnejši so bili Dinki, ki so živeli na vzhodnem obrežju Nila in v porečju reke Sobat. Zahodni breg Nila so naselili Šiluki, ki so proti jugu mejili z Nueri. Obsežne travnate planote proti ekvatorju so zavzeli Barijci. Vsako večjo skupino je sestavljalo več rodov z različnimi imeni. Misijonarji so prispeli v deželo Nilotov v obdobju, ko je trgovina s sužnji in slonovino močno razkrojila poselitveno podobo ob Nilu. Nekateri rodovi so izginili, drugi so se pomešali med seboj, tretji so se odselili proč od plovnihi poti. Islamizirani sever je vse bolj pritiskal na jug, še posebej po letu 1880, ko se je Mohamed



Ahmed oklical za zadnjega preroka, imenovanega Mahdi. Proti egipčanskim oblastem je začel upor, ki je vodili v popolno nadvlado mahdistov v Sudanu. Šele poseg Angležev je leta 1898 dokončno ustavil mahdiste in naslednje leto se je dežela preimenovala v Angleško-egiptovski Sudan. Nueri, Šiluki, Dinki in Barijci še danes živijo ob Belem Nilu.⁷⁸ Toda žal je tam vse bolj navzoč nekdanji Mahdijev duh. Že desetletja Arabci s severnega Sudana z nasilno islamizacijo izkoreninjajo temnopolto prebivalstvo ob Nilu in ljudstvo Fur v gorati pokrajini Darfur v zahodnem delu države.

Prvi evropski popotniki so bili na potovanju po Belem Nilu popolnoma odvisni od arabskih spremljevalcev, ki so bili hkrati tudi njihovi prevajalci v stiku z domačini. Ob tem se zastavi vprašanje, koliko so Arabci res razumeli jezik različnih ljudstev ob Nilu, kako so razumeli vsebino njihovih pripovedi in kako so slišano interpretirali Evropejcem. Ti so na vsak način dobljene informacije prilagodili po svojem okusu in jih posredovali naprej. Francoski trgovec Brun-Rolett, ki je leta 1844 ustanovil trgovsko postajo na območju Barijcev, je npr. trdil, da njegova verodostojnost temelji na znanju jezika domačinov, kar pa ni bilo res.⁷⁹

Pri sporazumevanju znanje jezika ni bila edina ovira, saj so se Evropejci najbolj namučili, ko so hoteli logično razumeti nelogično strukturo v jeziku domačinov. Kako težko se je bilo sporazumevati z nilotskimi ljudstvi, je najnazorneje izkusil antropolog Edward E. Evans-Pritchard pri svojem terenskem delu med Nueri. Neuspešni poskusi, da bi se z domačini pogovarjal po vzorcu *vprašanje-odgovor*, so ga pripeljali na rob obupa oziroma v stanje, ki ga je duhovito imenoval "nueroz".⁸⁰ Domačini so takšen dialog enostavno ignorirali in ga vodili po svojem načelu *vprašanje-vprašanje*. Navadno se je "debata" končala z vprašanjem belcu, ali ima kaj tobaka. Težave s komunikacijo, ki jih je opisal Evans-Pritchard, so omenjene tudi v zapisih iz Knobleharjevega časa. Zdi se, da so misijonarji od domačinov zvedeli tisto, kar so sami hoteli slišati, ne pa tistega, kar so domačini v resnici mislili.

Že na prvem potovanju po Belem Nilu se je Knoblehar seznanil z različnimi ljudstvi, ki so ga sprejela z velikim zaupanjem, saj je bilo očitno, da njegov namen obiska ni trgovanje s sužnji in slonovino. O njih se je marsikaj poučil v literaturi, najbolje pa jih je spoznaval, ko je bil v njihovi družbi. Do domačinov je imel korekten odnos in tudi oni so ga zelo spoštovali.⁸¹ Iz zapisov njegovih sopotnikov je razvidno, da je Knoblehar užival velikanski ugled povsod med Kartumom in Gondokorjem. To je dosegel z izjemnim občutkom za stike z ljudmi in s suverenim pristopom do poglavarjev. Med ljudmi ni delal razlik, še posebej, če so potrebovali pomoč. Čeprav je dolgo časa preživel na jugu Sudana, je kljub vsemu zapustil malo zapisov o ljudeh, o njihovih življenjskih navadah, o šegah in verovanju. Eden od razlogov je zagotovo njegov način potovanja: ko je prišel v misijonsko postajo Sv. Križ ali v Gondokoro, se je takoj posvetil sodelavcem in reševanju njihovih težav, potem pa se je vrnil na ladjo, kjer je preživel največ časa. Stiki z domačini so bili kratkotrajni, običajno formalni in opravljeni z uglajeno distanco.⁸² Knoblehar se je skupaj s sodelavci trudil, da afriški svet približa svojim rojakom v domovini. Pisali so številna pisma na različne naslove po Evropi in marsikateri časopis jih je z zadovoljstvom objavil (npr. *Augsburger Postzeitung*, *Gmundner Wochenblatt*, *Grätzer Zeitung*, *Faust: Poligrafisch-illustrierte Zeitschrift für Kunst, Wissenschaft, Industrie und geselliges Leben*, *Laibacher Zeitung*, *Leipziger illustrierte Zeitung*, *Ljubljanske novice*, *Vidensky dennik*, *Villacher Zeitung*, *Wiener Volkshalle*).⁸³ Veliko

zanimivih podatkov o ljudstvih ob Belem Nilu v drugi polovici 19. stoletja in na začetku 20. stoletja je bilo objavljeno v obliki misijonskih poročil in člankov v različnih katoliških revijah (*Zgodnja Danica*, *Katoliški cerkveni list*, *Jahresbericht des Marien-Vereines zur Beförderung der katholischen Mission in Central-Afrika*, *La Nigrizia*, *Stern der Neger*).⁸⁴ Za obdobje, ko je bil Sudan pod oblastjo Angležev, je zelo pomembna serija *Sudan Notes and Records* in številne študije antropologa E. E. Evans-Pritcharda, ki je obravnaval tudi veliko starejših virov, vendar ni nikoli upošteval podatkov, ki so jih objavili Knoblehar in njegovi sodelavci. Šele leta 1951 je samokritično priznal, da je spregledal literarne vire iz tega obdobja.⁸⁵

DINKI

Oblast Egipta se je končala med 13° in 12° severne zemljepisne širine. Na levem bregu je živelo arabsko ljudstvo Bakara, na desnem temnopolti Dinki, otoke pa so poselili Šiluki.⁸⁶ Že v času Knobleharjevega bivanja v Sudanu so bili Dinki največja etnična skupina med Niloti.⁸⁷ Stalnih bivališč niso imeli, saj so se glede na deževno ali suho obdobje selili iz enega bivališča v drugo. Kadar so prispeli na kraj, ki je bil primeren za postavitve koč, so iz črede izbrali najlepšega bika in ga okrasili z zelenjem. Nato so ga podrli na tla in poglavar mu je z nožem zarezal v tilnik. Brizgajočo kri so ujeli v posodo, s katero je poglavar hodil naokrog in s krvjo škropil po zemlji in drevesih.

Živinoreja je bila glavna gospodarska dejavnost pri Dinkih.⁸⁸ Moški so skrbno pazili na živino in če jim je npr. poginila krava, so za njo žalovali bolj, kakor če bi izgubili ženo ali otroka. Hlev za živino je bil zgrajen bolje kakor hiša za ljudi. Tudi sredi noči so bili pripravljeni peti svojemu najljubšemu biku, če je bil preveč nemiren. Poljedelstvo za moškega ni bilo častno delo in zato so delo na polju opravljale samo ženske. Bili so zelo svobodoljubni in sovražili so vse, kar je bilo tuje. Njihovi največji sovražniki so bili sorodni Nueri, ki so jim z roparskimi napadi kradli živino. Za orožje so uporabljali sulice, gorjače iz masivnega lesa, branili pa so se z usnjenimi ščiti. V dinkovskih verskih nazorih sredi 19. stoletja je med drugim omenjen tudi stvarnik Dengdit. To je bil tudi njihov pradavni prednik, ki je prišel z neba, dolga leta vladal na zemlji in naenkrat za vedno izginil v nevihti. Ponekod so mu v čast postavljali majhne gomile kamenja in zemlje in jih okrasili z rogovjem govedi ali z veliko drevesno rogovilasto vejo.⁸⁹ Dinkovska tradicionalna vera je podobno kot pri drugih nilotskih ljudstvih pozneje doživela veliko sprememb zaradi arabskega in evropskega (misijonarskega) vpliva.⁹⁰ Knoblehar je omenil, da so Barijci in Šiluki častili sveto drevo, vendar je bila ta navada bolj razširjena tudi pri Dinkih.⁹¹ Takšno drevo je bilo ponavadi v bližini grobov prednikov, okrašeno z živalskimi kostmi in rogovi.⁹²

ŠILUKI

V Knobelaharjevem času je bilo Šilukov nekaj več kot milijon in naseljevali naj bi več tisoč vasi, ki so strnjeno stale druga ob drugi na obeh bregovih reke Nil med 9° in 13° severne širine (sl. 46).⁹³ Zaradi prenaseljenosti ozemlja so se selili k drugim plemenom. V deželi so bile ugodne razmere za poljedelstvo, živinorejo, ribolov in lov, vendar je bila blaginja odvisna predvsem od padavin. Moški so skrbeli za živino, se ukvarjali z lovom in pogosteje z ribolovom. Imeli so eno do šest žena in vsaka je živela v svoji koči, v kateri je uživala ob kajenju tobaka, opravljala hišna dela in skrbela za obdelovanje polja. Ženske so bile pre-



dane možu, saj so nezvestobo kaznovali s smrtjo. Šiluki so bili po postavi visoki in vitki, vendar tudi mišičaste postave. Ženske so imele na sebi oblačila, moški pa so bili običajno goli, potreseni s pepelom in rjavo pobarvani.⁹⁴ Daleč naokrog so bili znani po oblikovanju pričesk: lase so si prepojili z nilskim blatom in jih oblikovali v obliki stožca, diska ali pa je bila pričeska podobna klobuku na glavi. Stalno so imeli pri sebi sulico, včasih pa še gorjačo iz ebenovine.⁹⁵ Šiluki so izdelovali tudi dolge, ozke kanuje, ki so jih izdoblili iz drevesnega debla. Za Šiluke je bil značilen močan vonj, ker so se umivali s kravjim sečem, da so odgnjali komarje. Z njim so pomivali tudi kuhinjsko posodo.

Mitološko izročilo pravi, da so Šiluki nekoč živeli ob Gazelini reki, sredi 17. stoletja pa sta se brata, oba poglavarja, sprla in eden od njiju, Nikang, je odpeljal večji del plemena proti severu.⁹⁶ Bratski spor, katerega posledica je bil začetek novega rodu, kaže na sorodne poteze z bibličnim zapisom o Abelu in Kajnu ali z rimsko legendo o Romulu in Remu. Nikang je bil prvi kralj Šilukov in vrhovni svečenik. Legendarnega Nikanga so Šiluki zelo častili še v Knobleharjevem času. Po vaseh so bile posebne ograjene kočice in v vsaki je bila t. i. posvečena sveta sulica. Z njo so kralju v čast ubili žival in mu jo darovali. Svete sulice so bile spomin na prvo sulico, ki je kot božji dar priletela z neba. Podobna legenda je bila poznana v antičnem Rimu. V posebnem svetišču sta bila shranjena sulica in ščit, ki ju je na zemljo odvrigel bog Mars.⁹⁷ Pri Šilukih in pri Rimljanih je bila sveta sulica simbol kraljeve oblasti, dane od božanstva.

Med nilotskimi plemeni so imeli samo Šiluki skupnega kralja, ki so ga spoštovali in varovali. Pobiral je davek in tako mu je bil vsak dolžan prinesiti vso slonovino, ki jo je pridobil na lovu. Prestolnica s kraljevo palačo je bila v kraju Fašoda, v zelo rodovitni okolici ob Belem Nilu. Šiluki so imeli navado, da kralja ubijejo, še preden se postara.⁹⁸ Ker je posedoval božanske moči Nikanga, je njegovo pešanje pomenilo tudi slabo rodovitnost narave. Pomanjkanje moči so najprej opazile njegove številne žene in novico so takoj sporočile skupnosti poglavarjev. Med spanjem so kralju na obraz položili kos belega blaga in to je bilo znamenje, da je prišel njegov konec. Odpisanega kralja so z izbrano mladenko zaprli v kočico in ju pustili brez hrane in vode. Po nekaj mesecih so se vrnili in trupli pokopali. Zanimivo je, da so to nenavadno šego opustili, ko je neki kralj več dni preživel v zaprti koči ob razpadajočem truplu spremljevalke. Iz kočice je bilo slišati grozljive zamolkle krike in Šiluki so se odločili, da bodo v prihodnje odpisane kralje pokončali na hitrejši način. Največkrat so jih zadušili ali pa zabodli s sulico. Umor je ponavadi storil naslednik za kraljevi prestol.

NUERI

Živeli so med izlivom Sóbata in področjem do 7° severne zemljepisne širine (sl. 48).⁹⁹ Njihove kočice so bile raztresene naokoli, daleč stran od reke. Ob Knobleharjevem prvem prihodu s slonovino niso trgovali, saj so imeli slabe izkušnje z belimi trgovci. Knoblehar, ki z Nueri ni imel veliko stikov, jih je ocenil za zelo zaostale in lene. Po njegovih besedah so imeli navado, da so po cele ure sedeli in buljili predse. V glavnem so se ukvarjali z živinorejo. Že po tradiciji so bili v sporu z Dinki, čeprav so imeli skupni izvir. Zelo so si bili podobni po zunanosti, imeli so soroden jezik in navade. Nueri in Dinki so bili razdeljeni na več plemen, vsako pleme pa je imelo poglavarja, ki je bil skrbel samo za verske zadeve in za urejanje medsebojnih sporov, bil pa je povsem brez politične oblasti.¹⁰⁰

KIKI

Kiki so bili eden od rodov Dinkov.¹⁰¹ Bili so zelo revni, saj niso imeli rodovitne zemlje in pašnikov.¹⁰² Živino so v deževni dobi gnali daleč v notranjost dežele. Zelo so bili navezani na govedo in v primeru, da je žival poginila, je lastnik žaloval na poseben način: njen povodec si je dal okoli vratu in tako hodil po vasi in mimoidočim razlagal svojo nesrečo. Največ jim je pomenil črni vol, ki so ga ob raznih sporih podarili kot znak sprave. Tudi Knobleharju so podarili prelepega črnega vola. S to gesto se mu je poglavar oddolžil, ker je neki kovač misijonarje oddolžil, da jedo človeško meso, kradejo otroke in povzročajo sušo.¹⁰³ Ljudje, ki so živeli ob reki, so se ukvarjali izključno z ribolovom (sl. 49). Ribe so lovili s harpunami, s sulicami pa so se pogosto spravili na krokodile in povodne konje. Telo so si umivali z živalskim urinom, potem pa so si ga natrli s pepelom.

Med večja ribiška naselja je sodila tudi vas Angven, kjer je v bližini misijonar Jernej Mozgan ustanovil misijon Sv. Križ (sl. 50).¹⁰⁴ V Angven, kjer je bil tudi sedež poglavarja celotnega plemena, je Knoblehar prvič prispel 22. decembra 1849. Poglavar je bil misijonarjem zelo uslužen, saj je bil prepričan, da so mogočni čarovniki. Z velikim navdušenjem si je ogledoval Pedemontejevo belo brado in njegove "dvojne oči", tj. misijonarjeva očala. Ne-pričakovane goste je prosil, naj mu izpolnijo vsaj štiri želje: da bi imel mnogo otrok; da bi pomrli tisti, ki so mu ubili očeta in ga ranili na glavi; da bi se mu rana hitro zacelila in da bi zmagoval nad sovražnimi ljudstvi. Knoblehar mu je lahko izpolnil samo eno željo: očistil in obvezal mu je rano na glavi in mu pustil potrebna zdravila. Poglavar si je od njega zaželel tudi kakšen čarodejni predmet in Knoblehar mu je podaril Marijino svetinjico, da bi ga varovala pred nevarnostjo.

Misijonarji so imeli pozneje s Kiki veliko težav.¹⁰⁵ Še posebej je bilo hudo v času suše in lakote. Takrat so črnici množično oblegali misijonsko hišo. Sprejeli so krst in vse, kar jim je duhovnik naročil. Toda že ob prvi žetvi so zbežali iz misijona in se v domačem okolju prepustili jedači in pijači, plesu in petju. Lakota je pestila tudi misijonarje in prisiljeni so bili iskati hrano pri oddaljenih ljudstvih na vzhodu, npr. pri Tuitsih.¹⁰⁶ Misijonska postaja Sv. Križ je bila že v nekaj letih po Knobleharjevi smrti zapuščena. Zadnji misijonar, ki je še občasno živel v tej postaji, je bil Morlang; tam ga je obiskal nemški raziskovalec in slikar Wilhelm von Harnier, ki je postajo tudi narisal.¹⁰⁷ Postajo Sv. Križ so domačini imenovali Kanisa, tj. cerkev. Natančna lokacija postaje ni znana, bila pa je v bližini današnjega mesta Bor.

HELIABI IN BORI

"Ko smo stopili na breg, se nam je iz gozda približala skupina črncev. Bili so lepe, visoke postave. Lepo oblikovano telo, na katerem je svetloba odsevala od njihove polti, ki je bila črna kot žamet. Krepki in prikupne zunanosti. Popolno delo narave!"

Knoblehar o Heliabih, ki jih je srečal 29. decembra 1849.

Heliabi in Bori so bili južni sosedi Kikov.¹⁰⁸ Heliabi, ki so živeli na levem bregu, in Bori, ki so bili na desnem, so pripadali skupnosti Dinkov. Rodova sta si bila po načinu življenja zelo podobna. Ukvarjali so se predvsem z živinorejo. Ljudje so bili visoki, vitki in širokopleči. Telo so si posipali s pepelom. Moški in ženske so si puščali dolge lase, ki so jim z glave



viseli v majhnih kodrih. Poročene žene so imele okoli ledij obešeno govejo kožo, deklice pa so jo nosile prek pleč. Ženske so se krasile z debelimi železnimi obroči, ki so jim na rokah segali do komolcev, na nogah pa do kolen. Nekatero so imele na hrbtu in prsni prekrizane železne okrasne verižice. Okoli čela so si nataknile diadem iz steklenih biserov, včasih pa samo venec iz posušene trave (sl. 52). Prehranjevali so se z mlekom in z mesom poginulih krav in koz. Njihova naselja so bila velika in so stala na levem bregu Nila. Oba rodova sta bila do misijonarjev zelo gostoljubna. Zahodno od ozemlja Heliabov so v Knobleharjevem času živela različna ljudstva, ki so govorila soroden jezik: Dunje, Gva, Atvet, Vaja, Madar, Lov in Arol.

BARIJCI

Ko je Knoblehar prvič zaplul na osrednji del ozemlja med 5° in 4° severne zemljepisne širine, je pred seboj zagledal, kako se je Nil razcepil v dve strugi, ki sta obdajali širok in po dolžini razvlečen otok. Proti zahodu se je širila neskončna ravan, na kateri so opazili domačine, ki so pasli živino. To je bila dežela Barijcev. Prišleke je prišel pozdravit poglavar Nigila in Knoblehar se je z njim dogovoril, da na njegovem ozemlju v vasi Gondokoro, na desnem bregu Nila, zgradijo prvo misijonsko postajo. Misijonarji so postavili cerkev, jo posvetili Mariji in jo imenovali *Sancta Maria ad Flumen Album* (Sveta Marija ob Beli reki).

Barijci so živeli v vaseh z majhnimi kočami, narejenimi iz blata in trsja. V primerjavi z drugimi ljudstvi so se več ukvarjali s poljedelstvom, predvsem s sajenjem dure (vrsta prosa).¹⁰⁹ Zemljo so obdelovali z majhnimi železnimi lopatami, nasajenimi na dva do tri metre dolgih palicah. Od vseh ljudstev ob Belem Nilu so samo Barijci želi dvakrat na leto. Toda kljub temu so ljudje umirali od lakote, saj niso znali varčevati oz. shranjevati letine. Več sreče so imela tista plemena, ki so se ukvarjala tudi z živinorejo. V času lakote so moški navadno zdoma napodili ženo, prav tako otroke. Ob pomanjkanju hrane so se množično zatekali v misijonsko vas in prisilili misijonarje, da so jim dajali živež.

Za moške je bilo značilno, da so na glavi nosili nojeva peresa, obraz so si krasili z brazgotinami, telo pa so si barvali z rdečkasto okro ali s pepelom, ki so mu primešali prah zdrobljenih kosti (sl. 182-183). Uporabljali so tudi rdečilo, ki so ga pridobivali iz nekega drevesa.¹¹⁰ Prek pleč so jim viseli jermeni, s katerimi so pretepali žene in otroke. Na jermenu so imeli obešen tudi majhen lesen stolček. Posebnih oblačil moški in ženske niso imeli, na sebi so imeli samo nekaj krp usnja. V redkih primerih so si predvsem poglavarji trup pokrili z leopardjo kožo, njegove žene in hčere pa so nosile opasan predpasnik. Kajenje iz velikih lončenih pip na dolgi bambusovi palici je bilo zelo razširjeno pri obeh spolih (sl. 54).

Zapisi poročajo, da so se Barijci zaradi lakote med seboj pobijali, umrle pa so metali v Nil. Nekateri so pokojnike pokopavali, vendar so čez čas njihove posmrtno ostanke izkopali in jih vrgli v reko.¹¹¹ Drugi so svoje domače pokopali kar pred hišnim pragom, za popotnico pa so jim v grob položili tudi hrano, pijačo in moškemu še sulico, ki so jo prej ukrivili ali pa celo prelomili. Razlog za takšno dejanje ni poznan, primerjave pa najdemo v evropski železnodobni tradiciji pogrebnišev. Takoj po pokojnikovem pokopu se je na grobu začel ples s sulicami. Pred plesom so se moški po glavi posuli s pepelom. Vdova je pri plesu v roki držala pokojnikovo orožje. Nekatera plemena so grobove označila z rogovilasto palico,

drugod pa so na grob položili rogove različnih živali. Barijci so čistili duhove prednikov, sicer pa so se prepuščali čarovnikom dežja, ki so poleg magičnega sveta obvladali tudi bogat svet zdravnih rastlin, saj so z njimi zdravili raznovrstne tegobe sovaščanov. Misijonarji so opazili, da zelo malo domačinov dočaka visoko starost, ker do starejših ljudi niso imeli posebnega spoštovanja. V sušnem obdobju so odvzeli hrano najprej starejšim in jih prepustili stradanju. Vsako plemo je imelo svojega poglavarja, ki je bil pri sprejemanju pomembnih odločitev odgovoren zboru poglavarjev.¹¹²

Barijci so v sušnem obdobju misijonarjem povzročali resne težave in ti so se včasih znašli tudi v življenjski nevarnosti. Čeprav so bili oboroženi s puškami, proti številnejšim domačinom ne bi imeli nikakršnih možnosti, da preživijo spopad. Do tega na srečo ni nikoli prišlo in k temu je največ pripomogla Knobleharjeva avtoriteta.

Knoblehar je dobro poznal odnose med različnimi ljudstvi in ko so se Barijci aprila 1854 spopadali s trgovci, jim je svetoval, naj prenehajo z nesmiselnim vojskovanjem proti bolj oboroženemu sovražniku. Priporočil jim je, naj bodo raje pripravljeni na boj z ljudstvom Lokoja, ki bo kmalu izrabilo priložnost in vdrlo na njihovo ozemlje. Barijci so nasvet upoštevali in prekinili spopad s trgovci.¹¹³ Bili so zelo bojevito ljudstvo in pogosto v sporih s sosednjimi plemenimi predvsem zaradi živine. Na bojne pohode so hodili ob večernem mraku ali jutranji zori. Nekatera barijska plemena so imela velike ščite iz dobro strojene kože povodnega konja. Pravokotna oblika ščita s podaljšanimi vogali je imela poseben pomen: v bojni vrsti so vojščaki ščit držali bočno ob telesu in v mraku je bilo videti, da je vojakov več, kakor jih je bilo v resnici (sl. 186).¹¹⁴

Barijski način življenja je zelo dobro poznal misijonar Vinco, ki se je prvi naučil njihovega jezika in je sprva pomagal prevajati tudi Knobleharjeve govore.¹¹⁵ Pozneje se je Knoblehar lotil učenja barijskega jezika z namenom, da bi napisal slovnico in slovar za potrebe misijonarjev. Njegovo delo je dokončal in leta 1867 objavil Johannes Chrysostomus Mitterrutzner, duhovnik v Brixnu in Knobleharjev dober prijatelj.¹¹⁶

O Barijcih je veliko zapisal tudi misijonar Morlang, ki je bil zadnji duhovnik, ki je skrbel za cerkev v Gondokorju.¹¹⁷ Morlangova pričevanja so dragocena zaradi številnih lokalnih imen za predmete, ki so jih ljudje uporabljali v vsakdanjem življenju. Po prihodu Angležev se je Gondokoro preimenoval v Ismailia in je postal vojaško-trgovsko središče province Ekvatorija (Aequatoria), ki je bila leta 1871 priključena Egiptu.¹¹⁸ Knobleharjeva postaja je nekoč stala blizu obrežja, pozneje pa je Nil spremenil strugo, ljudje so kraj zapustili in sledili reki. Odšli so proti jugu in nedaleč od nekdanjega misijona naselili kraj, iz katerega je zraslo mesto Juba.

Misijonsko naselje, za katerega so se žrtvovali mladi fantje, se je dobesedno razsulo v prah. K temu so največ prispevali domačini, ki so razbijali stene, da so prišli do opeke; to so potem zdrobili, jo zmešali z mastjo in se z zmesjo namazali po telesu.¹¹⁹ To je morda v simboličnem pomenu tudi edini dosežek Knobleharjevega misijona: cerkveni nauk se barijskih duš ni dotaknil, se je pa prah cerkvene opeke vsaj za nekaj časa prilepil na njihovo telo. *Ko je luna že visoko, bobni zadonijo in ples se začne. Vstopijo v dva kroga in si gledajo na-*



sproti. Moški se zvrstijo v zunanji krog. Oboroženi so s sulicami in loki; tuli so napolnjeni z ostrimi puščicami. Imenitnejši imajo tudi ščite iz slonove kože in so ogrnjeni s kožo panterja ali druge zveri. V notranjem krogu stojijo žene in dekleta, okrašene z vsem nakitom, kar ga premorejo. Pri gibih in skokih jim ropotajo nad členki rok bakreni obroči, na nogah pa železne ploščice. - Ko bobni spet dajo znamenje, ples preneha, petje utihne, le bobni igrajo naprej. Možje in fantje stopijo v dve bojni vrsti. Z divjimi pogledi se zaženejo drug proti drugemu in vihtijo sulice. Ženske vzklikajo; vse kaže, da se bodo krvavo spopadli. Pa nenadoma zletijo sulice v tla; vse je bila le šala, zasliši se krik in smeh. - Kmalu se bobni znova oglašijo. Poglavar dvigne sulico in gre dostojanstveno preko plesišča. Plesalci gredo za njim in pod njegovim vodstvom se spet zvrstijo v dva kroga; ženske v notranjega, moški v zunanjega. Zapojejo, se zasučejo in poskakujejo. Da je vse še bolj divje videti, vihtijo goreče slamnate plamenice. Ples traja do zore. Vsi utrujeni kar na plesišču poležejo in zaspijo (sl. 53).¹²⁰

KOVAČI OB NILU - ŽIVA PRAZGODOVINA

Zaradi bogatih nahajališč železove rude in poznavanja železarske obrti so domačini uporabljali veliko železnih izdelkov. Knoblehar in njegovi sodelavci so bili še posebej navdušeni nad barijskimi kovači, ki so s preprostimi orodjem in z enostavno tehniko znali izdelovati prave mojstrovine. Njihove delavnice so bile na prostem, ponavadi pod velikim drevesom zunaj vasi.¹²¹ Nekateri kovači so se kot potujoči obrtniki selili od vasi do vasi. To je bilo značilno tudi za kovače ljudstva Jur, ki je živelo zahodno od Barijcev.¹²² Oboji so rudo nabirali površinsko, le redko so jo kopali. Največ železove rude je imel vulkanski hrib Belenjan (sl. 61). Na tem hribu so se zbirali tudi čarovniki dežja. Knoblehar je ob neki priložnosti izrazil željo, da bi starost preživel v hišici, ki bi si jo postavil na vznožju Belenjane.

Talilno peč so naredili tako, da so izkopali plitko jamo, vanjo natresli oglje in rudo. Čez odprtini dveh loncev so navezali kozjo kožo, na sredini so naredili majhno luknjo in skozi jo vtaknili paličici (sl. 58). S premikanjem usnjene prepone so zrak iz lonca potiskali skozi lončeno cev v kurišče.¹²³ Včasih so meh premikali samo z rokami, brez paličic (sl. 59).¹²⁴ Razbeljeno železo so najprej obdelovali samo s kamnom, predmet pa je mojster držal z razcepljeno leseno palico. Šele pri dokončnem oblikovanju izdelka so uporabljali tudi železno kladivo. Podoben primer kovaštva je bil razširjen tudi drugod po Afriki. V Togu je leta 1914 nemški snemalec Hans Schomburgk posnel dokumentarni film, katerega producent je bil baron Anton Codelli iz Ljubljane. V filmu je dolg prizor, ko kovač obdeluje železo po podobnem postopku, kakor ga je opisal Knoblehar.¹²⁵

Kovači so bili najpremožnejša družbena plast. Toda njihov poklic je bil preziran in sovaščani jih niso spoštovali, ker so bili brez živine. Poročali so se lahko samo v klanu.¹²⁶ V načinu kovaštva in v oblikah nekaterih predmetov lahko najdemo primerjave s prazgodovinskimi kulturami v Sredozemlju in v Evropi med 8. in 4. stoletjem pr. Kr.¹²⁷ Arhaično obliko kovaške obrti so raziskovalci razumeli kot relikvijo nekdanjih velikih kultur ob Nilu, predvsem z območja Nubije (npr. Meroe). Toda arheološke in metalurške raziskave so pokazale na pomanjkanje dokazov o tem, da se je znanje obdelovanja kovin s severa širilo proti jugu.¹²⁸

MAGIJA DEŽJA IN NASVETI IZ GROBA

Med nilotskimi ljudstvi je bil zelo cenjen poklic čarovnik dežja, človeka, ki je znal v sušnem obdobju s posebnim obredom ustvariti dež in ga tudi ustaviti.¹²⁹ Pri tem so si npr. Barijci pomagali z loncem, polnim vode, vanj so polagali izbrane kamne.¹³⁰ Kamni nenavadnih oblik, največkrat podolgovati in z izrazito konico, so povezani z razlago, da so se znašli na zemlji kot konica strele ali pa so kot meteor padli z neba. Njihova uporaba je logična, saj tudi dežuje z neba.¹³¹ Drugi so za obred uporabljali sulico z dvojno ostjo, jo dvigovali proti nebu in navidezno "prebadali" oblake. Z dežjem se je ukvarjal tudi barijski poglavar Nigila, ki so ga po nekem daljšem sušnem obdobju umorili sovaščani in mu prerezali trebuh. Bili so namreč prepričani, da v njem skriva nevihtne oblake in dež.¹³² Ko so misijonarji prišli v Gondokoro, so prav hitro postavili tudi opekarno. Zaradi gostega dima je vrač obdolžil Knobleharja, da je kriv za pomanjkanje dežja. Vrač, ki ga je spremljalo okoli dvesto domačinov, je bil deležen kratkega poduka o nastanku dežja. Ostal je brez besed, kmalu pa bi ostal tudi brez jezika, saj so mu vaščani zagrozili, da mu ga bodo odrezali, če bo še kdaj lagal in obsojal po krivem.¹³³ Lokalni vrači so postali pozorni tudi na duhovnike, ki so brali Sveto pismo. Obračanje listov so si razlagali kot čarni obred, s katerim naj bi misijonarji preprečevali dež in ljudem povzročali lakoto. Prihod misijonarjev je čarovnike dežja nekako razbremenil odgovornosti, saj so ob svojem neuspehu takoj s prstom pokazali na misijon. In včasih je to misijonarjem povzročilo resne težave.

Pri Dinkih je imela vsaka vas vrača, ki je znal pričarati tudi dež. Verjeli so, da njegov duh preide v naslednika, zato mu ljudje niso pustili, da bi se postaral, saj bi s tem izgubil magično moč in deželo bi prizadeli suša in lakota. Ko je začel fizično pešati, je sam zaprosil, da mu izkopljejo grob. Legel je vanj, sovaščani pa so posedli ob jami. Ne da bi kaj jedel ali pil, jim je ure in ure razlagal rodovno zgodovino ter jim dajal nasvete za prihodnost. Ko je pripoved končal, so jamo zasuli in ga živega zakopali.¹³⁴

Veščino, kako priklicati dež ali odgnati nevihto, poznajo številna ljudstva na vseh celinah. In še primer iz Slovenije: podobno kakor barijski čarovniki, je lonec z vodo uporabljal zadnji vrač na Pohorju leta 1963. Z vodno paro je odganjal nevihto.¹³⁵

NJEGOVA AFRIKA

Knoblehar se je za misijonsko delo med drugim odločil tudi zaradi navdušenja nad poročili, ki jih je iz Amerike v domovino pošiljal misijonar Baraga. Leta 1836 pa je Baraga v Ljubljano poslal še zbirko predmetov, ki jih je pridobil predvsem med ljudstvom Očipva.¹³⁶ Verjetno je to spodbudilo Knobleharja, da je že na prvi plovbi po Nilu tudi sam zbiral predmete. Zbirateljsko strast je začutil tudi ob branju potopisnih zapisov svojih predhodnikov, ki so pluli po Belem Nilu. Knoblehar je poznal raziskave avstrijskega naravoslovca in zbiratelja Josefa von Russeggerja, prav tako pa je imel ob sebi knjigo nemškega popotnika Ferdinanda Werneja, v kateri je omenjeno zbiranje predmetov nilotskih ljudstev.¹³⁷

Misijonarjevo zanimanje za zbirateljstvo je spodbudil še generalni konzul Lavrin, ki je imel v Aleksandriji veliko egipčansko zbirko. Lavrin je zbiral tudi predmete iz Sudana in že leta 1843 je v Deželni muzej za Kranjsko poslal manjšo zbirko (sl. 184-189).¹³⁸ Ne vemo pa, ali je



Lavrin predmete res pridobil na terenu. Zaenkrat vse kaže, da jih je kupil v starinarnici, kjer so bili naprodaj kot naropano blago. Iz časopisne objave je razvidno, da naj bi pripadali ujetemu šejku Gundarju, poglavarju gorskih Nub.¹³⁹ Vendar je primerjalni študij gradiva pokazal, da ima inventar iz Lavrinove zbirke več skupnega z nilotskimi ljudstvi (Dinki, Šiluki, Barijci) kakor pa z Nubam. Vsekakor pa je bila to prva afriška zbirka na Slovenskem.

Glede Knobleharjeve zbirke prevladuje mnenje, da je predmete zbiral med prvim potovanjem pozimi 1849/50. Nekatere predmete je verjetno res pridobil od ljudstev, ki jih je srečal na poti, toda zagotovo je del zbirke pridobil v Kartumu (npr. žlice in kozarci iz roževine). V mestu je bilo veliko naropanega blaga, ki so ga trgovci s sužnji pokradli po vaseh, potem ko so ljudi odpeljali v suženjstvo. Knoblehar je le na tržnici lahko kupil predmete, za katere je utemeljeno podvomiti, da bi jih mogel dobiti od domačinov že ob prvem srečanju. Ti predmeti so bili namreč močan statusni simbol in tudi sicer so bili predragoceni, da bi jih prodali, kaj šele podarili nepoznanemu tujcu (npr. ženski železni predpasnik, stolček, pokrivalo iz nojevih peres, obredna sulica z dvojno ostjo).

V Ljubljano je pripeljal Knoblehar okoli 250 predmetov in jih v semenišču razstavil za javnost. Ob posamičnih predmetih je pustil kratek opis, ki ga je povzel časopis *Laibacher Zeitung*.¹⁴⁰ Pozneje je bilo nekaj predmetov razstavljenih v liceju, naposled pa so prostor dobili v Deželnem muzeju za Kranjsko. Občasno so predmete pokazali tudi na posebnih misijonskih razstavah v Ljubljani in v Grobljah pri Domžalah. Zbirka je bila v Ljubljani že dobro stoletje, ko je nanjo v strokovnem prispevku opozoril etnolog Boris Orel.¹⁴¹ Bil je prvi, ki je poudaril problem rekonstrukcije prvotne Knobleharjeve zbirke. Zaradi nedoslednosti pri inventarizaciji je bilo precej napak, ki so se z leti samo še stopnjevale. K zmešnjavi so dodatno prispevale nenehne selitve neevropskih zbirk; zbirke so se med seboj pomešale ali pa so se inventarne številke na predmetih preprosto zgubile oziroma zginile. Nekateri predmeti so bili inventarizirani tudi po trikrat, drugi pa so ostali brez števil. Leta 1968 je Knobleharjevo zbirko temeljito analizirala etnologinja Pavla Štrukelj.¹⁴² Predstavila je zbirko in zgodovinsko ozadje ter ponovno nakazala problem inventarizacije.¹⁴³ Kljub njenim raziskavam je ostal problem nerazrešen, težave pa so bile tudi z interpretacijo predmetov. Napake so se tako kopičile, da je bil npr. predmet ameriških Indijancev iz Baragove zbirke pripisan nilotskim ljudstvom v Knobleharjevi zbirki.¹⁴⁴

Knobleharjeva zbirka danes šteje 232 etnografskih in naravoslovnih eksponatov. Pogrešani so različni primerki kož (leopardja, gazelina), razni kamni in školjke ter nakit (železne zapestnice). Morda so nekateri predmeti za vedno zgubljeni ali pa so napačno pripisani drugim zbirateljem. To bo jasno šele, ko bodo temeljito pregledane vse neevropske zbirke v muzeju. Knoblehar in njegovi sodelavci so pošiljali različne predmete v domovino svojim sorodnikom, prijateljem in podpornikom misijona, zato je mogoče, da se bo še kaj odkrilo v drugih muzejih (npr. Narodni muzej Slovenije, Prirodoslovni muzej Slovenije) ali v zasebnih zbirkah. Ni izključeno, da so Knobleharjevi tudi nekateri predmeti iz egipčanske zbirke v Slovenskem etnografskem muzeju (amuleti, *ušebtiji*). Popis predmetov iz leta 1944 vso zbirko pripisuje Knobleharju, vendar to ne drži, saj so v inventarni knjigi in na samih predmetih omenjeni tudi drugi zbiralci. Toda Knobleharja so egipčanske starine - po Lavrinovem vzoru - očitno zanimalo, saj je npr. v Narodnem muzeju Slovenije shranjen kipec

Oziris na lesenem podstavku z napisom, da ga je Knoblehar odkril v ruševinah staro-egipčanske prestolnice Memfis.¹⁴⁵ Zanimivo vprašanje pa se odpira ob predmetih, ki so bili sredi 20. stoletja iz Ljubljane odpeljani v Beograd in prodani Vojnemu muzeju;¹⁴⁶ gre za kakovostne primerke orožja nilotskih ljudstev (Dinki, Barijci). V Sloveniji so bili takšni kosi zelo redki, zato je treba izvir omenjenega orožja povezati s Knobleharjevim misijonom.

Zelo skrivnostna je tudi preteklost Knobleharjeve zbirke na Dunaju. Leta 1850 jo je prinesel za načrtovani Nubijski muzej, toda predmeti so se namesto v muzeju znašli v zasebni lasti. Leta 1925 jih je odkupil Etnografski muzej, kjer so shranjeni še danes. Dokument v muzejskem arhivu omenja družino Dobrucky, ki je imela predmete razstavljene po stanovanju za stenski okras. Zelo zanimiva je tudi opomba, da so bili afriški predmeti premazani z lakom. V dokumentu piše, da sta predmete zbrala Ryllo in Knoblehar. Ryllo pri zbiranju predmetov v Sudanu ni bil navzoč, saj je že hudo bolan prišel v Kartum, kjer je kmalu umrl. Podatek pa je pomemben, saj je morda Ryllo omenjen zaradi kake zasebne povezave z družino Dobrucky. V zbirki je namreč ohranjen lesen križ, ki je morda pripadal pokojnemu misijonarju (sl. 191). Dokument navaja tudi sliko misijonskega tabora v Filah, leta 1856 je bila objavljena v časopisu *Faust*. Je imela družina Dobrucky doma izvirnik ali le litografijo iz časopisa? Očitno so se zanimali za sudanski misijon, kaj je bil glavni razlog za to, pa bo treba še raziskati.

Knoblehar je v Ljubljano in na Dunaj prinesel verjetno samo del zbirke, ki jo je imel v misijonski rezidenci v Kartumu. Kartumsko zbirko omenja Taylor, predvsem lepo izdelane sulice in ebenovinaste gorjače.¹⁴⁷

LEPOTA IN BOLEČINA

Sredi januarja 1850 je prišel Knoblehar prvič na ozemlje Barijcev, kjer je med drugim srečal tudi enega izmed poglavarjev, poimenovanega Nigila. Poglavar je bil najprej sam, pozneje pa so se mu pridružile njegove številne žene, sinovi in hčere. Samo ena je imela okoli pasu obešeno rdeče barvano usnje, druge pa so nosile mrežast predpasnik iz železnih obročkov. Predpasnik, ki ga je prinesel Knoblehar, ima obročke sešite skupaj z vrvico iz naravnih vlaken, na spodnji rob pa je našit ozek usnjen trak (sl. 63-64).¹⁴⁸ Takšne predpasnike so smele nositi le poglavarjeve žene in hčere, ker je šlo za predmet, ki je ženski določal družbeni status. Podobna vrsta predpasnikov je bila poznana tudi v kulturi starega Egipta. Izdelani so bili iz zlatih našitkov. Nosili so jih predvsem vladarji in so bili obvezen del oprave pri verskih obredih.¹⁴⁹ Prav tako je bil predpasnik pomemben v posmrtnem kultu, saj so ga pri obredu mumificiranja položili na telo umrlega faraona (npr. Tutankamon, ok. 1330 pr. Kr.).¹⁵⁰

Med nilotskimi ljudstvi je bila zelo razširjena navada, da so si moški in ženske okoli pasu privezali vrv, ki jim je zadaj visela kot živalski rep. Tudi ta navada je verjetno ostalina egipčanske prazgodovine, ko so imeli kralji za pasom navezan rep žrtvovanega bika. To je bila pomembna regalija, ki je simbolizirala rodovitnost in nadnaravno moč. Z bikovim repom je bil upodobljen že kralj Den, ki je Egiptu vladal okoli 3000 let pr. Kr.¹⁵¹ Pozneje je živalski rep nadomestila vrv z našitki iz zlata in poldragih kamnov. Primerki iz Knobleharjeve zbirke



so izdelani iz železnih našitkov in vrvi naravnih vlaken. V dveh primerih je konec narejen iz usnjenih resic, v enem je iz živalskih dlak (sl. 78-79, 81). Imitacija nošenja živalskega repa kaže še na en primer tesne povezanosti ljudi in živali. Govedo je bilo za ljudi ob Nilu vir preživetja in zato sta bila bik ali vol že od nekdaj predmet čaščenja in žrtvovanja. Črnega vola so razkosali predvsem ob pogrebnih svečanostih, v bližini gomile, kjer je stal tudi rogovilast kol za obešanje darov različnim božanstvom.¹⁵² Bikov rep so obesili na rogovilo kot daritev bogu.

Kult Apisa, črnega bika z belo liso na čelu, je prišel iz Memfisa na severu Egipta, kjer so svete bika tudi pokopavali v ogromnih granitnih sarkofagih, ki so jih zvezli globoko v podzemne komore svetišča Serapeum. Pastirji ob Belem Nilu so prav tako čutili globoko žalost, ko jim je poginil vol. Nekateri so ga spoštljivo pokopali in na gomilo posadili njegove roge. Marsikateri lastnik se je dal pozneje pokopati v bližini priljubljenega vola, saj mu je pomenil več kakor družinski člani. Nueri so ohranili še eno zanimivo šego, poznano iz upodobitev na staroegipčanskih spomenikih: pri govedu so včasih levi rog zavili navzdol, saj so tako izničili zlo silo, ki bi škodovala živali.¹⁵³ Nueri so namreč desno stran obravnavali kot pozitivno in levo kot negativno. Pri zvijanju rogov so se zavedali, da žival trpi bolečine. V znak solidarnosti so si sami dali na levo roko več tesno oprijetih železnih zapestnic, ki so jih nosili noč in dan. Mučili so se tako dolgo, dokler jim ni roka skoraj odmrila.¹⁵⁴ Delitev levo-desno je bila tudi geografska opredelitev: desna je označevala vzhod, od koder je prihajalo življenje, na levi strani je bil zahod, simbol smrti.¹⁵⁵ Tudi v tem so vzporednice z verskim prepričanjem starih Egipčanov: na zahodu, na levem bregu Nila, se je začela pot v Ozirisovo kraljestvo, v deželo mrtvih.

Železne obroče različnih debelin običajno interpretiramo kot zapestnice, vendar so jih ljudje ob Belem Nilu nosili tudi na nogah, kot nanožnice. Z njimi so si krasili gležnje moški in ženske. Te so si včasih nataknile do višine kolen. Pri gibanju je kmalu prišlo do drsanja kože in pekočih bolečin. Posebej hudo je bilo pri plesu, toda plesalke so raje imele krvave noge, kakor da bi priznale bolečino in snele obroče. Na ta način so izražale pogum in pridobile ugled v moških očeh. Podobno kakor pri Nuerih železni obroči niso bili samo v okras, temveč so povzročali tudi trpljenje. Z bolečino sta morda povezana tudi masivna bakrena uhana (sl. 70); podobne je poznalo ljudstvo Marakwet iz Kenije in so bili zelo pomemben element pri obredu obrezovanja: oče je pred iniciacijo podaril izbranemu sinu uhane kot znamenje nasledstva, če pa je sin med obrezovanjem izražal bolečino, je bila to sramota za vso družino. V tem primeru je oče takoj sinu strgal uhane in jih zavrgel. Med sinovi je izbral novega naslednika in mu podaril tudi nove uhane.¹⁵⁶

V Knobleharjevi zbirki je največ nakita iz železa. Pripadalo je v glavnem ljudstvu Bari (sl. 138-153). Različno oblikovane zapestnice in nanožnice so okrašene s poševnimi vrezji v obliki mrežastega vzorca (sl. 145-148). V zarezah so še ohranjeni ostanki rjavo-rdeče okre. Zapestnice so različnih debelin, izdelane iz enega kosa žice. Včasih so žico ovijali okoli osi in tako dobili spiralno obliko zapestnice. Poznali so tudi prepletanje dveh žic, predvsem za izdelavo debelejših zapestnic. Konci zapestnic so različno oblikovani, ponavadi so samo ravno odrezani, v redkih primerih pa se končajo z nazaj upognjeno enojno ali dvojno zanko (sl. 149-150). V podobni tehniki so izdelane tudi ženske ovratnice (sl. 143).¹⁵⁷ V enem pri-

meru je na ovratnico iz spiralno zavite žice nataktnjena okrogla železna ploščica (sl. 144). Otroške ovratnice so iz navadne žice, ki ima za lažje zapenjanje okoli vratu konca v obliki kaveljčka. Na obeh ohranjenih ovratnicah so na žico nataktnjene železne cevčice, na eni pa je obesek, iz žice oblikovana dvojna spirala (sl. 151). Podobne obeske so poleg Barijcev uporabljala tudi druga ljudstva (Dinki, Juri, Ačoli, Azandi).¹⁵⁸ Takšen okras je imel vlogo amuleta, bil je znamenje, ki odganja nesrečo in varuje otroka.¹⁵⁹ Spiralni obesek je bil še v 20. stoletju zelo priljubljen pri Egipčankah, saj jih je simbolno ščitil med nosečnostjo in zagotavljal varen porod. Simbol dvojne spirale, ki varuje nosečnice in otroke, so poznali v starem Egiptu in v Mezopotamiji, kjer je amulet simboliziral boginjo Nintu, boginjo rojstva. Takšne obeske so ljudje izdelovali in uporabljali tudi v Evropi in na sredozemskem območju. Najbolj so bili razširjeni med 12. in 8. stoletjem pr. Kr.

Stik s starodavnimi kulturami v dolini reke Nil dokazujejo ogrlice z okraski iz lupine nojevega jajca.¹⁶⁰ Na sredini preluknjane okrogle ploščice so izdelane iz razbitih jajčnih lupin in nanizane na vrstico. Da se jajčne lupine med vrtanjem zaradi pritiska ne bi zdrobile, so jih prej namočili v vodo. Krožno obliko so dosegli z brušenjem na kamniti površini. Čvrsto lupino so domačini v Afriki že od nekdaj uporabljali v različne namene. Njeno vsestransko korist so poznali v preddinastičnih obdobjih v Egiptu in v prazgodovinski Nubiji. Najstarejši primerki sodijo v mezolitik, v letih med 7500 in 7000 pr. Kr. Okrasje iz lupin nojevega jajca, kakršne so verižice in pasne garniture, so našli predvsem v ženskih in otroških grobovih.¹⁶¹ Barijci so takšen nakit nosili kot ogrlico ali pa so si ga zavezali okoli pasu (sl. 132).¹⁶² Moški so si na pas navezali še slonokoščeni obroč in ga nataktili na penis. Včasih so si ga ozaljšali tudi z merjaščevim zobom (sl. 87). Poleg lupin nojevih jajc so za izdelavo nakita uporabljali še školjčne lupine in polžje hišice (sl. 133-134). Na vrvice iz naravnih vlaken so nanizali več sto preluknanih okroglih ploščic, debelih 1-2 milimetra.¹⁶³

Nojevo jajce je bilo še v 20. stoletju med različnimi afriškimi ljudstvi poznano kot amulet, ki varuje pred nesrečo hišo in vse v njej bivajoče. Ponavadi so jajce postavili na vrh konca slamnate strešne konstrukcije na koči. To navado so poznali v Sudanu in Abesiniji, v zahodni Afriki pa npr. v Togu.¹⁶⁴ Nojevo jajce kot apotropejsko znamenje na vrhu strehe so uporabljali že v starih nubijskih kulturah,¹⁶⁵ verjetno pa ima njegov pomen še starejše korenine.

POZA IN SMRT

Sulica je bila med nilotskimi ljudstvi zelo pomemben statusni simbol. Vsak mladenič, ki je opravil iniciacijski obred, je imel pravico, da jo nosi. Praviloma je oče izročil sinu svojo in tako so sulice prehajale iz roda v rod. Predaja sulice je na simbolni ravni označila stik minulega rodu z nasledstvom - stik med preteklostjo in prihodnostjo.¹⁶⁶ Sulico so kot orožje uporabljali na dva načina: na nasprotnika so jo metali z večje razdalje ali pa so ga zabodli od blizu. S sulico so zabodli in ubili tudi daritveno žival. Sicer pa je bila sulica vsestranski pripomoček, saj so z njo napadli slona ali pa so v reki nabadali ribe, na polju želi duro, rezali meso in cepili les. Lastnik je čutil do sulice veliko odgovornost in čustveno navezanost. Nenehno jo je imel ob sebi, jo pogosto čistil in skrbel, da mu je kdo ne bi ukradel. Bila je podaljšek njegove desne roke, ki je izražala moč in vitalnost življenjske energije. Nueri so pri metu sulice pogosto zavpili: "Moja desna roka!" Sulica je imela veliko ekonomsko



vrednost: kdor si je lahko privoščil železno sulico in zanjo dal več glav živine, je bil deležen tudi višjega ugleda v družbi. Revnejši so si naredili leseno sulico, ki je služila zgolj kot simbol. V Knobleharjevi zbirki je 17 sulic, ki predstavljajo vse zvrsti tega orožja (sl. 196). Sulice so povprečno dolge okoli 2,10 m, na lesenem držalu imajo nasajene ozke, tudi do metra dolge konice. Osti imajo tulasto nasadišče, ki je na eni strani po dolžini razprto. Ko so ost nasadili na držalo, so razporek stisnili skupaj. Palico za držalo so skrbno izbrali in ko so jo odrezali, so jo najprej zgladili s sulično ostjo, nato pa nekaj časa držali nad ognjem, da se je les utrdil. Leseno držalo so okrasili z narezanimi trakovi iz kože kuščarjev in kač. Včasih so okoli palice navili še ozek železen trak. Površino navitega traku na eni sulici so uporabili za brušenje osti druge sulice. Let sulice je uravnavala utež iz širokega železnega traku, ki je bil navit na njenem koncu. Železne osti so kakovosten kovaški izdelek, ki kaže na tradicijo tehnološkega postopka starejših zgodovinskih obdobj. Kovaške mojstrovine ljudstev Bari in Jur so svojevrsten relikv starodavnega znanja, ki so ga razvile prazgodovinske kulture ob Nilu. To velja tako za tehnologijo kakor za oblike predmetov. Nekatera nilotska plemena so poznala tudi šego, da so umrlemu v grob položili sulico, ki so jo prej zvili ali prelomili.¹⁶⁷ V mlajši železni dobi je bila v Evropi navada, predvsem pri Keltih, da so obredno uničili orožje, preden so ga priložili k pokojniku.

Za tujca je bila največja čast, če so mu domačini izročili sulico. Knoblehar je bil deležen te časti, saj so ga domači poglavarji zelo spoštovali in so ga radi sprejeli v svoje okolje. Knoblehar je pri sprejemu dobil njihove sulice v znak spoštovanja, pri slovesu junija 1854 pa mu je nekaj barijskih poglavarjev v Gondokorju podarilo najlepše sulice za spomin in v vednost, da je še dobrodošel na njihovem ozemlju.¹⁶⁸ Najnenavadnejši primerek je zagotovo lesena sulica z železnim nastavkom, iz katerega se razcepita dva lista, postavljena s ploskvama drug ob drugega (sl. 159-160). Med terenskimi raziskavami med ljudstvom Lotuko v južnem Sudanu leta 1922 je antropolog Charles G. Seligman narisal primerek sulice z dvojnimi listom. Sulica je sodila v obredni inventar ženske, ki jo je uporabljala za čaranje dežja. Našli so jo skupaj z drugimi svetimi sulicami v posebni koči, ki so jo verjetno uporabljali kot kulturni prostor za izvajanje obredov.¹⁶⁹

Včasih so čarovniki dežja imeli med svojimi rekviziti tudi sulično ost, spravljeno v glinenem loncu.¹⁷⁰ Morda je lepo izdelana ost iz Knobleharjeve zbirke tudi del čarovniške opreme (sl. 158). Sulične osti so bile prav tako koristne za rezanje mesa in sekanje lesa. Knoblehar je imel sulice tudi v kartumski zbirki, saj jih je tam videl Taylor in jih opisal kot izvrstne izdelke, ki bi lahko bili nastali tudi spod rok kovačev v Evropi.¹⁷¹ V zbirki je tudi lesena sulica, ki je v celoti izrezljana iz enega kosa ebenovine (sl. 161).

Barijci so že otroke učili bojevniških veščin, predvsem streljanja z lokom. Podobne loke so delali tudi Nueri in Čiri. Njihovi loki so bili oviti s trakovi, narezanimi iz kože kuščarjev ali kač, Barijci pa so jih, tako kakor sulice, ovili še s tankimi in ozkimi železnimi trakovi.¹⁷² Loki so včasih dolgi prek dva metra in so narejeni iz lesa ali bambusa (sl. 174). Z njimi so bili oboroženi tudi Heliabi in Bori, medtem ko jih drugi Niloti niso uporabljali.¹⁷³ Puščice so bile izdelane iz dolge trstike, v katero so porinili ožji del železne osti (sl. 177-178). Njihova značilnost so ostri kavljasti izrastki. Puščično ost so premazali s strupom, ki so ga pridobili iz soka korenin drevesa *uirí*. Barijci so puščice premazali tudi s snovjo, pridobljeno iz zmeč-

kanih glav strupenih kač. Puščice v Knobleharjevi zbirki so spravljene v dveh usnjenih tulih, pobarvanih z rdečo barvo.¹⁷⁴ V afriški zbirki Slovenskega etnografskega muzeja so tudi tri očesna bodala, ki sodijo med zelo redke eksponate v muzejskih zbirkah po svetu.¹⁷⁵ Dvoje bodal pripada že omenjeni Lavrinovi zbirki, en primerek pa je prinesel Knoblehar (sl. 169).¹⁷⁶ Rogovilasto palico s sekirico so uporabljali bojovníki plemena Bari. Ko so nasprotnika pobili na tla, so mu iztaknili oči, da jih med umiranjem ne bi gledal. Pogled umirajočega poraženca bi namreč utegnil biti usoden tudi za zmagovalca. Zanimivo ozadje ima tudi železen meč z ukrivljenim rezilom, ki se izteka v dolgo, paličasto držalo, na katero je bil prvotno nasajen lesen ročaj (sl. 164). Oblika orožja spominja na ukrivljene meče, ki so jih izdelovali v starem Egiptu. Njihova uporaba je bila najbolj razširjena v 19. dinastiji, od delte Nila do Nubije.¹⁷⁷ Meč je bil največkrat atribut kraljeve moči, ki obvladuje sovražne sile. Ukrivljene meče so poznala prazgodovinska ljudstva na Bližnjem Vzhodu in predvsem Hetiti v Anatoliji.¹⁷⁸ Prav tako je bila pomemben del bojne opreme faraonove vojske palica z ukrivljenim rezilom v obliki sulične osti.¹⁷⁹ Dva kosa takšnega orožja je prinesel tudi Knoblehar (sl. 165-168).

V popisu predmetov iz leta 1851 ni omenjen noben kij, kar je zelo nenavadno. Lesen kij je bil zelo razširjen predmet med nilotskimi ljudstvi, zato je presenetljivo, da Knoblehar nobenega ni pustil v Ljubljani, medtem ko je vsaj dva odnesel na Dunaj (sl. 190). Knoblehar je imel ebenovinaste gorjače tudi v misijonski rezidenci v Kartumu in nekaj primerkov je podaril Taylorju.¹⁸⁰ Moški so kij uporabljali za orožje, hkrati pa je bil to predmet, ki je še bolj poudaril vlogo posameznika v družbi. Sulico je imel skoraj vsak, gorjača pa je pomenila privilegij. Za izdelavo so največkrat uporabili drevesno korenino. Kij se je že v starem Egiptu uveljavil kot statusni in obredni predmet. Palico z masivnim okroglim glavičkom pa so pri ceremonijah uporabljali tudi nubijski kralji.¹⁸¹ Podobno kot meč z ukrivljenim rezilom izraža tudi kij mogočno božansko silo, ki jo posedujejo kralji pri uničevanju sovražnika. Na egipčanskih templjih so na fasadah pogosti prizori, na katerih faraon z mečem ali s kijem pokorava nasprotnike. Morda so prav reliefne upodobitve vplivale na ljudi ob Nilu, da so omenjeno orožje v rokah faraona prepoznali kot predmet, ki predstavlja božansko moč in absolutno oblast. Zato v obeh primerih oblikovne podobnosti med egipčanskimi s sudanskimi izdelki niso naključje.

Med orožjem pritegneta pozornost majhna okrogla ščita oziroma ščitnika za roke, ki v primeru ne presega dva centimetra (sl. 170-172). Narejena sta iz debelega usnja, verjetno iz kože povodnega konja.¹⁸² Na notranji strani imata usnjen ročaj. Nekateri ščitniki so bili okrašeni z naravno rdečo barvo in z nojevimi peresi. Z dvojno zanko na obodu je bil ščitnik nataknen na palico, s katero so se barijski bojovníki branili proti udarcem s kijem, hkrati pa so z njo tolkli po nasprotniku. Obstajali pa so tudi ščitniki brez zank.¹⁸³ En primerek ščitnika je ohranjen tudi v Lavrinovi zbirki.

UŽITEK IN POČITEK

Črnci ob Nilu so bili strastni kadilci in zato ne preseneča, da je v zbirki tudi pet primerkov glinastih tobačnih pip. Misijonarji, ki so pipam domačinov rekli šibuk, so bili najbolj presenečeni, ko so opazili, da so tudi ženske zasvojene s kajenjem. Moški in ženske so kadili



pipe v obliki dolge, votle lesene cevi, ki se je končala z velikim keramičnim nastavkom za tobak in oglje. Na cev so včasih natakneli tudi iz drugega lesa ali iz kosti posebej izdelan ustnik. Pozneje so zanj uporabljali tulce nabojev za puško.¹⁸⁴ Ustniki so bili okrašeni z vrezji, cevi pa so največkrat pobarvali z okro. Cev je bila lahko dolga tudi do enega metra. V Knobleharjevi zbirki je ohranjena značilna pipa Šilukov z visoko keramično tobačno čašo, ki ima ozko odprtino in vrezan mrežast okras (sl. 126-127). Druge pipe v zbirki pa pripadajo ljudstvu Bari. Te imajo nizko tobačno čašo, ki je pečena iz fino prečiščene gline. Nekatere so premazane z glazuro in okrašene z vrezji ali s pečatnimi odtisi (sl. 118-125). Barijske pipe imajo na spodnjem delu rogljičasto oblikovan nastavek za stabilno lego pri kajenju (sl. 120-125). Pipe z dvojno čašo so izdelovali predvsem Barijci, poznali pa so jih tudi Šiluki (sl. 119).¹⁸⁵ Odrabljene kadilske cevi so domačini razrezali na kolobarčke in jih žvečili kot zdravilo proti diareji (sl. 128). Med predmeti, ki jih je Knoblehar prinesel v Ljubljano, je tudi osem primerkov t. i. kovaških klešč, ki spominjajo na podolgovate pincete z lopatastim koncem (sl. 129-131).¹⁸⁶ Po dosedanjih razlagah naj bi klešče uporabljali kovači, vendar Knoblehar omenja, da so obrtniki pri delu uporabljali samo lesene rogovile za rokovanje z vročim železom. Glede na gracilno obliko "klešč" je njihova funkcija verjetneje povezana s kajenjem, kar nam potrjuje tudi Harnirjeva risba starejšega moškega, ki si s pomočjo takšne prijemalke polni pipo. Še danes kadilci vodnih pip uporabljajo podobna prijemala za premikanje tobaka in žarečega oglja.

Zapisi iz sudanskega misijona omenjajo barijskega poglavarja Mugo, ki je leta 1853 s Knobleharjem potoval do Aleksandrije in se potem z njim vrnil nazaj v Gondokoro (sl. 56-57). Pri opisu poglavarja je omenjen tudi stolček, ki ga je stalno imel pri sebi: čez dan za sedenje, ponoči za vzglavje. Takšne stolčke so imeli predvsem poglavarji in starešine. Ko je Knobleharja sprejel zbor barijskih poglavarjev, so mu ponudili podoben stolček, saj so ga imeli za pomembnega dostojanstvenika.

Slovenski etnografski muzej ima lepo ohranjena primerka barijskih stolčkov. Prvi primer je iz Lavrinove zbirke (1843), drugi pa sodi v Knobleharjevo zbirko (sl. 112-114, 187-189). Oba imata ovalno, rahlo usločeno zgornjo ploskev za sedenje in štiri ločno oblikovane noge z razširjenim zaključkom. V daljši liniji noge povezuje dvojna prečka v obliki lestve.¹⁸⁷ Sama oblika nog je antropomorfná, saj dejansko posnema človeško nogo in stopalo. Zunanja površina nog je okrašena z zarezi. Po dolžini sta za boljšo stabilnost para nog rahlo pomaknjena pod kotom navzven. Na površini nog in na spodnjem delu sedala so vidni sledovi obdelave lesa. Knoblehar omenja, da so za rezbarjenje uporabili puščice za lok, stolček pa so okrasili tudi s steklenimi biseri.¹⁸⁸

Posebna orodja za obdelavo lesa niso poznali, zato je še toliko zanimivejša žaga z obojestransko nazobčanim listom (sl. 110). Morda jo je Knoblehar dobil v Kartumu in jo prinesel domov kot primerek, s katerim je hotel opozoriti rojake na podobnosti v obliki in funkciji predmeta. Kakor je po eni strani hotel pokazati drugačnost afriškega sveta, je po drugi še bolj poudaril tisto, kar ga je spominjalo na domovino. Zato ni skrival navdušenja, ko je ob Nilu na ozemlju Čirov zagledal leseno konstrukcijo za sušenje sezama, saj se je takoj spomnil na kozolce na Kranjskem.¹⁸⁹ Tudi na Harnirjevi upodobitvi Barijcev vidimo poglavarja in starejšega moškega, ki sedita

na stolčku, podobnem tistima iz Knobleharjeve in Lavrinove zbirke. Več kot pol stoletja za Knobleharjem je Leonard Stevenson v Gondokorju našel enak model stolčka.¹⁹⁰ Med teren-skimi raziskavami sta antropologa Charles Gabriel Seligman in njegova soproga Brenda Zara še leta 1921 v okolici Gondokorja dokumentirala podoben tip stolčka.¹⁹¹ Barijski stolčki spominjajo na našo pručko. Barijci so bili veliki ljubitelji alkoholne pijače *merissa*, ki je bila podobnega okusa kot pivo. Pijačo so sami varili in za pretakanje ter filtriranje uporabljali podolgovate pletene vreče iz trsja. Spodnji, širši del je bil sešit, zgoraj pa je bila odprtina zavezana z vrstico (sl. 109). Podoben tip cedila je Evans-Pritchard dobil pri ljudstvu Anuak leta 1935. Zaradi praktične uporabnosti je takšna oblika cedila med ljudstvi južnega Sudana in v Ugandi cela desetletja ostala nespremenjena.¹⁹² Oblika ima korenine verjetno v starih egipčanskih in nubijskih kulturah.¹⁹³

Domačini so pijačo pili iz buč, hrano pa so jedli z rokami ali s školjčnimi lupinami. Misijonarji so si pri jedi pomagali z žlicami iz roževine in slonovine, pijačo pa so si natočili v čaše, izdelane iz nosorogovega roga (sl. 100-107). Čaše so izdelovali obrtniki v Kartumu in so bile med arabskim prebivalstvom zelo priljubljene, ker so verjeli v čarno moč nosorogovega roga: čaša naj bi pivca obvarovala vseh strupenih snovi, saj so verjeli, da roževina uniči strupene snovi v tekočini.

ČARANJE IN NEBEŠKA BUČA

Usnjene ovratnice z raznovrstnimi naveski so v zbirki edini predmeti z verskim pomenom. Kot pripomočki čarovnika dežja, vrača ali poglavarja so hkrati tudi simbol magičnih poganskih sil, proti katerim je nastopil Knoblehar z Biblijo in s križem v roki. Zanimivo je, da je kot misijonar predmete uvrstil v zbirko, saj se je npr. njegov vzornik Baraga rad pohvalil, kako je kuril poganske kipce in uničeval čarovniške pripomočke. Knoblehar je ovratnice z različnimi amuleti verjetno zbral kot primer, da rojakom v domovini pokaže "primitivni" svet afriškega vraževerja (sl. 75-77, 82-86, 88-89). Pomen amuletov ga ni zanimal, še manj potek čarovnega obreda.

Danes je težko razumeti prvotno vlogo posamičnih amuletov, ki visijo na usnjenih ovratnicah. Njihov pravi pomen je poznal samo tisti, ki jih je nosil ali uporabljal pri čarovnem obredu. Afriško čarovništvo je bilo zanimivo za Evropejce, ki so ga razlagali na vse mogoče načine, od znanstvenih analiz do izmišljenih zgodbic. Le redki raziskovalci, npr. Evans-Pritchard, so ga obravnavali kritično, saj so se očitno zavedali, da v duhovnem svetu Afrike za belce ni prostora.¹⁹⁴ Za nekatere amulete so poznane ustrezne razlage in na srečo jih je nekaj takšnih tudi v zbirki. Nueri so nastanek svojega rodu razlagali z legendo o veliki buči, ki je padla iz neba, v njej pa so bili sulica, leopardja koža in človek z imenom Kir.¹⁹⁵ Buča je imela kot nebeški dar pomembno vlogo kot verski pripomoček ali kot amulet. Majhne bučke so uporabljali za zaščitni amulet proti hudobnim silam, vrači oz. čarovniki dežja so imeli v bučkah spravljene različna zdravilna zelišča in mazila (sl. 75). Po ustnem izročilu Ašantijev so bile v buči varno shranjene vse človeku škodljive bolezni, toda ko je nebeški bog v jezi razbil bučo, so se hitro razširile po svetu.¹⁹⁶ Bolezni so bile ozdravljive samo z zdravilnimi praški, ki jih je pripravil ašantski vrač in jih natresel v bučke. Za izdelavo praškov so pogosto uporabljali želvin oklep in njene kosti. Želvin oklep so kot amulet upo-



rabljali tudi pripadniki ljudstva Ačoli, ki so živeli na območju severne Ugande.¹⁹⁷ V Knobleharjevi zbirki sta dve ovratnici z želvinim oklepom (sl. 75-77). Za Barijce so imeli pomen amuleta polmesečno oblikovani železni zvončki ali ropotuljice, saj je njihov zvok odganjal zle duhove (sl. 91). Pogosto so jih nosili tudi vrači in domači zdravilci. Podobne ropotulje so še v 20. stoletju uporabljali v južnem Sudanu (Lotuko in Toposa), v Ugandi (Madi in Ganda) in ljudstvo Turkana v severozahodnem delu Kenije. Običajno so jih moški imeli pri plesu v iniciacijskem obredu, ženske pa pri poročnem plesu.¹⁹⁸ Železno, spiralno uvito palico z dolgimi zvončastimi obeski so pri obredu uporabljali vrači (sl. 90). Z žvenketanjem so ustvarili stik z duhovi prednikov ali pa pregnali demonske sile.

Pri ljudstvih ob Belem Nilu ni bila razširjena navada, da bi božanstva upodabljali v obliki kipov, kakor je bilo (in je še) značilno izročilo v zahodni Afriki. Samo izjemoma so kdaj izdelali kipec (Barijci) ali pa so pri obredu uporabljali masko (Šiluki).¹⁹⁹ Bogovi in mitološki predniki so bili brez obličja, namesto nošenja lesenih mask pa so si ljudje raje krasili obraze z barvami in brazgotinjenjem (skarifikacija). Knobleharjevemu sodelavcu Martinu Hansalu se je pri Barijcih posrečilo dobiti zelo zanimiva lesena kipa moškega in ženske, ki bi ju lahko povezali s čaščenjem prednikov.²⁰⁰ Preprosta stilizirana antropomorfna oblika preseneti z uporabo dveh pravih zob, vdelenih v usta (sl. 195). Z okro prebarvana kipa sta izjemno redka primerka nilotske umetnosti. Morda pa redkost pomeni, da kipi niso sodili med običajne obrtniške izdelke, temveč so se razvili iz težnje po posnemanju tistega, kar so videli pri misijonarjih. Cerkev v misijonskih vaseh so bile namreč okrašene z različnimi kipi in slikami, prav tako kapela na Knobleharjevi ladji, ki so jo domačini vedno radi obiskali.²⁰¹ Misijonarji so Sveto pismo razlagali s pomočjo slik, za ponazorilo pa so včasih uporabili tudi kipe svetnikov in predvsem Marijine kipe. Srečanje domačinov z evropsko krščansko umetnostjo ni prispevalo samo k hitrejšemu dojetju katoliškega nauka, temveč je morda v njih zbudilo zamisel, da bi tudi sami upodobili svoje malike in prednike (sl. 192).²⁰²

ZAPUŠČINA IN SPOMIN

Knoblehar je v Ljubljano in na Dunaj poslal tudi zoološko in botanično zbirko.²⁰³ Vsaj dva zaboja, v katerih naj bi bili med drugim tudi nagačeni ptiči, je leta 1855 poslal na Dunaj.²⁰⁴ Istega leta je Jožef Gostner poslal en zaboj Mitterrutznerju v Brixen. Med vsebino so omenjene ptice, peresa štokelja, sulice in tuli s puščicami.²⁰⁵ Knobleharjevo zanimanje za preteklost Sudana prepoznamo tudi v zelo redko ohranjenem primerku kronike sultanata Funj v severovzhodnem delu Sudana, v porečju Modrega Nila.²⁰⁶ Sultanat je nastal na začetku 16. stoletja in obstal vse do prve polovice 19. stoletja. Ni poznano, kako je Knoblehar pridobil tako dragocen historični vir, vemo pa, da ga je leta 1850 prinesel na Dunaj z namenom, da bi ga prevedli in preučili.²⁰⁷

Tako kakor Luka Jeran v Ljubljani je v Brixnu za misijonsko propagando skrbel Mitterrutzner. Knobleharja je spoznal že v Rimu leta 1844 in od takrat sta ostala prijatelja, čeprav sta bila v stiku le z dopisovanjem.²⁰⁸ Ustanovil je Marijino društvo za podporo misijonu in navduševal tirolske duhovnike in laike, naj se odpravijo v Kartum. Med letoma 1853 in 1869 se je za afriški misijon odločilo kar 32 ljudi.

Mitterrutzner se je jeseni leta 1856 za pet dni tudi sam odpravil v Aleksandrijo. Tja je na

parniku "Australia" pripotoval v družbi rojakov, nazaj pa se je vračal z isto ladjo, le da je imel za družbo osem otrok, ki so jih misijonarji odkupili na suženjskem trgu. Mitterutzner pa je imel na ladji tudi zanimiv tovor: štiri žive leoparda in 53 kilogramov težak slonov okel.²⁰⁹ Nenavaden tovor je bil namenjen za dvorec Miramar (Castello di Miramare) pri Trstu kot misijonsko darilo nadvojvodi Ferdinandu Maksimiljanu. Mitterutzner naj bi darilo izročil po naročilu misijonarja Jožefa Gostnerja, toda verjetneje je vse skupaj organiziral Knoblehar, saj si je nemogoče predstavljati, da bi se kaj takega zgodilo brez njegove vednosti. Omenjena pošiljka za Miramar verjetno ni bila osamljen primer. Bilo je splošno poznano, da je nadvojvoda strasten zbiralec starin, in verjetno mu je skoraj vsak pomembnejši avstrijski popotnik prinesel kako darilo za njegovo zbirko. V sobanah dvorca so bili razpostavljeni tudi eksponati egipčanske zbirke Antona Lavrina, razkošni park pa so krasile njegove kamnite sfinge.²¹⁰ Egipčanska zbirka je bila leta 1867 odpeljana na Dunaj in del je danes razstavljen v Umetnostno-zgodovinskem muzeju (Kunsthistorisches Museum Wien), ena Lavrinova sfinga pa je še vedno na pomolu v pristanišču pod dvorcem. V Miramaru pa je ostalo tudi veliko predmetov iz južnega Sudana. Ni podatkov, kdo jih je tja pripeljal, zagotovo pa so bili v Trst dostavljeni v času Knobleharjevega misijona. Predmeti niso bili namenjeni za razstavo in širši javnosti, temveč so jih uporabili za stensko dekoracijo glavnega stopnišča. Marsikateri predmet, npr. sulice, so enostavno po meri odžagali, da so jih lahko pahljačasto razporedili po steni. Veliko predmetov iz miramarskega dvorca je treba upoštevati kot kakovostno primerjalno gradivo za študij Knobleharjeve zbirke v Ljubljani in na Dunaju. To velja tudi za etnografske in naravoslovne zbirke Knobleharjevih sodelavcev in znancev iz Kartuma (Taylor, Binder, Hansal, itd.).²¹¹ Zelo pomembna je etnografska zbirka, ki jo je v Berlin in v Firenze poslal italijanski raziskovalec Carlo Piaggia.²¹² Piaggia je leta 1857 spoznal Mozgana, ki ga je seznanil z razmerami na območju misijona pri Sv. Križu.

Ko se je Jakob Danninger vračal iz Afrike v rodni Au v srednji Avstriji, se je 1. marca 1857 ustavil v Ljubljani. S seboj je imel rokopis nabožnih pesmi, ki jih je v barijski jezik prevedel misijonar Überbacher. Zbirko pesmi naj bi tiskali na Dunaju.²¹³ Danninger je na Dunaju pustil tudi predmete, ki jih je za graditev nove cerkve daroval Knoblehar. Manjšo afriško zbirko pa je prinesel tudi domov. Nagačeni ptički na lično izdelanih koščeni podstavkih so bili za okras, drugo pa so domači hitro spravili v promet. Predvsem so bile uporabne velike roževinaste žlice, s katerimi so zajemali moko, saj so imeli Danningerji poleg velike kmetije tudi svoj mlin. Koliko predmetov je prinesel Jakob Danninger iz Afrike, ni poznano. Zato pa je toliko pomembnejše, da njegov potomec Johann Danninger še vedno skrbno varuje nekaj afriške zapuščine in z velikim ponosom pokaže portret Ignacija Knobleharja (sl. 193-194). Gospod Danninger je povedal, da nima nobene Jakobove slike in zato ga Knobleharjeva slika posredno spominja na njegovega znanega prednika.

Decembra leta 1853 se je misijonska karavana na poti v Kartum ustavila v bližini nekdanje prestolnice Meroe (sl. 18). Knoblehar je nove sodelavce odpeljal na ogled slavnih ruševin in Oton Trabant je še istega leta v pločevinasti škatli poslal v Ljubljano nekaj predmetov, ki jih je odkril med piramidami. Kaj natančno je odkril, ni poznano, saj se je sled za predmeti kmalu zabilisala.²¹⁴

Ljubljanska livarna na Prulah, ki jo je vodil Anton Samassa, je bila leta 1853 ponosna na



svoj podvig: ulili so 122 kg težak zvon, ki je nosil zaporedno številko 1000. K ponosu je močno prispevalo tudi dejstvo, da je bil zvon izdelan za misijonsko cerkev v Gondokorju. Poleg velikega zvona so ulili še dva manjša, težka 63 in 34 kilogramov. Vsi trije so bili lepo okrašeni z nabožnimi motivi in napisi v latinskem in slovenskem jeziku.²¹⁵ Spomladi 1855 so ljudstva ob Belem Nilu, na robu ekvatorja, zaslišala nepoznani zvok, ki se je razlegal nad njihovim ozemljem. Pokristjanjevanje je dobilo novo zvočno kuliso. Skoraj pet let so domačini poslušali donenje zvonov, potem pa je zavladala tišina. Januarja 1860 so misijonarji zapustili Gondokoro in s šestimi ladjami odpeljali na sever. Med ladijskim tovorom so bili tudi vsi trije zvonovi. Največjega so odpeljali v Korosko, pozneje pa še naprej v novo misijonsko postajo Šellal, najmanjšega pa so še leta 1882 slišali v misijonski postaji Delen v Kordofanu.²¹⁶ Kmalu zatem so ga islamski skrajneži sneli in odvrgli iz zvonika. Poškodovanega so pripeljali v Kartum, kjer je neuporaben ležal na misijonskem vrtu. Misijonar Bernard Kohlen ga je verjetno poleti 1925 pripeljal v Ljubljano (sl. 37). Pet let pozneje so si ga lahko ogledali obiskovalci velike misijonske razstave v Ljubljani, potem pa je za njim izginila vsakršna sled.²¹⁷

Prav tako se ne ve, kje je danes Knobleharjev križ, ki so mu ga pri pokopu položili v krsto. Slovenski romarji so marca 1871 prišli v Neapelj, da obišejo grob slavnega rojaka.²¹⁸ Samostanski predstojnik jih je popeljal v kripto, kjer so z velikim naporom odprli belo krsto. Med skeletnimi ostanki je ležal lesen križ z oljkinega lesa. Romarji so križ vzeli za spomin, v zameno pa so mu na lobanjo položili majhen venec z napisom in tribarvnim trakom. Luka Jeran je pozneje križ poslal misijonarju Kaufmanu, ki se je iz Afrike vrnil domov na Tirolsko.²¹⁹

Knobleharju se pripisuje tudi temnorjav roževinast prstan, ki ima na zgornjem delu vložek iz bisernice v obliki križa. Na notranji strani prstana je nalepka z besedilom: *prstan misijonarja Dr. Ignacija Knobleharja*.²²⁰ Provikarjev prstan je danes v Narodnem muzeju Slovenije. V muzej ga je prinesel Knobleharjev sorodnik in frančiškan Hieronim Knoblehar.²²¹ Dvajset let po Knobleharjevi smrti je njegov profesor Benvenut Crobatth imel zlato mašo pri frančiškanih v Ljubljani. Ob jubileju so mu poklonili palico s križem in kipcem sv. Frančiška. V palico so vložili list papirja, na katerem je bila napisana Knobleharjeva mladostna pesem "Večerna otožnost". Za darilo je zlatomašnik prejel tudi misijonarjevo tobačnico.²²² Poleg predmetov je treba v zvezi s Knobleharjevim obdobjem opozoriti še na številne knjige, članke, pesmi, predavanja, gledališke igre in slavnostne akademije. Ob 80-letnici smrti so se v Škocjanu 14. in 15. avgusta leta 1938 odvijale t. i. Knobleharjeve slovesnosti, pri čemer je bila v ospredju pobuda, da se sproži postopek za misijonarjevo beatifikacijo.²²³ Aprila leta 1948, ob 90-letnici Knobleharjeve smrti, so Slovenci v begunskem taborišču pri Špitalu (Spittal an der Drau) v Avstriji pripravili ciklostilno izdajo knjižice (10 x 14 cm) z naslovom "Knoblehar: Velikan po duhu in delu in prvi misijonar osrednje Afrike" (sl. 34). Objavljen je bil ponatis članka F. Jakliča.²²⁴

V času Knobleharjevega poslanstva je bila fotografija šele na začetku razvoja in v ospredju je bila še vedno risba. Jakob Šašel se je tega dobro zavedal in je med kratkotrajnim bivanjem v Kartumu svoje graverske izkušnje uporabil tudi za risanje zanimivih motivov iz Egipta in Sudana (sl. 6, 8-13, 15, 17, 23-26, 41, 57).²²⁵ Dragocen vir so tudi risbe, ki jih je narisal

Jožef Gostner, duhovnik in slikar iz Völsa pri Brixnu.²²⁶ Iz njegovega pisma 7. avgusta 1855 je razvidno, da je ilustriral potopis, ki ga je napisal Giovanni Beltrame. Italijanski misijonar je nekaj mesecev potoval ob Modrem Nilu in prišel do krajev Fazogl in Benisangol.²²⁷ Na podlagi njegovega rokopisa je Gostner narisal 13 barvnih ilustracij. V zameno mu je Beltrame dal na razpolago svoj potopis in mu dovolil, da lahko iz njega črpa podatke. Opis Beltrameovega potovanja in nekaj Gostnerjevih risb je leta 1856 objavil dunajski časopis *Faust* (sl. 27-28). V istem letniku je objavljena tudi barvna upodobitev misijonskega tabora v Filah jeseni 1853. Avtor ni naveden, toda glede na poznane okoliščine sta bila slikarja lahko le Gostner ali Šašel (sl. 14). Podobno sliko namreč najdemo v Šašlovem rokopisu, vendar vsebuje bistveno manj informacij; v ozadju namreč zmanjšano iščemo ostanke Trajanovega paviljona, najznačilnejše arhitekture v kompleksu Izidinega svetišča (sl. 15). Avtor slike v omenjenem časopisu je na prizorišče postavil 19 ljudi, med njimi je v sredini tudi barijski poglavar Muga v značilni dolgi rdeči halji, na glavi pa nosi košato okrasje iz nojevih peres. Šašel pa je narisal samo štiri ljudi, brez barijskega poglavarja. Na njegovi sliki je edina temnopolta oseba gonjač kamel, in še ta je podoben tistemu na sliki v časopisu. Oba misijonska umetnika sta bila bolj ali manj veščta risanja, toda primerjava pokaže, da je časopisna ilustracija zelo verjetno nastala v Gostnerjevi skicirki. To se lepo vidi tudi pri portretiranju poglavarja Muge (sl. 56-57). Gostner ga je upodobil z nakitom na nogah in rokav, Šašel pa okrasja sploh ni narisal, čeprav je svojim domačim pisal, kako je štel prstane na njegovi roki.²²⁸ Šašlov opus afriških slik je zaenkrat poznan samo iz ilustriranega rokopisa, dokončanega leta 1863. Ni izključeno, da je Šašel risbe narisal po spominu ali pa se je zgledoval po objavljenih predlogah, ki so bile takrat dosegljive. Nikjer ni sledov za njegovimi risbami, ki jih je pošiljal staršem in na uredništvo časopisa *Zgodnja Danica*.²²⁹ Njihovo odkritje bi pomagalo pojasniti marsikatero nejasnost v zvezi z avtorstvom izvornih predlog.

Največjo dokumentarno vrednost pa imajo risbe, ki jih je leta 1861 narisal že omenjeni Wilhelm von Harnier (sl. 43-46, 48-55, 59-61).²³⁰ Imel je izjemen občutek za podrobnosti, predvsem pri risanju domačinov, njihovih oblačil, nakita, orožja in pri upodabljanju njihovega telesnega okrasja (barvanje, brazgotinjenje).²³¹ Marsikateri predmet iz Knobleharjeve zbirke je šele po zaslugi Harnierjevih slik dobil pravo razlago o uporabnosti. Še posebej so pomembne slike krajev, ki so povezani s Knobleharjevim poslanstvom ob Belem Nilu. Harnier je upodobil hrib Logvek in v komentarju zapisal, da se je nanj povzpel tudi Knoblehar. Prav tako je narisal skupino Barijcev, ki se pogovarjajo z misijonarjem Morlangom v bližini cerkve v Gondokorju (sl. 54). Posebej je narisal tudi ves gondokorski misijonski kompleks s cerkvijo in kočami v bližini (sl. 55). Prav tako je pomembna slika Sv. Križa z močvirno pokrajino v ospredju, saj je v ozadju narisana tudi misijonska cerkva (sl. 50). Ko je Harnier risal Sv. Križ, ni pomislil, da bo ta kraj zanj usoden: med lovom je obstrelil bivola in podivjana žival ga je poteptala do smrti.²³² Pri petindvajsetih letih je za vedno ostal ob Belem Nilu. Leta 1866 je njegov brat Adolf uredil zapiske in risbe in jih objavil v monografski potopisni izdaji. Tudi Morlang se je ukvarjal z risanjem. Naredil je veliko preprostih, shematičnih skic predmetov, naselij obeh misijonskih postaj ob Belem Nilu in pokrajinske vedute. Za razumevanje načina uporabe predmetov in njihovega etničnega izvira, so v veliko pomoč stare fotografije. Prava zakladnica informacij je predvsem v izjemnem fotografskem gradivu, ki je shranjeno v Sudanskem arhivu na Univerzi v Durhamu.²³³ Koristen dokument za razlago Knobleharjeve zbirke je npr. posnetek dveh barijskih poglavarjev, nastal leta 1926 pri Mon-



galli (sl. 197). Na fotografiji vidimo nekaj podobnih predmetov: velik rog (sl. 94), sulica, pas (sl. 132), železne ropotulje (sl. 91).²³⁴

O Knobleharju je bilo veliko napisano v strokovnih razpravah, v poljudnih delih, v leposlovju in v otroški literaturi.²³⁵ V Slovenskem etnografskem muzeju nastaja dokumentacija vseh objavljenih zapisov v zvezi s Knobleharjem v Sloveniji in v tujini. Zaenkrat je malo znanega, kaj je bilo o Knobleharjevem misijonu objavljeno v Sudanu. Še zanimivejše pa je vprašanje, kako je spomin na misijonarje preživel v ljudskem izročilu, v pripovedih in pesništvu. Ko je bil Knoblehar v Gondokorju, so Barijci o njem prepevali različne pesmi.²³⁶ Abuna Soliman je bil za Afričane izjemen, nenavaden mož, ki je vtisnil svojevrsten pečat v njihovo življenje in zato ni izključeno, da bi še danes kje ob Belem Nilu zaslišali napev *Soliman, roromue ... Soliman, do rarata*.

SVETI GRAL IN ZELENA SAHARA

Šiluki so svojega kralja imeli za reinkarnacijo božanskega duha Nikanga in so mu izkazovali največje časti. Toda ko ni več mogel spolno zadovoljiti svojih žena, je prišel čas za usmrnitev. Pravočasna smrt telesno opešanega kralja je bila neogibna, saj je z njim usihala tudi božanska moč, ki je zagotavljala rodovitnost narave.²³⁷ Zamisel ima korenine v starodavnih mitih Egipta (Oziris), Mezopotamije (Tammuz) in Grčije (Adonis). Starodavna ljudstva so bogove in božanska bitja z magičnimi obredi vračala v ponovno življenje iz kraljestva smrti, zato življenjski krog ni bil ogrožen. Šiluki so to ravnovesje obdržali s pravočasno zamenjavo starega kralja z novim. Arhetip te šege je dobil osrednje mesto tudi v znameniti srednjeveški legendi o svetem gralu.²³⁸ Zaradi ostarelega in bolnega kralja Ribiča je trpela vsa dežela, saj je narava postala nerodovitna, travniki niso več zeleneli, živali so poginjale in ljudje so umirali. Umirajoče kraljestvo je odrešila mladostna moč viteza Parzivala. Povezava Šilukov z legendo o gralu je razumljiva v njunem skupnem izhodišču, tj. v mitologiji prazgodovinskih ljudstev vzhodnega Sredozemlja.²³⁹

Krožno obnavljanje življenjske moči in skrb za rodovitnost sta se že v prvih dinastijah starega Egipta manifestirali v prazničnem obredu *sed*, ko je bil kralj po določenem obdobju vladanja vpeljan v skrivnost misterijev, da bi potrdil svojo vitalnost. Pomemben del obreda je bil tudi kraljev tek po osrednjem dvorišču v tempeljskem kompleksu, ki je v simbolnem smislu pomenil, da je kralj s svojo močjo povezal vse kraljestvo, z duhovno močjo pa je ustvaril vez med nebeškim in zemeljskim svetom.²⁴⁰ Kralj je imel pri tem obredu oblečen predpasnik, izza katerega mu je zadaj visel bikov rep, ki je simboliziral, da je kralj prevzel izjemno moč omenjene živali.

Bik je bil za Egipčane sveta žival že v obdobju prvih dinastij, njegov božanski kult pa so poznale tudi prazgodovinske kulture v Mezopotamiji in v Anatoliji. V posmrtnem kultu je bil bik glavna daritvena žival. Grobnice so pogosto okrasili s pravimi bikovimi glavami (npr. Alaca Hüyük),²⁴¹ te so krasile tudi svetišča in daritvene prostore. Pogosto so jih izdelali iz gline in prebarvali z naravnim rdečim pigmentom (npr. Çatal Hüyük).²⁴² Prevladujoča vloga goveda v najstarejših kulturah med Egiptom in Anatolijo kaže na skupni kulturni substrat, ki ga je leta 1944 dognal arheolog Henri Frankfort v študiji o amuletu z dvojno spiralo. Na

eni strani so dokumentirani podobni pojavi starodavnih kultur med Nilom in Tigrisom, na drugi strani pa spremljamo preživetje istih pojavov pri ljudstvih ob Belem Nilu. Frankfurt je segel daleč nazaj, v obdobje 10.000 let pr. Kr., ko je bila Sahara rodovitna dežela.²⁴³ Sledile so podnebne spremembe in Sahara se je vse bolj spreminjala v puščavo. Voda v rečnih koritih je presahnila in ljudje so se premaknili proti vzhodu. Nekateri so se naselili ob Nilu, drugi so šli še dlje proti severovzhodu. Nastale so nove civilizacije, nove verske in politične ureditve. Spomin na zeleno Saharo je v tisočletjih bledele, toda nekatera ljudstva ob Belem Nilu so ohranila neprekinjeno izročilo prednikov. Šiluki, Dinki, Nueri in Barijci so v materialni in duhovni kulturi nosili starodavne značilnosti pastirskih ljudstev vse do 20. stoletja.²⁴⁴

Knobleharjeva zbirka v Slovenskem etnografskem muzeju ima že na prvi pogled arhaične poteze. Čeprav jo prekriva tančica 19. stoletja, skozi njo preseva svet različnih prazgodovinskih kultur v porečju reke Nil. Vendar to ni prazgodovina arheoloških obdobij, temveč je živa, vsakdanja prazgodovina, ki je v resnici brezčasna. Ljudje ob Belem Nilu so bili dediči davno minulih civilizacij, katerih materialni in duhovni svet odsevata tudi v nekaterih predmetih Knobleharjeve zbirke. To so tisti predmeti, ki nam kažejo same začetke prvih kultur ob Nilu, hkrati pa se v nevidnem loku dotikajo primarnih verskih predstav o veselju in o človeškem bivanju, o minevanju in večnosti.

**“Ko je Dengdit ustvarjal svet,
je ustvaril sonce, ki se rodi, umre in se vrne;
je ustvaril mesec, ki se rodi, umre in se vrne;
je ustvaril zvezde, ki se rodijo, umrejo in se vračajo;
je ustvaril človeka, ki se rodi, umre in se ne vrne več.”**

Dinkovska pesem

1 Za osnovne biografske podatke glej temeljno delo o Knobleharju, ki ga je leta 1943 objavil Franc JAKLIČ z naslovom *Apostolski provikar Ignacij Knoblehar in njegovi misijonski sodelavci v osrednji Afriki*. Knjiga je bila pozneje še



dvakrat ponatisnjena (1955, 1996). Veliko dragocenega gradiva je v številnih razpravah objavil Zmago ŠMITEK: 1982: 149-153; 1986: 111-118; 1988: 48-58; 1991: 165-166; 1994: 239-243. O Knobleharju gl. tudi: STANONIK, F. 1882: 308-313; EHRlich, L. 1919: 93-96; EHRlich, L. 1928; EHRlich, L./BOHINEC, V. 1925-1932; ANŽIČ, A. 1928: 36-68; GRACAR, J. 1937-1938: 97-101; JAKLIČ, F. 1954: 84-98; DEBELJAK, T. 1958: 545-558; GÜNTHER, H. 1984: 411; TADINA, I. 1991; KOLASKA, A. 1991; GAFFURI, L. 1996: 25-26; LAH, A. 1999: 13-14; ČUK, S. 1998: 20-21; UDAL, J. O. 1998: 386-388; GRANDA, S. 1999: 563-567, 2001 a: 17; 2001 b: 105-107; FRELIIH, M. 2005 a: 100-101; 2005 b: 41-61; 2008: 26-31; OCVIRK, D. K. 2006: 165-166; KAJFEŽ, T. 2007 a: 145-148; BOŽIČ, R. 2008: 13; FRELIIH, M. 2008: 26-31; ŽAKELJ, J. 2008. Med starejšimi viri naj omenim še: JAROSLAV, F. 1881 (knjižica je povzetek do takrat znanih objav); UMEK OKIŠKI, A. 1863 (obsežna pesnitev v Knobleharjev spomin); MITTERRUTZNER, J. C. 1869 (avtor je bil veliki podpornik misijona in Knobleharjev zaupnik).

2 Friderik Irenej Baraga (1797-1868).

3 Urad z imenom “Kongregacija za širjenje vere” je po latinskem imenu “Congregatio de propaganda fide” v skrajšani obliki poznan kot “Propaganda”.

4 Rimski zavod “Collegium Romanum” je pozneje postal Gregorijanska univerza.

5 Maksymilijan Ryllo (1802-1848). Za njegov življenjepis gl.: CZERMINSKI, T. J. 1911.

6 Doktorski študij je Knoblehar omenil v pismu prijatelju Jožetu Partlju 10. januarja 1846: “In den Willen Gottes ergeben, konnte ich mich stets mit ausgeheiterem Gemüte für meine Missionen vorbereiten, und fand genug Ruhe, daß ich meine Prüfungen für das Doctorat in der Theologie glücklich bestehen konnte.” (Illyrisches Blatt 54, 1846: 215).

7 MC EWAN, D. 1988; SUNDKLER, B./STEED, C. 2000: 137-140; MULDER, A. 1960: 399; HOLT, P. M./DALY, M. W. 1988: 79.

8 Temeljna študija o Lavrinu je zaenkrat še neobjavljena disertacija avstrijskega egiptologa Gottfrieda Hamernika iz leta 1985 (HAMERNIK, G. 1985); gl. še: KAJFEŽ, T. 2007 b: 15-37.

9 HILL, R. 1959; GRAY, R. 1961.

10 Za pregled Knobleharjeve misijonske dejavnosti v Sudanu gl.: TADINA, I. 1991; KOLAR, B. 1998: 70-87.

11 ZACH, H. M. 1986: 25.

12 Za podrobnejšo predstavitev avstrijske politike v Sudanu gl.: JAKLIČ, F. 1943: 116; SAUER, W. 2002 b: 39-44.

13 Zgled iz opisa srečanja zakoncev Baker z misijonarjem Morlangom v Gondokoru: “Over a bottle of wine one night, he admitted that the mission station was a pretext, a way for Austria to obtain a foothold in the country and spy out the possibility of forming a colony there. There was no serious intention of converting the heathen.” (SHIPMAN, P. 2004: 175).

14 To velja predvsem za pregled nad dogajanjem na jugu Sudana (trgovski stiki, raziskave reke Nil). O avstrijskem misijonskem poslanstvu v Afriki gl.: AMATI, A. 1858; MITTERRUTZNER, J. C. 1861; THAUREN, J. 1933; isti 1935; ZACH, H. M. 1985.

15 Janez Kocjančič (Johann Kociancic, 1826-1853). Za Kocjančiča glej: BREN, H. 1927-1928: 177-183. Avtor njegov priimek piše Kocijančič in enkrat ga imenuje Ivan drugič Janez. Jaklič ga omenja kot Janez (JAKLIČ, F. 1943: 120).

16 SPILLMANN, J. 1891: 112-113.

17 Bayard Taylor (1825-1878).

18 “Dr. Knoblecher, who, of all men I saw in Khartoum, was best qualified to judge correctly, assured me that they needed only a just and paternal government, to make rapid progress in the arts of civilization.” (TAYLOR, B. 1854: 391).

19 ZACH, H. M. 1986: 13.

20 Zgodnja Danica 12, 1854: 49.

21 Martin Dovjak (1821-1854).

22 Zgodnja Danica 9, 1857: 34.

23 Jernej Mozgan (Bartholomäus Mosgan, 1823-1858). V nekaterih zapisih se omenja priimek Možgan, Jaklič in Kotnik uporabljata Mozgan (Mórgan). O Mozganu gl.: KOTNIK, F. 1943.

24 JAKLIČ, F. 1943: 169.

25 Franz Binder (1824-1875).

26 STIANSEN, E. 2000: 8; isti članek je bil objavljen tudi v nemščini: 2002: 111-126. V tem članku je risba “enega

- avstrijskega misijonarja”, v resnici pa je to risba iz Knobleharjevega ladijskega dnevnika. Risba, ki prikazuje Tunan, vas Šilukov, se v dnevniku nahaja na strani 25, z datumom 3. december 1849 - (Tunan Dorf der Shilluk Neger). Glej: STIANSEN, E. 2002: 125, [15].
- 27 Jakob Schaschel (1832-1903); hr. Jakob Šašel; slo. tudi Jakob Šašelj. Ob stoletnici Šašlove smrti je Mestni muzej Karlovac pripravil objavo celotnega dnevnika v nemščini in v hrvaškem prevodu (SCHASCHEL, J. 2003). V muzeju so mi prijazno omogočili ogled izvornika in mi dali na razpolago slikovno gradivo, za kar se vodstvu muzeja iskreno zahvaljujem. Glej tudi: ŠAŠELJ, I. 1938; 1939 a in 1939 b.
- 28 SCHASCHEL, J. 2003; ŠMITEK, Z. 1994: 239-243.
- 29 SCHASCHEL, J. 2003: 110; 251. Gl. tudi Lapovo pismo iz Kartuma: Zgodnja Danica 9, 1854: 39.
- 30 Alfred Edmund Brehm (1829-1884). Glej: BREHM, A. E. 1983: 56.
- 31 JAKLIČ, F. 1943: 117.
- 32 ŠAŠELJ, I. 1939 b: 74.
- 33 Zgodnja Danica 22, 1855: 94.
- 34 Zgodnja Danica 25, 1855: 105.
- 35 Zgodnja Danica 20, 1853: 82. Pod priimkom Streinz je verjetno mišljen ugledni avstrijski zdravnik Wenzel M. Streinz (1792-1876), poznan tudi po knjigi z naslovom *Anleitung zur Untersuchung der Apotheken, vorzüglich aber zur Prüfung der Aechtheit und Güte der Arzneien. Ein handbuch für Sänitäts- und Polizeibeamte, Aertze, Wundärzte und Apotheker, wie nich minder für Materialwaarenhändler und Drogisten*, (Praga, 1825).
- 36 MITTERRUTZNER, J. C. 1890.
- 37 Matthäus Kirchner (1826-1912).
- 38 Jožef Švegel (Josef Schwegel 1836-1914).
- 39 Daniele Comboni (1831-1881).
- 40 Katoliški misijoni 32/8, 1958: 402.
- 41 SAUER, W. 2007: 210-212; ROSA LEONE, A. 1988: 11-12.
- 42 Nicolo Olivieri (1792-1864). Zgodnja Danica 12, 1853: 51; ROMANATO, G. 1998: 206-207.
- 43 Kronika uršulinskega samostan v Škofji Loki za leto 1859: stran 48-49.
- 44 Zgodnja Danica 41, 1856: 178-179.
- 45 UŠENIČNIK, F. 1933: 305.
- 46 SMOLIK, M. 1995: 86-87.
- 47 O raziskavah Nila: BEKE, C. T. 1860; SPEKE, J. H. 1863; MARNO, E. 1874; BOHINEC, V. 1925: 1-24; isti 1928-1929: 17-23; isti 1944; MOOREHEAD 1965; HILL, R./TONIOLO, E. 1975; UDAL, J. 1998; TROZZI, N. 2001: 111-120. Zelo zanimiv potopis o plovbi po Belem Nilu in z bogatimi barvnimi ilustracijami: HARNIER von, W. 1866. Za splošen pregled o Nilu je priporočljiva literarna mojstrovina Emila Ludwiga, ki je v obliki romana opisal afriško reko od njenih izvirov do izlivov v Sredozemsko morje. Delo je prevedel Jože Kastelic, ki je napisal tudi spremno besedo. (LUDWIG, E. 1981).
- 48 KLUN, V. F. 1850 a in b. Nemška različica je izšla v ponatisu (KAINBACHER, P. 2003). Glej tudi: KNOBLECHER, I. 1851.
- 49 Zgodnja Danica 24, 1851: 102; LUKAS, F. 1854 (1859): 535.
- 50 KREIL, K. 1854 (1859).
- 51 Tudi Loquek, Logvek, Logweck in Logwek, arabsko ime pa je bilo Gebel el Redjaf. Ime Logwek je verjetno v jeziku Nyángbara. Beseda za tresenje ali potres je v Barijskem jeziku gringrina-kak. Gl. še: STRUCK, B. 1909: 403. Harnier omenja tudi ime Lu-gnutet in ga prevaja kot “Erdbebenberg”, tj. Potresni ali Tresočni hrib. HARNIER von, W. 1866: priloga XVII: Berg Logwek. Klun po Knobleharju postavlja Logvek na območje 4°10' severne zemljepisne širine. Vendar ta podatek ne drži (KLUN, V. F. 1850 a: 30).
- 52 Tudi Lumutat, Lamutat. O tem tudi: STRUCK, B. 1909: 403.
- 53 JAKLIČ, F. 1943: 210-211.
- 54 Zgodnja Danica 20, 1853: 82.
- 55 John Hanning Speke (1827-1864).
- 56 SPEKE, J. H./GRANT, J. A. 1862-1863: 223; UDAL, J. O. 1998: 472-473.
- 57 UDAL, J. O. 1998: 472-473.
- 58 ŠMITEK, Z. 1995: 159-178.



- 59 TAYLOR, B. 1854: 380-381.
- 60 LOHWASSER, A. 2008: 121-128.
- 61 TAYLOR, B. 1854: 284.
- 62 TAYLOR, B. 1854: 346-354.
- 63 “Early in 1851 Dr. Knoblecher, Catholic bishop apostolic for Central Africa, published in Germany his account of the ascent of the White Nile in latitude eight degrees north. His descriptions were so careful and evidently so correct, and they revealed such an unexpected and wide field of African travel, that when I found myself in Egypt before the close of the same year I determined to devote the whole of the winter to reaching as far a point on the White Nile as was possible with my limited means.” (DALY, C. P./TAYLOR, B. 1875: 303).
- 64 Ferdinand de Lesseps (1805-1894).
- 65 LESSEPS de, F. 1888.
- 66 DE GREY/RIPON 1859-1860: 179.
- 67 “Dr. Knoblecher, the founder of the Austrian Church Mission establishment at Gondokoro, ascertained by a long series of observations that the Nile reached its lowest level there in the middle January.” (SPEKE, J. H. 1863: 331).
- 68 BREHM, A. E. 1983: 56.
- 69 Pomen Knobleharja v evropskem raziskovanju, ki se je sredi 19. stoletja posvečalo Nilu, je podrobno predstavil Nicola TROZZI (2001). Avtor si zelo prizadeva, da bi pri raziskavah Nila v ospredje postavil Knobleharjevega sopotnika Emanuela Pedemonteja. Zagotovo njegova vloga ni zanemarljiva, kdo je pa zares slovel kot poznavalec Nila, pa najzgovorneje kažejo zapisi sodobnikov (Lesseps, Brehm in Taylor).
- 70 EWALD, J. 1980: 345.
- 71 Kristijan Pajer (Christian Paier, 1839-1895).
- 72 Zgodnja Danica 24, 1860: 194.
- 73 O njegovem življenju in delu: KAMBIČ, M. 1975; ZUPAN ŠORLI, N. 2008 (z navedeno literaturo).
- 74 Alois Payer - Königl. Hofphotographen in Egypten, vorm. Mitglied der Apostol. Mission für Central-Afrika zu Chartum unter der Leitung ihres Chefs, der Hochwürdigem Herrn Provicars Dr. Ignaz Knoblecher in den Jahren 1853-1856; gl. PAYER, A. 1864.
- 75 Omenil ga je Kirchner v pismu 15. januarja 1855 (Zgodnja Danica 13, 1855: 59). Priimek Payer je v fonetični obliki zapisan kot Bajer.
- 76 “Gondokoro is the seat of an ivory-mart during the month December and January, when traders from Khartum visit it, and obtain their ivory exchange for grain and beads; and here the late Pro Vicario Knoblecher established a Roman Catholic mission, which was abandoned in 1859.”
- 77 VERNE, J. 1969: 220.
- 78 FADLALLA, H. L. M. 2004: 76-79.
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THE CROSS, THE SPEAR AND A MIRROR

In November 1849 the missionary Ignacij Knoblehar left Khartoum and sailed down the White Nile towards the equator. An unknown land with unknown peoples stretched before him. He was thirty years old when he first arrived in Gondokoro in southern Sudan. The dark-skinned locals were intrigued by his fair complexion and particularly his beard. Knoblehar broke the uneasy, tense atmosphere by pulling out an accordion and playing a merry, dancing tune for the chief. The locals were impressed and the chief immediately offered him his seat. Knoblehar thanked him politely and promised to return and play some more. When he arrived on his boat he brought a harmonium, whereas the next time, he brought three church bells as part of his ambitious plan to evangelise the pagans at the edge of the equator.

In his Catholic fervour, he was convinced that he would carry out all his ideas with the cross in his hand. But what was placed before him was a spear: not as a weapon, but as the most powerful symbol of the peoples along the White Nile. Chiefs gave it to him as a sacred object and a sign of the highest honour. Knoblehar accepted it and placed his wooden cross on top of it. He thought that he had dealt with the issue of sacredness in this manner. But he was wrong. There was not enough room for two religious symbols in the country and his Catholic mission was doomed. Knoblehar's short Sudanese mission is one of the most interesting chapters in the history of connections between Africa and Europe. Numerous archival, literary and pictorial sources reveal the rich cultural heritage of the peoples along the White Nile, while at the same time they take us to a period when the people of the Austrian Empire established the first contact with Africa. The first stereotypes about the Dark Continent and racial prejudice to emerge in the territory of present-day Slovenia began then. Although almost a century and half has passed since then, some of them still persevere today.

The Sudanese mission and its heritage can be connected with an interesting story: once a local black man visited missionary. He leisurely strolled around the premises when suddenly he froze with fear. On the wall before of him there was a face staring straight at him. The man moved and, behold, the phantom on the wall also moved. When he moved a bit more, the face on the wall disappeared, leaving behind only a shining surface between four pieces of wood. The alarmed visitor did not understand where the phantom had disappeared to, so he quickly went to the wall and removed the shining object. But there was nothing behind it! The missionary approached and explained to the alarmed local man that he had seen himself in a special object that white people call a "mirror". The local man could not be convinced. No, that was not him, it was somebody else: a man hiding behind the shining surface.

The message of the exhibition and publication entitled "Mission in Sudan: 1848-1858" is also like a mirror. The question is, who do we see in the mirror: Africans, Europeans, Slovenes, ourselves? Nobody? Let us at least seek what is hiding behind...

Marko Frelih, PhD



COINCIDENCE AND VISION

Ignacij Knoblehar was born on 6 July 1819 in the village of Škocjan in Lower Carniola (Dolenjska) (figs. 1-4).¹ As the eldest son, he was supposed to follow in his father's footsteps and become an innkeeper and butcher. But his parents' expectations were thwarted when the young Ignacij heard a sermon about the Christianisation of the pagan peoples. This sermon, delivered to the pious in April 1837 in Novo Mesto, was something special: the man standing behind the pulpit was Frederic Baraga, a missionary among the native tribes of North America (fig. 5).² The fiery words of the famous missionary left an indelible impression on the young Ignacij and awakened in him the desire to follow the example of his compatriot from Lower Carniola. After he completed the grammar secondary school in Novo mesto, Knoblehar enrolled in the Ljubljana lyceum and, two years later, in autumn 1839, became a student at the Ljubljana seminary. Already during his second year of his studies there, the self-confident student sent a letter to the papal nuncio in Vienna and asked him to support him in his wish to study in Rome. Having completed the second year at the seminary and without any special preparation, he went to Rome and applied at the papal office for the evangelisation of pagan lands.³

The office naturally rejected the naive theologian and Knoblehar ended up in the street with little money in his pocket and a bit of personal luggage. But he did not give up. He obtained permission to attend classes in foreign languages at Propaganda Fide, whereas at the Jesuit institute in Rome he was kindly allowed to attend classes in medicine and natural science.⁴ Knoblehar was a very talented language student and soon he captured the attention of Prof Giuseppe Mezzofanti, a great Italian polyglot, who was famous for his knowledge of multiple languages and dialects, including Slovene, which he learnt with Knoblehar's help. Mezzofanti was the guardian of the papal library and as a cardinal he was highly respected in Rome. Meeting him was very important to Knoblehar, because the cardinal intervened with the directorate of the Propaganda Fide to admit the determined young man from Lower Carniola as a regular student in the summer of 1843. At that time, the director of the institute was the Jesuit Maksymilijan Ryllo (fig. 20), who was a Pole hailing from the region of Samogitia (in present-day Lithuania).⁵ Ryllo was a very experienced missionary and he was planning a new adventure: the founding of a mission in Africa. Knoblehar, who was a student at the time, knew nothing about this; he studied diligently and was ordained a priest in mid-March 1845, after which he completed his doctoral studies in theology.⁶ But after he graduated, the Propaganda Fide directorate did not know what task to assign him. First they wanted to send him to India, then to Sweden, Australia or Persia, but they finally decided that he would stay in Rome as the director's assistant and a lecturer at the Ukrainian Institute.

On 30 March 1846 Pope Gregory XVI signed a decree on the founding of an apostolic vicariate in central Africa.⁷ This was an immense area for five missionaries, who in left Rome in midsummer for the "dark continent". One of the passengers aboard the French steamboat *Sesóstris* was Ignacij Knoblehar. The mission faced problems from the very beginning, because Bishop Anetto Casolani refused to become the head of the vicariate. While waiting for the decision from Rome, Knoblehar travelled to the Holy Land and Syria, where he spent



eight months. During this time, Ryllo was appointed vicar and he immediately summoned his men to join him in Alexandria. There, Knoblehar met another Slovene, Anton Lavrin from Vipava, who was an Austrian consul.⁸ Lavrin was of great help to the missionaries, particularly when intervention was needed with the Turkish authorities in Egypt to obtain letters of safe conduct. The authorities suspected that the mission of these hand-picked Europeans had a hidden agenda of colonial greed for the uncharted land along the White Nile in Eastern Sudan. Bilad el-Sudan - the Land of Black People - was the Arabic name for the vast territory on the plateau to the south of the Sahara, between eastern and western Africa. During Knoblehar's time, eastern Sudan was under the administrative and military rule of the Turkish authorities in Egypt.⁹ During the reign of the Ottoman Empire, when Mohamed Ali (1805-1848) ruled Egypt, the provinces of Dongola, Berber, Sennar and Kordofan emerged between Aswan and Khartoum under the Egyptian supremacy. The population was mostly Arabic and there were many immigrants from Egypt, some of whom were Copts. Mohamed Ali was under great pressure from the English and Istanbul to secure a monopoly over the southern part of eastern Sudan, mostly along the White Nile. The territory consisted of vast swamps and the river was full of floating islands of intertwined grass, reeds and aquatic plants. It was impossible to organise large military campaigns in this area, so the governor general abandoned the idea of Muslims subjugating the black peoples along the Nile.

ACTION AND ILLUSION
1848

The other members of the group, apart from Ryllo, Knoblehar and Casolani, were the priest Angelo Vinco and Father Emanuel Pedemonte. The missionaries chose Khartoum as their starting point for their journeys to the southern regions of Sudan. They purchased land on the left bank of the Blue Nile and prepared for the construction of buildings that were needed (fig. 19). First they intended to build living quarters for missionaries, a chapel, a school and various workshops. But the work came to a halt because Ryllo fell seriously ill. Sensing that the end of his life was fast approaching, he appointed Knoblehar as his deputy and gave him all papal authorisations to lead the mission.¹⁰ In June Ryllo died, and Casolani and Vinco returned to Europe (fig. 21). In order to survive, Knoblehar and Pedemonte borrowed money and tried to get help from home. His fellow countrymen did not forget him and with their help activities at the mission were restored.

1849

Knoblehar became head of the missionary undertaking in very unfavourable circumstances. The slave trade blossomed in Khartoum: every year 40,000 to 60,000 people were brought from the south and sold to Egypt, Abyssinia and the Arabian Peninsula. The trade was conducted not only by Arabs, but also by Europeans. Knoblehar was aware that he could establish contact with the local black population if he would protect them from slave merchants. This was a very wise decision, because it earned him great favour with the natives, as well as respect from the official administration. He secured the support of the diplomatic corps, particularly the Austrian consuls in Alexandria and Khartoum. Knoblehar's struggle against slavery greatly contributed to the final prohibition of this cruel form of

human denigration. The missionaries began buying slaves, mostly boys, who became the first pupils at the Khartoum mission school. They learnt Arabic and Italian. Preparations for baptism were also part of their curriculum. When they were baptised, they received new names, usually saints' names. The first boy to be baptised was named Aloysius.

Daily routine at the missionary school:¹¹

5:30 am: rising, washing

6:00 am: mass

6:30 am: breakfast

7-8 am: getting ready for classes

8-9 am: classes in Arabic for the younger students / religious classes for older students

9-10 am: classes in Arabic for the older students / religious classes for younger students

10-11 am: getting ready for afternoon classes

11 am: prayer at the chapel

Break

12 pm: lunch

Break

1:30 pm: homework

2-3 pm: Italian language classes

3-4 pm: reading in Italian for younger students / mathematics for older students

Break

4:30-6 pm: singing and praying the rosary

6 pm: dinner

Evening prayer

Bedtime

On 13 November Knoblehar, Pedemonte and Vinco joined the expedition that the Khartoum governor sent to the south every year. Its purpose was the transport of supplies to the Egyptian military bases along the Nile in Sudan. The members of the governor's expedition also included merchants, who traded glass beads for ivory with the locals. This colourful crew kept the thirty-year-old Knoblehar company during his adventurous voyage against the current of the White Nile and towards the equator.

1850 ►

They returned to Khartoum on 7 March. Their voyage on the Nile lasted 113 days, long enough for Knoblehar to thoroughly think through what he needed to do to fulfil his missionary plans. He travelled to Europe with a clear goal in mind: he had to secure sufficient funds, recruit new staff and acquire the necessary equipment. In mid-August he strolled along the streets of Ljubljana in typical oriental clothes. He caused a sensation, also with his African collection, which he showed to his fellow countrymen at the theological seminary. The display consisted of objects, as well as various stones, natural dyes, plants, stuffed birds and two live animals: a desert jerboa and a mongoose (figs. 179-183). Knoblehar took some of the objects with him to Vienna, where he arrived in late October. He immediately secured an audience with the young emperor Franz Joseph I, who promised to become a patron of the mission and supply the necessary funds. Knoblehar's visit in



Vienna awakened an Austrian appetite for supremacy in eastern Africa on several levels. Control of the trading routes on the Nile was very important for many European countries. Trade for ivory and other natural resources was very lucrative. The English, French, Germans and, increasingly, also Austrians were aware of this. In Knoblehar's work the Austrian government recognised an opportunity to assert itself politically and economically in Africa.¹² At the same time it feared the alternative that Knoblehar presented: if the imperial court had refused to help him, he would have turned to the French. As a negotiator he apparently knew very well why he needed to convince the emperor first, before the pope. The English were convinced that the Catholic mission was only a camouflage for Austrian political and economic interests in southern Sudan. They thought that Catholic missionaries were nothing but spies and profiteers that exploited the locals by using the privileges of their vocation.¹³ This very critical opinion of the work of the missionaries on the part of the English was understandable, because as Protestants they were apprehensive of the Catholic presence, while on the other hand the ambitious missionaries, Knoblehar included, were a serious obstacle to their colonial policy.¹⁴

1851 ►

At the beginning of the year, the missionary Vinco travelled south to visit the Bari. He spent some time in Ulibari and then moved to a village at the foot of Belenian Hill (fig. 61), which was a good starting point for short excursions to the territories of various peoples: the Bari, Beri and Lira. He returned to Ulibari in autumn. In Vienna, Knoblehar founded a society for helping the central African mission. It was called *Marien-Verein zur Beförderung der katholischen Mission in Central-Afrika* (The Society of Mary for the spreading of the Catholic mission in central Africa) and its patron was the Archbishop of Prague, Cardinal and Prince Friedrich von Schwarzenberg (fig. 30). In early June Knoblehar went to Munich and from there to Innsbruck and Brixen. Finally it was time to go to Rome. When he arrived, he was very surprised to discover that the Congregation for the Evangelization of Peoples had decided to abolish the mission. He needed to secure an audience with the pope. On 10 August, Pius IX listened to the dedicated missionary for over an hour. Knoblehar left the papal residence with a very valuable gift. In one hand he held a document on his appointment as pro-vicar, and in the other he carried a bag with glittering gifts from the pope: a chalice and monstrance. In early September he returned to Africa. In Cairo he bought a nearly new ship from the chief commander of the harbour. The vessel was called *Stella Matutina* (Morning Star) (figs. 41-42). The voyage to southern Egypt was uneventful. When they reached the first rapids, they had to load their luggage on camels (figs. 16-17). Knoblehar and his co-workers hired almost a hundred camels to transport the material for the mission, which included a portable printing press. The priest Janez Kocjančič remained on the ship. He navigated all six rapids with great difficulty and dropped anchor in Khartoum three months later.¹⁵

1852 ►

At the Khartoum mission, work was undertaken with great zeal. A beautiful garden was planted with the help of the Vienna court gardener Andrej Hruška. With a special imperial permit and imperial funds he travelled to Sudan to be of assistance to the missionaries. He planted as many as 1,100 saplings of orange trees, date palms, banana plants, pomegran-

ate trees and other plants (fig. 21).¹⁶ Funds from Europe increasingly poured in, so new land was bought to expand the existing complex. The construction of the church began according to the plans that Knoblehar had commissioned in Vienna. The building would accommodate three thousand people. Because of its beautiful surroundings, the mission was one of the most attractive buildings in Khartoum and many travellers stopped there to admire it. Early in the year, the American traveller, poet and writer Bayard Taylor visited the mission several times (fig. 29).¹⁷ He was enchanted by the complex and he greatly admired Knoblehar and his exceptional knowledge of the conditions in Sudan.¹⁸ That year the Nile did not flood enough fertile land; prices in Khartoum rose and caused famine. Work at the mission stopped, because most of the funds were used for the expedition that was about to set out for southern Sudan.

1853

After three years, the missionary Vinco was finally joined by his friends from Khartoum. It took them thirty-five days to travel a distance of 1,600 kilometres to his mission in Ulibari. Knoblehar and Vinco set out on donkeys further south to find a site for a new mission. They selected Gondokoro in the territory of the Bari people (fig. 55). In a special tent that had been made in Vienna, Knoblehar organised a feast for twelve local chiefs on 20 January. Afterwards Knoblehar wrote a contract in the Bari language; the chiefs made crosses next to their names, sealing the contract, according to which the missionaries were given land and the chiefs a bag of glass beads. Vinco died three days later. In mid-May Knoblehar returned to Khartoum, but he soon left for Alexandria to meet the new missionaries arriving from Europe. Missionaries and their co-workers usually did not spend much time in the port of Alexandria. The main starting point for travels to the south was Cairo, where they had to stop a bit longer to purchase provisions and equipment for the voyage to Khartoum (figs. 6-7). During the preparations they visited biblical sites and ancient Egyptian monuments. Almost everybody saw the tree at the spring where the Holy Family had once sought shade (fig. 9). The priest Jožef Lap visited it with a saw in hand and cut off one of the branches to take with him. He also picked some rosemary in the vicinity. Another popular pilgrimage site was the cave where the Holy Family lived for seven years.¹⁹ According to Lap the cave was partially submerged, but he went to see it anyway and because he carried a saw with him again, he was able to chip off a piece of wooden icon with a religious motif to keep as a souvenir.²⁰ Usually they also visited the densely overgrown island of Roda, where the pharaoh's daughter had discovered a basket with the baby Moses stranded on the shore. The more daring travellers visited the pyramids of Giza, where a unique adventure awaited them: the climb to the top of a pyramid (fig. 8). The craftsman Jakob Šašel climbed the Cheops pyramid and carved his name in a block of stone at the top (fig. 22). After this strenuous feat he rested in the company of his friends in a deserted tomb, where they opened a bottle of French wine and raised their glasses in a toast to the dead.

1854

There was no news from the south, and in mid-February, Knoblehar's "Stella Matutina" left the port of Khartoum. During the voyage, Knoblehar found out that the missionary Martin Dovjak had died in Gondokoro.²¹ Knoblehar and the priest Ignatius Kohl arrived in Gondokoro on 2 April. They revived the mission and resumed the classes for children.



Knoblehar explored the river further towards the equator and got as far as the rapids at 4° north. Observing the surrounding landscape from the top of a hill on the island Lomutat, he concluded that the source of the Nile must be to the south of the equator. In mid-June Kohl died. The Bari sat by his grave and sang sad songs late into the night. In July Knoblehar was back in Khartoum, where he undertook construction work at the missionary complex. In autumn new priests and craftsmen arrived from Europe.

1855

While the newcomers from Europe adjusted to the new living conditions, Knoblehar set sail again and in the company of many other travellers (34) went to Gondokoro. Three bells were suspended from a special wooden structure on the deck. During the voyage, the travellers rang the bells to attract the astonished locals to the shore. Their return to Gondokoro was splendid: a crowd of locals waited for them, including the chief Nigila in red clothes that the missionaries had given him four years before. Abundant rain destroyed the harvest and there was severe famine. Knoblehar bought 30 children from slave merchants for the missionary school.

1856

Knoblehar fell seriously ill with fever. He regained his health in spring and in June he set out for Gondokoro again. A new missionary school was opened in Khartoum, which attracted the attention of many locals. People admired the murals in the classrooms and the music of the harmonium, but most of all they were astonished by the lion who leisurely strolled in the missionary garden. Knoblehar donated two elephant tusks and 23 pieces of ebony for the new church (Votivkirche) in Vienna. The cargo was taken to Vienna by the teacher Jakob Danninger when he returned home for good.²²

1857

The new missionaries arrived in Khartoum at the time of a cholera epidemic. One of its victims was the Tyrolean priest Ignaz Gerbl, who had just begun teaching Arabic at the mission school. At that time Knoblehar was in Gondokoro. Conditions there were very uncertain, because the missionaries were under great pressure from the locals as a result of famine in the region. Jernej Mozgan at Holy Cross also found himself in difficulties, as the Kiki were increasingly hostile towards missionaries.²³ A large chapel with three altars was consecrated in Khartoum. On 13 October, the Geographic Society of Vienna named Knoblehar an honorary member. In December he travelled to the north. Because of poor health, he decided to go to Europe for a short period of time to regain his strength.

1858

Knoblehar found the voyage from Alexandria to Italy very strenuous. He changed his mind about going to Rome and disembarked in Naples. Ill with a severe lung infection, he initially stayed at an inn, but later Discalced Augustinian monks took care of him. Occasionally his health improved, but in early April the exhausted missionary fell ill again. His condition worsened day by day; he had severe cough and pains in his legs and chest; he was restless and finally had a stroke. Knoblehar's life ended on 13 April at 11 am. He was thirty-eight (fig. 33).

A MISSION OF GLASS BEADS

When Knoblehar started his missionary adventure among the peoples of the White Nile, he harboured a great illusion. He regarded the local population as lost pagan savages that could be saved from the damnation in hell only through baptism and the other sacraments, and by learning the Christian doctrine. But the people did not understand what he wanted from them. They had completely different mental patterns that were based on the practical outlook necessary for survival in severe living conditions that were dictated both by nature, with long droughts, and by slave hunters. In these conditions Knoblehar's mission was just another disturbance in their surroundings. But the resourceful locals soon recognised the benefits of the arrival of the missionaries: protection from slave hunters and food in the time of famine. They even listened to the word of God if the missionaries first gave them glass beads. For this reason Knoblehar constantly kept a bag of glass trinkets from Venice aboard his ship. In 1853 he brought 1200 kilograms of beads to Gondokoro. In only three months he distributed almost one ton of them.²⁴ But when food and beads became scarce, the missionaries immediately felt the hostility of the local population, which accused them of causing famine, diseases and death. The people sent them a clear message: leave and take your God with you!

Both Knoblehar's close associates and external observers often voiced their criticism of his mission along the White Nile. However, the Catholic press persistently rejected any negative response and through direct propaganda made sure that their readers did not harbour any doubts about the purpose of Knoblehar's work. But after several years of agony for the mission, the publication of criticisms could no longer be avoided, whereas Knoblehar's death finally confirmed that the illusion of the great mission had come to an end and that it was time to face the reality of the situation.

Knoblehar's decision to petition the emperor first and only later the pope on his return to Europe in 1850 reveals his personal attitude towards the missionary strategy in Africa. The leadership of Propaganda Fide soon discerned from his decisions that he had his own, independent missionary policy and consequently it warned him several times. Rome was particularly annoyed with the fact that it did not have any oversight of the financial donations from Europe and even less of the banking and trading transactions that Knoblehar conducted in Khartoum. Due to a growing demand for ivory and rubber in the world market, Sudan and the neighbouring Abyssinia played a very important role. The well-organised white men had become serious competition to Arabian merchants and a struggle for power began on the Nile. One of the most successful merchants was Franz Binder from Transylvania, who became quite prosperous in Sudan and soon became the richest European in Khartoum.²⁵ Business cooperation with Knoblehar was inevitable, because missionaries needed supplies and particularly European goods.²⁶ In addition Knoblehar was interested in ivory, which he occasionally gave as a present to his European donors. Knoblehar lived for the mission, but in his own way. At that time, missionaries were expected to be modest and humble, but Knoblehar knew that he had to assert himself in Khartoum in order to have a position equal to the ruling Muslim dignitaries. He made sure that the mission's building was given a decent appearance and that the mission's ship *Stella matutina*, which



at the same time was his travelling residence, was lavishly furnished. But he also provided for himself. When he walked in the streets of Khartoum, he caused a sensation: this was not a poor missionary in ragged sackcloth that came down the street, but a man in the most expensive clothes with a silk scarf wrapped around his head, who accentuated the rhythm of his steps with a heavy stick, studded with silver and featuring an ivory handle in the shape of a hand clutching a human skull. This was no longer Knoblehar. He was Abuna Soliman - *our father Solomon!*

Of course, not everybody agreed that a missionary should behave in this way. Jakob Šašel came to Sudan as a volunteer in 1853.²⁷ He returned home in spring the following year because of illness and wrote a memoir of his journey to Africa in 1863.²⁸ Šašel was very critical toward Knoblehar: he accused him of extravagance and exaggerated friendliness towards Muslims. He also mentions that Knoblehar had a wine cellar with choice French wines and his personal store of bread. While his associates had to survive with meagre supplies, he organised dinners for high-society Arabs. Šašel also accused the crew of "Stella matutina" of keeping mistresses and Knoblehar of turning a blind eye to this matter. It is also interesting what Šašel says about Knoblehar's attitude towards his fellow student from the Ljubljana seminary, Jožef Lap, who arrived at his friend's mission with great enthusiasm. Knoblehar obviously did not share his sentiments about his arrival, because he completely ignored him. While others were given work and accommodation, Lap was left to his own resources. He soon fell ill and after a few months died at the age of 36. This incident shocked Šašel and he wrote about it in his memoir with great indignation.²⁹ Knobleharjev aloofness toward his fellow-countrymen is to some extent understandable but it is not excusable. Although he needed priests, he was more favourably inclined toward those who came from Tyrol and other German-speaking Austrian provinces. He was restrained towards other Slovenes, because he knew that articles published back home would soon reveal his questionable management of the mission. Fortunately for Knoblehar, the chief editor of the newspaper *Zgodnja Danica* was his friend Luka Jeran, who subjected all letters from Sudan to thorough censorship. The Ljubljana bishop Alojzij Wolf probably also had secret doubts about Knoblehar's abilities as a leader. He was very fond of the missionary, but it is very probable that he did not agree with his financial transactions, because when Knoblehar was still a student, he warned him repeatedly that he had to learn how to deal with money.

Another severe critic of Knoblehar was the Italian missionary, and later also a cardinal, Guglielmo Massaja. He visited Khartoum in 1851, when Knoblehar was in Europe. Although they did not meet, he described Knoblehar as somebody who was more detrimental than beneficial for the mission. Massaja compared the conditions at the mission with the chaos of the Tower of Babel. It is evident from his text that he disliked the Austrian influence and the fact that the mission was led by a priest and not a monk or a Jesuit like the late Ryllo. On the other hand, several other records that escaped the censorship of the Church speak of Knoblehar with great admiration and respect. The German scientist Alfred Brehm wrote: *The world famous Ignacij Knoblehar of Ljubljana was the soul of the mission. He was as kind as he was educated, a tireless worker, always cheerful in his communication with travellers, modest and noble.*³⁰ Written sources do not agree about Knoblehar's physical

appearance: at home they describe him as a man of medium stature, whereas in Khartoum he is portrayed as small and graceful.³¹ In light of the conflicting accounts of Knoblehar and his missionary work, the preserved sources must be used cautiously. Any assessment of his actions must also be based on an understanding of the circumstances in which he worked, which were very complicated.

EPILOGUE OF THE SUDAN MISSION ▶

The Catholic press in Europe idyllically portrayed missionaries as heroes who sacrificed themselves to save pagan souls at the gates of hell. Missionaries indeed sacrificed their lives, because they died of various illnesses in terrible climatic conditions. "Here one soon becomes both alive and dead," wrote Šašel to his family, critically commenting on the reports in *Zgodnja Danica* and concluding: "Much has been said about the good, but absolutely nothing about the bad."³² A Frenchman called Afred Penney was a highly respected doctor in Khartoum. Missionaries were frequently his patients. Knoblehar took care of the less complicated cases, because he had learned something about medicine during his studies in Rome. During his voyages on the Nile, he received people with various injuries every time the ship dropped anchor. He mostly treated open wounds, which he cleaned, disinfected and bandaged. He most frequently used arnica, which he received from Mrs Köstel of Ljubljana.³³ But the mission's worst enemy was a treacherous fever against which white people were completely helpless. The priest Jožef Lap also succumbed to it. At first he tried to cure himself with homeopathic medicine. Because his condition did not improve, a doctor was called, who administered quinine, but to no avail. Only Arsenicum relived the unbearable pain.³⁴ Knoblehar also mentioned a homeopathic pharmacy when he had difficulties with health in 1853: "What helped was a collection of homeopathic medicines, which was compiled by the learned Dr Streinz on the request of the countess, and these substances also have a powerful effect in central Africa. During the most severe attacks, I always took Aconit, also Belladonna several times, and Nux vomica, Ipecac or Pulsatilia for the pain. This is how my associates and I regained our strength."³⁵ The locals told Knoblehar about medicinal herbs that they gathered. Although the missionary was very interested in their knowledge of herbs, it is not known whether he gathered and used them himself. In one of the letters he sent to Ljubljana, it is clearly evident which medicine he trusted most: "We would need well-dried Carniolan prunes and good Carniolan gin as medicine to protect us from illnesses of the wet weather and unhealthy places." Given these conditions Knoblehar was a medical miracle, because many illnesses literally avoided him. Aside from his strong natural immunity, I think that this was mainly because he was constantly in motion and he lived on his boat in airy and comfortable rooms. The concept of the Sudan mission would have probably been brought to fruition if there had been an effective cure for the deadly malaria. But without this cure, Europeans were helpless and young men died one after another, some only a few months after their arrival. In ten years many employees of the mission, as well as almost twenty priests and brothers, died.³⁶

Janez Kocjančič - aged 27

Antonio Castagnaro - aged 27

Lorenz Gerbl - aged 27



Alois Pircher - aged 29

Anton Überbacher - aged 30

Michael Wurnitsch - aged 30

Martin Dovjak - aged 32

Angelo Vinco - aged 32

Ignaz Kohl - aged 32

Franz Reiner - aged 32

Francesco Oliboni - aged 32

Alois Haller - aged 34

Bartholomeo Mozgan - aged 35

Jožef Lap - aged 36

Josef Gostner - aged 36

Oton Trabant - aged 37

Matevž Milharčič - aged 40

Maximilijan Ryllo - aged 45

The graves of young men dotted the banks of the Nile and, when Knoblehar succumbed to the disease in spring 1858, there was no longer any doubt that it was time for reasonable measures. After Knoblehar's death missionaries gradually left Gondokoro and Holy Cross. His successor Matthäus Kirchner invested all his efforts in the construction of a new missionary station in Shellal in southern Egypt.³⁷ Jožef Švegelj from Gorje near Bled helped him obtain various permits.³⁸ He was a clerk at the Austrian consulate in Alexandria. In 1867 Daniele Comboni was appointed pro-vicar.³⁹ A new age of missionary history began, but it did not last long. Over half a century passed before Catholic missionaries sailed towards the equator again, but nobody succeeded in implementing Knoblehar's vision. Exactly one hundred years after his death, in 1958, Christians and pagans to the south began to be prosecuted and the newspaper *Al Ayam* declared the Church to be a state within the state, which wanted to dominate Sudan. The author of the article advised the government to expel Catholic missionaries from the country.⁴⁰ This marked the beginning of the systematic Islamisation of southern Sudan, which is still underway today.

CHILDREN OF KAM ▶

Knoblehar's work in Sudan attracted considerable attention from his countrymen, mostly due to press. People read about it in newspapers that had regularly reported about activities on the White Nile for an entire decade. The Catholic newsletter *Zgodnja danica* (figs. 31-32). kept its readers informed of conditions at the mission with a series of articles. For the first time in history Slovenes were thoroughly acquainted with an African country. The book *Potovanje po Beli reki* (Voyage along the White River) and his collection of items only increased their interest. Slovenes' contacts with Africa culminated with the arrival of Sudanese children in Ljubljana. Their arrival was part of the mission's plan to train the children to become priests and nuns and then send them back to Africa.⁴¹ But the plan failed because the children could not tolerate cold winters and many of them died of pneumonia. The Church realised the futility of the undertaking and missionaries stopped sending children.

Missionaries bought children at the slave markets of Khartoum and Cairo and took them to Europe, after which they moved them to different places (figs. 38-39). The main protagonist in this undertaking was the priest Nicolo Olivieri, who transported African children mostly to Italy, southern France and the Austrian lands.⁴² In twenty-five years he brought almost 500 children from Africa. He visited Ljubljana many times.

When he arrived in Ljubljana's Trnovo parish on 13 September 1856, he was seven years old. His name was Apat and his home was somewhere on the White Nile. Because another black man called Joseph of Carniola had already strolled the streets of Ljubljana, Apat was christened Joseph of Slovenia. The following spring he went to Naples. His restless African spirit would not let him stay in one place, so he spent a year in Alexandria, returned to Ljubljana, then went to Vienna and after that to Verona. The name Joseph of Slovenia was given to him by the student Josip Stritar, who later became a well-known writer. One day they ran into each other in an inn in Vienna. On entering the inn Joseph heard people speaking Slovene at one of the tables. He joined them and conversed with them in the Ljubljana dialect. Stritar described this encounter in his book *Lešniki* (Hazelnuts) in 1906. He described Joseph from a marked distance, as a foreigner even more deserving of contempt because of his dark skin. But Stritar acknowledged that there was something human in Joseph's black soul after all, because he expressed the desire to see his parents again someday.

"On 27 Feb. 1859 our well-behaved negro girl Maria Hamisa died," says the chronicle of the Ursuline convent in Škofja Loka (fig. 40). Hamisa and another girl, Gorunfila, were brought from Africa by the priest Olivieri in 1856. "At first these two children were very wild and rude. But later, when we taught them and they prepared for the Holy Baptism, they became quiet, good girls. On 14 April 1857 the dean of Stara Loka, the honourable Franc Kramar, baptised them in the presence of many priests and a large crowd of people. After the baptism, they received the Holy Communion during mass. It was indescribably moving to watch these two black children in white clothes holding a candle, kneeling and praying with great devotion. The older of the two, Hamisa, was named Amalia Maria of the Immaculate Conception, and the other one, Gorunfila, was named Maria Ivana. Their godmothers were Amalia, Countess of Wolkensperg, and Mrs. Pajk."⁴³ Gorunfila died of consumption in July the same year. The chronicle also says: "When they counted the years of their lives, they only included the years after their Holy Baptism."

The rite of baptism was the missionaries' most important activity, because they believed it was the only way of saving heathens from eternal damnation. When African children arrived in Ljubljana they first had to prepare for baptism. Without this rite they were merely abandoned heathen orphans or "the little black descendents of Ham", as they called them. The name Kam derives from the ancient name for Egypt: Khem or 'black land'. The region along the Nile was synonymous with the pagan world described in the biblical stories of the Old Testament. Everything black was associated with Kam, which was also an archaic name for Satan, and because of their black complexion, these girls and boys were called the children of Kam. Baptism was the only path to salvation for them, while to faithful Christians it also represented a unique manifestation of the Christian victory over paganism.



In 1856, African children were baptised at the Ursuline church in Ljubljana; the rite was led by Provost Ladinig. This was an important event for the city and newspapers wrote about it extensively and in great detail. The rite was unconventional: it began with stern interrogation and denouncement of the devil, which the provost exorcised from the souls of children by blowing three times and placing the cross on their heads. Then he placed salt in their mouths as a sign of purification. The procession moved from the convent to the church. This is when the impatient crowd in front of the church saw "the black souls" in black clothes for the first time. The clothes were a sign that evil was still present. The procession ceremonially entered the church and moved towards the high altar. Tension grew as the rite reached its final stage. With loud prayers and denouncement of the forces of evil, the children persuaded the pious crowd and the provost to administer them the sacrament. After being doused with holy water and anointed, the children changed into white clothes.⁴⁴

The baptism took place in a very archaic form: the symbolic actions show that the provost performed an exorcism on the children.⁴⁵ In the late 8th century, Abbot Alcuin, who was a famous scholar, theologian and close associate of Charlemagne, wrote rules for the baptism of pagans.⁴⁶ More than one thousand years later, African children in Ljubljana were baptised according to these rules. The mysticism of the public baptism satisfied the public's expectations. The written sources agree on this, but they do not mention whether anybody questioned the consequences of the event. The rite was taken for granted and nobody was interested in the psychological pressure and fear these children experienced.

The Christianisation of Africans is a good example of the hypocrisy of society, because the children were still despised after their baptism. Apat, whose story is described above, was renamed Joseph of Slovenia. He learned the Slovene language and spoke the Ljubljana dialect fluently, but he could not change the colour of his skin. For this reason, he was despised and made ashamed of being different. The public baptism of the African children was remembered for decades. There was even a play for children, in which one of the actors was in blackface to represent an African. Other actors washed him with water while praying and singing religious songs. In this way they symbolically cleansed him of the evil that he embodied. Through this play, children adopted a negative attitude towards dark-complexioned people and a sense of belonging to a superior race. During Knoblehar's mission the first stereotypes about African peoples emerged in Slovenia, many of which have been preserved to this day.

KNOBLEHAR ON THE NILE

When Knoblehar lived in Sudan, there was not much interest in studying the Nile. Maps of that time featured a mountain range called "Mountains of the Moon", at the foot of which was believed to be the source of the river Bahr el Abiad (White River), which is the Arabic name for the White Nile. The mountain range was believed to be located at 7° N (fig. 36). When Knoblehar returned to Europe in 1850, he informed experts that there were no mountains at that location and that the source of the Nile had to be sought south of the equator. His discovery greatly contributed to the return of explorers to the famous river.⁴⁷

Lively discussions followed and Knoblehar became a media celebrity. From Ljubljana to Vienna, Berlin, Paris and London, everybody discussed the Slovene missionary's African adventure with great excitement.

Knoblehar described his first great voyage on the Nile in great detail in his ship's log. During his voyage, he carefully wrote down information about the compass direction, the ship's speed, its geographical position, the weather, the air and water temperature, and air pressure. He also described the river bed with all its islands and banks. As a skilful draughtsman he sometimes added sketches to his account. He used local place names in his description. He described his observations with short, concise sentences. Sometimes he wrote longer passages only under the heading "travel report" (Germ. Reise Bericht). Using Knoblehar's notes and reports that were published in newspapers, the professor of geography and history Vicencij F. Klun published a German and Slovene booklet entitled "Voyage on the White River" in Ljubljana in 1850 (fig. 35).⁴⁸ Knoblehar also attracted the attention of the Vienna Academy of Sciences, which was interested in his Nile exploration. The Academy paid for modern measuring instruments, but on the condition that he sent the reports about the results to the Academy first.⁴⁹ In Vienna Knoblehar also learnt how to use all the instruments that he took to Khartoum. Measurements were also carried out by the priest Martin Dovjak of Šentjernej in Lower Carniola, who arrived in Sudan in 1851. He performed these tasks until January 1854 when he died at the age of thirty-two. Knoblehar's and Dovjak's measurements were published in 1859 by K. Kreil.⁵⁰

In 1850 Knoblehar sailed as far as 4° 40' N to Mount Logvek, which has an altitude of 606 metres (fig. 60).⁵¹ The name of the hill is associated with frequent earthquakes in this area. The village nearby was named after the granite peak. Knoblehar climbed to the summit and carved his initials on a rock at the top. Four years later, in late May 1854, he came even closer to the equator. From the preserved sources, it is very difficult to ascertain the furthest point that he reached during this journey. From the village of Tokiman, which he visited for the first time in 1850, he continued further south and his ship reached the island of Kirigver. Because of the rocky riverbed, he could not continue the voyage on the heavy, iron "Stella Matutina"; instead, he rowed in a small boat together with four sailors to the island of Lomutat.⁵² When they landed on the island, they were astonished by giant trees and colourful creepers. During his climb on the nearby hill, he met three Bari men who led him to a place that offered an astonishing view of the surroundings: numerous islands rose from the waters of the murmuring White Nile, and varied vegetation covered vast swaths of land and disappeared in slight waves at the horizon that was marked with a long hill-range.⁵³ Knoblehar was fully aware of the great significance of the moment: he was the first white man at the southernmost point reached by boat on the river Nile. There are many unsolved issues surrounding Knoblehar's Nile exploration. Until his entire archive becomes accessible, the most important question will remain how far he actually travelled. Despite the use of measuring instruments, measurement errors were very frequent at that time. Even the precise locations of the Gondokoro station and the mission of the Holy Cross remain unknown. According to Knoblehar's measurements, the small village of Ulibary on the right bank of the river was located at 4° 49' N.⁵⁴ But this measurement does not correspond with the information that Knoblehar continued further south to Gondokoro, which was sup-



posed to be located at 4° 54' N. Travellers and explorers constantly changed measurements, and they did not even agree on the names of places, hills and rivers. For example, Mount Logvek was featured either on the left or the right bank of the Nile in various maps. This cartographic confusion was made even worse by individual authors who used their travel books to negate the achievements of other explorers. The Italian explorer Giovanni Miani, for example, claimed that Knoblehar never travelled as far as it is generally believed; Franz Morlang wrote that Miani did not travel further from Khartoum and the reports of the English traveller Samuel Baker make us believe that Morlang was a drunken Austrian agent. But one thing is certain: every one of them strove to glorify his own achievements at the expense of others. Data were often copied from various sources that are not cited, or else information was simply fabricated. The reports that Knoblehar and his associates sent to Europe ignited a discussion about the sources of the Nile. The English initiated systematic explorations, and five years after Knoblehar's death John Hanning Speke and James Grant solved the great riddle of the mysterious river.⁵⁵ In 1863 they arrived in Gondokoro from the south, where they were met by other explorers who had sailed from the north. At that time the Dutch adventurer Alexandrine Tinné's expedition was based in Gondokoro.⁵⁶ One of its members was Janez Klančnik, who was hired as a guide in Gondokoro.⁵⁷ He came from Dovje and in 1853 he joined the Sudanese mission as a craftsman. Klančnik was the last of Knoblehar's associates who was still in Africa.⁵⁸

The American poet and traveller Bayard Taylor, who was in Khartoum in 1851 and 1852, often visited Knoblehar, because he obtained a lot of useful information about the country from him. This is how he described the missionary: "He is a man of thorough cultivation, conversant with several languages, and possesses an amount of scientific knowledge which will make his future explorations valuable to the world. During my stay in Khartoum I visited him frequently, and derived from him much information concerning the Countries of Soudân and their inhabitants. Aboona Suleyman, as Dr. Knoblecher is called, is already widely known and esteemed throughout Soudân..."⁵⁹ Taylor also had the spirit of an explorer and was particularly attracted by the past of the ancient Nubia.⁶⁰ Because of his interest in southern Sudan, Knoblehar showed him his travel logs and sketches. Taylor was greatly delighted by these research reports, which he described as very thorough and much more complete than those of other explorers.⁶¹ He took this opportunity to obtain Knoblehar's permission to copy the description of his first voyage on the Nile, which Taylor published in his book in 1854.⁶² Several years had passed since his last meeting with Knoblehar when, on 15 November 1875, Taylor delivered a lecture for American Geographical Society. At that time, a lively debate about the sources of the Nile was still underway and Taylor reminded American geographers of Knoblehar and his work.⁶³

Knoblehar is also mentioned by the famous French engineer Ferdinand de Lesseps.⁶⁴ Before he became famous as the builder of the Suez Channel, the French diplomat explored the Nile on behalf of the Imperial Academy and Napoleon III. In 1856 he contacted Knoblehar, who showed him his notes. Lesseps mentions them in a special Nile memorandum. Later, in his published memoirs, he wrote about "the reverend and courageous head of the mission in eastern Africa" and stressed Knoblehar's contribution to Nile exploration.⁶⁵ At the Royal Geographical Society, Earl de Grey reported about Burton's and Speke's research.

In his address he mentioned that Speke and Grant had made it to Gondokoro, a settlement founded by Knoblehar.⁶⁶ A similar reference can be found in Speke's article published by the society in 1863. Speke points out that Knoblehar carried out long-term observations at Gondokoro.⁶⁷ The German scientist Alfred Brehm appreciated his knowledge and the valuable data in his ship's logs. He wrote the following about Knoblehar: Apart from the task that his superiors entrusted to him, he strove only to derive as much scientific benefit from his long journeys as possible regardless of profit. He kept an excellent scientific diary. His perseverance was similar to his other qualities: it was prodigious.⁶⁸ The scientific diary described by Brehm remains one of the greatest mysteries of Knoblehar's legacy. The diary and various notes, sketches and drawings disappeared after his death. When he went to Europe to regain his health, he was convinced that he would return to Khartoum, so he took only the most urgent things with him. But he passed away in Naples and his studio in Khartoum was left at the mercy of all self-declared guardians of his legacy.

Even when he was dying, Rome was more interested in his property than his health. After his death a conflict flared up between Rome and Vienna, each of which demanded its rightful share. Ljubljana also voiced its demands and in its naivety waited for a shipment from Khartoum. In the end, each party received something, but the most important items had disappeared. Knoblehar's associates at the mission knew very well what important assets they had in their hands. We will probably never find out what happened when they "cleaned" his office with its extensive documentation and library, knowing that he would not return.⁶⁹ The preserved and known archival material of the Sudan mission is now kept at several locations in Khartoum, Rome, Verona, Ljubljana, Brno and Vienna.⁷⁰

The complexity of the situation regarding Knoblehar's legacy is confirmed by an article, in which Kristijan Pajer describes his voyage on the Nile in November 1859.⁷¹ He was on his way to Khartoum, because he was interested in the work at the mission. Apart from his things, he had the luggage of the deceased Knoblehar with him.⁷² Over a year and a half had passed since his death, so it is unusual that somebody would send the missionary's personal belongings to Khartoum after all this time. One must be cautious in dealing with archival sources connected with Pajer. Researchers agree that he was a great adventurer who became famous when he arrived in Alexandria as an illegal passenger in a wooden box that he had devised for this purpose at home.⁷³ He also dealt with photography and with this intention he travelled to Egypt and the Holy Land. A famous album of photographs depicting Jerusalem and Bethlehem, which he reportedly gave to the Emperor in 1864, is attributed to him. The album, with a velvet cover, features 25 choice motifs of biblical locations with long descriptions. The author added a commentary to the dedication to Emperor Franz Joseph I, in which he mentions that he was an associate of Knoblehar's mission in Sudan from 1853 to 1856. But the name signed under the commentary is not Kristijan, as we would expect, but Alois Payer.⁷⁴ He was truly at the mission, because Kirchner mentions him in a letter of 1855.⁷⁵ But Kristijan Pajer was definitely not in Khartoum in 1853, because at that time he was only fourteen years old. Because of his later work as a photographer and the fact of his similar surname, in 1864 Zgodja Danica published that it had been he who presented the album to the Emperor, who in turn rewarded him with a ring containing sixteen precious stones. Kristijan Pajer never saw Knoblehar, and



he never gave any present to the Emperor, but nevertheless he remains one of the most controversial individuals among Slovene travellers of the second half of the 19th century. Another point of interest connected with Knoblehar's archive is that when English explorers saw his notes, they immediately wanted to buy them for 1,000 pounds. But Knoblehar was not interested in selling them, because he wanted to gather and publish his findings about the Nile and the Nilotic peoples in a special study. The sum of money offered by the English was no small sum. In March 1861 the Royal Geographical Society in London published a special leaflet of four pages entitled "Sources of the Nile". Through this leaflet, the society appealed to the public to support the expedition of John Petherick, who wanted to return to Gondokoro. There, he would prepare everything necessary for the lodging and maintenance of Speke's and Grant's expedition. The sum of money needed to cover all the costs of the expedition was 2,000 pounds. This shows that Knoblehar's notes were indeed valuable.

The leaflet is also important in terms of Knoblehar's biography, because his name is mentioned on the first page.⁷⁶ This is another proof that the English knew very well who Knoblehar was, although they often failed to mention him in later accounts of the historical explorations of the Nile. Regardless of the prejudice that they had against the Catholic missionary and explorer, Knoblehar was paid a curious homage in the work of a famous writer. In his adventure novel "Five Weeks in a Balloon", Jules Verne mentions Knoblehar among others.⁷⁷ The scene takes place in London, at the elite establishment of "The Traveller's Club" at Pall Mall, where a toast is said to the honour of the most famous explorers of Africa. Glasses of French wine are also raised in Knoblehar's memory!

BLACK PEOPLES ALONG THE WHITE NILE

When Knoblehar arrived in Khartoum, little was known about the peoples living to the south along the White Nile. Records of Arabic and European travellers who travelled to the equator in the first half of the nineteenth century were rare. The peoples along the White Nile were described as Nilotic. The largest group among them was the Dinka, who lived on the eastern bank of the Nile and along the river Sobat. The western bank of the Nile was populated by the Shilluk, whose territory bordered on that of the Nuer to the south. The large grassy plains towards the equator were occupied by the Bari. Each large group comprised several tribes with different names.

The missionaries arrived in the Nilotic territory at a time when the slave trade and ivory trade were greatly endangering the population along the Nile. Some tribes had completely disappeared, others intermingled, and some moved far away from the navigable rivers. The Muslim north exercised growing pressure on the south particularly after 1880, when Mohamed Ahmed declared himself the last prophet, or "Mahdi". This triggered a rebellion against Egyptian rule, resulting in the triumph of Mahdists in Sudan. The Mahdists were eventually defeated by the English in 1898 and the following year the country was renamed Anglo-Egyptian Sudan. The Nuer, Shilluk, Dinka and Bari still live on the White Nile.⁷⁸ But unfortunately Mahdi's shadow has been growing in the region. For decades, Arabs of the northern Nile have uprooted the black population along the Nile and the Fur

in the mountainous western region of Darfur by means of forced Islamisation. During their voyages on the White Nile, the first European travellers were completely dependent on their Arabic-speaking companions, who also served as interpreters during their contacts with the locals. It is not known how much the Arabs really understood the languages of the various peoples along the Nile, how they understood what was recounted and how they interpreted what they heard to the Europeans. The Europeans themselves definitely adjusted the information they received to their liking and passed it on. The French merchant Brun-Rolett, who in 1844 established a trading post in the Bari territory, claimed that his credibility came from his knowledge of the native language, which was not true.⁷⁹ Language was not the only obstacle to communication, because Europeans found themselves in considerable trouble when they attempted to unravel the illogical structure of the dialogue formulation of the natives using their own logical principles. The complexity of communicating with the Nilotic peoples was very clearly experienced by the anthropologist Edward E. Evans-Pritchard during his fieldwork among the Nuer. Failed attempts at conversing with the locals using the question-answer principle drove him to the edge of desperation, or into a state that he wittily called “neurosis”.⁸⁰ The natives usually ignored all attempts at establishing such a dialogue and instead conducted their own conversation using the question-question principle. Usually the “discussion” ended with a question addressed to the white man of whether he had any tobacco. The communication difficulties described by Evans-Pritchard are also mentioned in the records from Knoblehar’s time, which give the impression that missionaries found out from the natives what they wanted to hear and not what the natives wanted to say.

Already during his first journey on the White Nile, Knoblehar met various peoples who accepted him with great trust, because it was obvious that the purpose of his visit was not the slave or ivory trade. He learnt a lot about them from books, but mostly by spending time with them. He had a respectful attitude towards the natives and they greatly respected him in return.⁸¹ The records of his co-travellers reveal that he was in great esteem everywhere he stopped between Khartoum and Gondokoro. The reason for this was his astonishing communicativeness and confident attitude towards the chiefs. He did not discriminate against anybody, particularly if they needed help. Although Knoblehar spent a lot of time in southern Sudan, he did not leave many records about the people and their way of life, traditions and beliefs. One of the reasons is definitely his way of travelling: once he reached a missionary station, the Holy Cross or Gondokoro, he immediately turned his attention to his associates and solving their problems, after which he returned to the ship where he stayed most of the time. His encounters with the natives were brief, usually formal and carried out at a polite distance.⁸²

Knoblehar and his associates tried to bring the African world closer to their fellow-countrymen back home. They wrote many letters to various addresses across Europe and many newspapers were eager to publish them (e.g. *Augsburger Postzeitung*; *Gmundner Wochenblatt*; *Grätzer Zeitung*; *Faust: Poligrafisch-illustrierte Zeitschrift für Kunst, Wissenschaft, Industrie und geselliges Leben*; *Laibacher Zeitung*; *Leipziger illustrierte Zeitung*; *Ljubljanske novice*; *Vidensky dennik*; *Villacher Zeitung*; and *Wiener Volkshalle*).⁸³ Much interesting information about the peoples of the White Nile during the first half of the 19th



century and the early 20th century was published in the form of missionary reports and articles in various Catholic magazines (*Zgodnja Danica-katoliški cerkveni list*; *Jahresbericht des Marien-Vereines zur Beförderung der katholischen Mission in Central-Afrika*; *La Nigrizia*; and *Stern der Neger*).⁸⁴ For the period of English supremacy in Sudan, the series “Sudan Notes and Records” is very important, as well as numerous studies by Evans-Pritchard. Although the famous anthropologist relied on many old sources, he never took into account the information published by Knoblehar and his associates. It was only in 1951 that he self-critically admitted that he had ignored some primary sources from that period.⁸⁵

THE DINKA

The Egyptian authority ended between 13° and 12° N. The Arabic Baggara people lived on the left bank, the dark-skinned Dinka on the right and the Shilluk on the islands.⁸⁶ Already during Knoblehar’s stay in Sudan, the Dinka were the largest ethnic group among the Nilotic peoples.⁸⁷ They did not live in permanent settlements, because they moved with their cattle both in the rainy and dry periods from one place to another. When they reached a place that was suitable for building huts, they selected the most beautiful bull from their herd and adorned him with foliage. Then they pushed him to the ground and the chief made a cut in his neck with a knife. The spurting blood was captured in a bowl, which the chief carried around to sprinkle on the earth and trees nearby. Raising cattle was the main economic activity of the Dinka.⁸⁸ Men closely watched the cattle and, if a cow died, they mourned for her more than even for a wife or child. The stables were better built than human dwellings. They did not hesitate to sing to their favourite bull if he was too restless. Field cultivation was not an honourable occupation for men, so only women tilled the fields. They loved freedom more than anything else and they hated everything foreign. Their greatest enemies were the related tribe, the Nuer, who stole their cattle. Their weapons were spears and heavy wooden clubs, and they defended themselves with leather shields. The mid 19th century accounts of the Dinka religious beliefs describe a god creator called Dengdit. This was also their ancient ancestor, who came from the sky, ruled the earth for many years and suddenly disappeared forever in a storm. In some places small piles of stones and earth, which were decorated with the horns of young cattle and a large forked tree branch, were built in his honour.⁸⁹ Like in other Nilotic peoples, the traditional faith of the Dinka underwent many changes because of Arabic and European (missionary) influence.⁹⁰ Knoblehar mentioned that the Bari and the Shilluk worshipped the holy tree, but this habit was more widespread among the Dinka.⁹¹ These trees usually stood near the graves of ancestors and were decorated with animal bones and horns.⁹²

THE SHILLUK

In Knoblehar’s time over one million Shilluk lived in several thousand villages that stood a short distance from one another on both banks of the Nile between 9° and 13° north (fig. 46).⁹³ Because of overpopulation they moved into other tribes’ territories. The land was rich and conditions were favourable for the cultivation of fields, animal husbandry, fishing and hunting, although all these depended on rainfall. Men took care of the livestock, hunted and caught fish. Each man had up to six wives, each of whom lived in a separate hut. The wives relished smoking tobacco and they did housework and cultivated the fields.

They were faithful to their husbands, because infidelity was punished with death. The Shilluk were tall and slender, but also well-muscled. Women wore clothes, whereas men were usually naked, smeared with ashes and painted brown.⁹⁴ They were known near and far for their hairstyles. They smeared their hair with Nile mud and shaped it into a cone, disc or a shape that resembled a hat. They always carried spears and sometimes also ebony clubs.⁹⁵ The Shilluk made long, narrow canoes that they carved from tree trunks. The Shilluk were known for their sharp odour, because they washed with bovine urine in order to repel mosquitoes. They also used urine for doing the dishes. The legendary king Nyikang was still highly revered in Knoblehar's time. Many fenced huts containing a sacred spear stood across the entire country. This spear was used to kill sacrificial animals in the king's honour. The sacred spears reminded people of the first spear that had fallen from the sky as a gift from God. A similar legend was known in Ancient Rome, where in temples a spear and a shield were kept, which the god Mars had cast on the world.⁹⁷ Both the Shilluk and the Romans regarded the sacred spear a symbol of royal authority with divine legitimacy. Of all the Nilotic peoples, only the Shilluk had a common king whom they respected and protected. He collected taxes and everybody had to surrender all ivory obtained during hunting to him. The capital with the royal palace was in Fashoda, in the highly fertile area along the White Nile. The Shilluk used to kill their king before he became old.⁹⁸ Because he possessed the divine powers of Nyikang, the fertility of nature would have diminished if had been allowed to grow weak. The waning of his strength was first noticed by his numerous wives, who related the news to the council of chiefs. During sleep, a piece of white cloth was placed on his face in sign of his imminent death. They would then close the written-off king and a selected young woman in a hut and leave them there without food and water. After a few months they returned and buried the bodies. It is interesting that this unusual tradition was abandoned when one king spent several days in a closed hut next to the decaying body of his consort. Terrifying, low cries were heard from the hut and the Shilluk decided to kill their written-off kings in quicker way from then on. Most often they suffocated them or stabbed them with a spear. The murder was usually committed by the king's successor.

THE NUER

They lived between the Sôbat delta and the area reaching to 7° N (fig. 48).⁹⁹ The Nuer huts were scattered far away from the river. When Knoblehar arrived there for the first time, they did not trade in ivory because of bad experiences with white traders. Knoblehar did not have much contact with the Nuer and he described them as very backward and lazy. According to him, they spent hours sitting and staring straight ahead. They mostly raised cattle. They were traditional enemies of the Dinka despite of their common ancestry. Their appearance greatly resembled the Dinka, and they spoke a similar language and had similar traditions. The Nuer and Dinka were divided into several tribes and the chief of each tribe decided only about religious matters and the settling of disputes, but he did not have any political authority.¹⁰⁰

THE KYK

The Kyk were one of the Dinka peoples.¹⁰¹ They were very poor, because they did not own fertile land or pastures.¹⁰² During the rainy season, they drove their livestock far into the



interior of the country. They were very attached to their cattle and if an animal died, its owner mourned it in a special way: he placed its lead around his own neck, went around the village and told of his misfortune to the passers-by. The possession most precious to them was a black ox, which they gave as a present as a sign of reconciliation. Knoblehar also received a beautiful black ox. The chief used this gesture to apologise because a blacksmith had accused the missionaries of eating human flesh, stealing children and causing drought.¹⁰³ The people who lived by the river were exclusively fishermen (fig. 49). They fished with harpoons and hunted crocodiles and hippopotamuses with their spears. They washed themselves with animal urine and smeared their bodies with ash. One of the major fishing settlements was the village of Angven; near it the missionary Jernej Mozgan established the mission of the Holy Cross (fig 50).¹⁰⁴ On 22 December 1849, Knoblehar came to Angven for the first time. The chief was very cooperative because he was convinced that the missionaries were mighty wizards. He was delighted by Pedemonte's white beard and his "double eyes" (his glasses). He asked the unexpected guests to make at least four of his wishes come true: that many children be born to him; that those who had killed his father be stricken with death; that his wound would heal quickly and that he would prevail over enemy peoples. But Knoblehar could fulfil only one of his wishes: he cleaned and dressed the wound on his head and gave him the necessary medications. The chief also wanted a magical object and Knoblehar gave him a badge of the Holy Mary to protect him from danger. The missionaries later had many difficulties with the Kik, particularly during drought and famine.¹⁰⁵ At that time the Africans besieged the mission building in great numbers. They accepted baptism and promised to do everything the priest told them to. But at the first harvest, they ran away from the mission and feasted, sang and danced in their home villages. The famine also affected the missionaries and they were forced to obtain food from the distant peoples in the east, like the Tuitsi.¹⁰⁶ The missionary station of the Holy Cross was abandoned only a few years after Knoblehar's death. The last missionary to occasionally still inhabit it was evidently Morlang, because the German explorer and painter Wilhelm von Harnier, who made a drawing of the station, visited him there.¹⁰⁷ The locals called the station of the Holy Cross Kanisa, which means "the church". The exact site of the station is not known, but it stood near the present-day settlement of Bor.

THE HELYAB AND BOR

When we disembarked, a group of negroes approached us from the forest. They had beautiful, tall figures; their well-shaped bodies glistened because their black velvety complexion reflected light. They were strong and charming. A perfect creation of nature!

Knoblehar about his encounter with the Helyab on 29 December 1849.

The Helyab and Bor were the Kiks' southern neighbours.¹⁰⁸ The Helyab from the left bank and the Bor from the right were Dinka tribes. The two tribes had very similar lifestyles. They were mostly herders. Their settlements were large and they stood on the left bank of the Nile. Men did not wear any clothes and they smeared their bodies with ashes. Women wore cow hides tied around their waists and they smeared their bodies with ashes and ochre; they adorned their chests with necklaces made of iron rings or shells, and their hair with peacock feathers. They were tall, slender, broad-shouldered and barrel-chested. They

carried their heads high. Their foreheads were high, smooth and moderately bulging. Their characteristically small noses were only slightly flattened. They had wide mouths, but not heavy lips. They smeared their bodies with ashes. Both men and women let their tightly curled hair grow long and they wore it loose. Married women wore cow hide around their hips, whereas girls wore it over the shoulders. Women adorned themselves with thick, iron rings, which reached up to their elbows and knees. Some wore crossed decorative iron chains over their back and chest. They adorned their foreheads with diadems of glass beads or sometimes with a simple wreath of dry grass (fig. 52). Their food was milk and the meat of cows and goats that died of natural causes. Their settlements were large and they stood on the left bank of the Nile. The two tribes received the missionaries with great hospitality. In Knoblehar's time, various peoples that spoke a similar language lived to the west of the Helyab: the Dunye, Gva, Atvet, Vaja, Madâr, Lov and Arol.

THE BARI

When Knoblehar sailed to the heart of the territory between 5° and 4° N for the first time, he saw the Nile before him separate into two riverbeds that embraced a wide, long island. To the west, infinite flatlands stretched, where the locals grazed their cattle. This was the land of the Bari. The chief Nigila welcomed the newcomers and Knoblehar secured his permission to build the first missionary station in his territory, in the village of Gondokoro on the right bank of the Nile. The missionaries built a church consecrated to the Blessed Virgin and named it Sancta Maria ad Flumen Album (The Blessed Virgin on the White River). They lived in villages of small huts made of mud and reeds. Unlike other peoples, they mostly cultivated fields and their main crop was durra (a type of millet).¹⁰⁹ They tilled the land with small iron spades on poles that were two or three metres long. Of all peoples of the White Nile, only the Bari had a harvest twice a year. Despite this, people died of hunger because they did not know how to save and store crops. Those tribes that also raised cattle were more fortunate. In times of drought, men usually threw their wives and children out of the house. When they lacked food, they came to seek shelter in the mission village in large numbers, forcing the missionaries to feed them. Men decorated their faces with scars and ostrich feathers, and painted their bodies with the reddish ochre or a mixture of ashes and pulverised bones (figs. 182-183). They also used a red dye extracted from a tree.¹¹⁰ They wore leather straps across their shoulders, with which they beat the women and children. A small wooden stool dangled from the strap. Men and women did not have special clothes; they wore only a few patches of leather. Some chiefs covered their upper bodies with leopard skin, whereas their wives and daughters wore leather aprons. Both men and women liked to smoke large ceramic pipes on long bamboo stems (fig. 54).

According to records, the Bari killed one another because of famine and threw the dead into the Nile. Some buried their deceased, but after some time had passed they excavated the remains and threw them into the river.¹¹¹ Others buried their relatives in front of their thresholds, adding food, drink and, if the deceased was a man, a spear that was bent or even broken. The reason for this is unknown, but parallels can be found in the European burial traditions of the Iron Age. Immediately after the burial, a dance with spears began on the grave. The men smeared their heads with ashes before the dance. The widow held the deceased's weapons during the dance. Some tribes marked the graves with a forked



stick or horns of different animals. The Bari worshipped the spirits of their ancestors and relied on rain-wizards, who not only controlled the world of magic, but also knew many medicinal plants, with which they cured various illnesses that plagued the villagers. The missionaries noticed that very few locals reached a ripe old age, because elderly people were not treated with respect. During famine, food was taken away from the old people first and they were left to starve. Each tribe had a chief who answered to the council of chiefs about all important decisions.¹¹² During famine, the Bari caused the missionaries many problems and sometimes even endangered their lives. Although the missionaries were armed with firearms, they would not have survived a conflict with the much more numerous locals. Fortunately, no such conflict erupted mostly thanks to Knoblehar's authority. Knoblehar knew the relations between various peoples well and, in April 1854, when the Bari fought against traders, he advised them to stop the senseless warfare against a much better armed adversary and instead prepare to defend themselves against the incursions of the neighbouring peoples who would soon take the opportunity to invade their territory. The Bari listened to him and stopped fighting the merchants.¹¹³ The Bari were a very fierce people and they were often in conflict with the neighbouring tribes, mostly over cattle. They set out on war campaigns at dusk or dawn. Some Bari tribes sported large shields of well-tanned hippopotamus hide. The rectangular shape of the shields with extended corners had a special meaning: standing in line, the warriors held their shields to the side and in the dark it appeared as if there were more soldiers than in reality (fig. 186).¹¹⁴ The missionary Vinco knew the Bari way of life very well; he was the first to learn their language and initially he helped translate Knoblehar's speeches.¹¹⁵ Later Knoblehar began to study the Bari language in order to write a grammar book and dictionary for missionaries. His work was completed in 1867 by Johannes Chrysostomus Mitterutzner, a priest in Brixen and Knoblehar's close friend.¹¹⁶ The missionary Morlang also wrote a lot about the Bari. He was the last priest to take care of the church in Gondokoro.¹¹⁷ Morlang's records are very valuable because of their many local expressions for everyday items. After the arrival of the English, Gondokoro was renamed Ismailia and transformed into the military and trading centre of the Equatoria province, which was annexed to Egypt in 1871.¹¹⁸ Knoblehar's station used to stand near the bank. Later the Nile changed its course and people left the village and followed the river. They went south and built a settlement not far from the former mission that was the predecessor of the present-day town Juba.

The mission village for which young men sacrificed their lives literally turned to dust. This process was particularly hastened by the locals, who pulled down the walls to get brick, which they then crushed and mixed with grease to smear their bodies with it.¹¹⁹ Symbolically speaking this might be the only achievement of Knoblehar's mission: the church doctrine failed to touch the Bari souls, but the dust of the church brick clung to their bodies, at least for some time.

When the moon is already high in the sky, drums echo in the night and dancing begins. They make two circles and face one another. Men stand in the outer circle. They are armed with spears and bows; their sheaths are full of sharp arrows. The wealthier ones have shields made of elephant hide and wear furs from panthers or some other beast. Women and girls stand in the inner circle, wearing all their jewellery. The copper bracelets on their

arms and iron plates on their legs clank as they move and jump. When the drums give a signal, the dancing and singing stop and only the drums continue to play. Men and boys form two battle lines. With fierce eyes they plunge against one another brandishing spears. Women cry out; it seems that a bloody battle is about to begin. But all of a sudden the spears fall to the ground; it was all a joke, there is shouting and laughing. The drums soon play again. The chief lifts the spear and crosses the dancing floor in a dignified manner. Dancers follow him and under his guidance they again form two circles; women stand in the inner circle and men in the outer. They sing, spin and jump. To make the dance even wilder, they hold burning torches made of straw. Dancing lasts until dawn. When everybody is exhausted they lie down and fall asleep on the dance floor (fig. 53).¹²⁰

BLACKSMITHS ON THE NILE, OR PREHISTORY REVIVED ▶

Because of rich deposits of iron and knowledge of iron working, many of their everyday objects were made of iron. Knoblehar and his co-workers were fascinated by Bari blacksmiths, who fashioned true masterpieces with simple tools and technique. The workshops were outside, usually under a large tree outside the village.¹²¹ Some blacksmiths moved from one village to another as travelling craftsmen. This was also typical of the blacksmiths of the Jur people, who lived to the west of the Bari.¹²² Both gathered the ore from the surface and only rarely dug it. Most iron ore was found on the volcanic hill of Belenian (fig. 61) The rain-wizards gathered there and on one occasion Knoblehar said he wished to spend his old age in a small house at the foot of Belenian. They built the smelting furnace by digging a shallow pit and putting charcoal and the ore gathered from the surface in it. They covered two pots with goat skin, made a small hole in the middle and placed two sticks in the hole (fig. 58). By moving the leather membrane they fed the air from the pot to the fire through a ceramic pipe.¹²³ Sometimes they moved the bellows with just their hands, without the sticks (fig. 59).¹²⁴ They worked hot iron with a stone and the master held the object with a cleft wooden stick. They used an iron hammer only for the final shaping of the object. Iron was also worked in a similar way elsewhere in Africa. In Togo the German film-maker Hans Schomburgk made a documentary film in 1914, which was produced by Baron Anton Codelli of Ljubljana. The film features a long scene with a blacksmith working the iron in a similar way to that described by Knoblehar.¹²⁵ Blacksmiths were the wealthiest class, but their vocation was despised and other villagers did not respect them because they did not own any livestock. They were allowed to marry only women from their own clan.¹²⁶ The methods employed by these blacksmiths and the shapes of their artefacts can be compared with those of the prehistoric cultures in the Mediterranean and Europe between the eighth and fourth centuries BC.¹²⁷ Researchers understood this archaic way of working the iron as a relic of the former great cultures of the Nile, mostly in Nubia (e.g. Meroe). But archaeological and metallurgical research has not yielded sufficient proof for the theory that ironworking knowledge spread from the north to the south.¹²⁸

THE MAGIC OF RAIN AND ADVICE FROM THE GRAVE ▶

A highly esteemed position among the Nilotic peoples was the rain wizard, who summoned rain during drought or stopped it with a special ritual.¹²⁹ The Bari, for example, placed



specially selected stones in a pot of hot water.¹³⁰ According to some accounts, stones of unusual shape, mostly long and pointed, were bolts of lightning that struck the earth or meteors that fell from the sky. Their use was therefore logical, because rain also falls from the sky.¹³¹ Others used a double-pointed spear during the ritual; they lifted it to the sky and “pierced” clouds with it. The Bari chief Nigila also summoned rain, and after a long period of drought he met with a tragic end. The other villagers murdered him and cut out his stomach, because they were convinced that he had “hidden” the storm clouds and rain there.¹³² The construction of the main missionary station in southern Sudan began in Gondokoro. Because of the thick smoke rising above the brickworks, the local medicine man accused Knoblehar of causing drought. The medicine man and some two hundred locals received a short lecture about where rain came from. The man remained speechless and he almost lost his tongue because the locals threatened to cut it off if he continued to lie and accuse innocent people.¹³³ The local witchdoctors also turned their attention to Bible-reading priests. They thought the turning of the pages was a magic ritual, with which the missionaries prevented the rain from falling and caused famine among the people. The arrival of the missionaries in a way relieved the witchdoctors of their responsibility, because in case of failure, they immediately pointed their finger at the mission. Sometimes this caused the missionaries serious difficulties. Every Dinka village had a medicine man who knew how to summon rain. They believed that his spirit moved to his successor, so they did not allow him to grow old, because he would lose his magic power. When his physical strength began to diminish, he asked them to dig a grave for him. He lay down in the grave and the villagers sat around the pit. Without eating a morsel of food or drinking a drop of water he recounted the history of their tribe to them and gave them advice for the future for several hours. When he finished speaking, they filled the grave and buried him alive.¹³⁴

Summoning rain or driving away storms is known to many peoples on all continents. In Slovenia in 1963, the last shaman of the Pohorje hills used a pot of boiling water like his Bari counterparts to drive away a storm with steam.¹³⁵

HIS AFRICA ▶

One of the reasons Knoblehar decided to become a missionary was his fascination with the reports that the missionary Frederic Baraga sent to his homeland from North America. In 1836 Baraga also sent a collection of objects to Ljubljana, which he received mostly from the Ojibwa peoples.¹³⁶ This is probably what motivated Knoblehar to collect objects even during his first voyage on the Nile. A passion for collecting was also awakened in him during his reading of the travel-logs of his predecessors who navigated the White Nile. Knoblehar was acquainted with the research of the Austrian natural scientist and collector Josef von Russegger and he also owned a book by the German traveller Ferdinand Werne, in which the author mentions collecting objects of the Nilotic peoples.¹³⁷

The missionary’s interest in collecting was also encouraged by Consul General Lavrin, who kept a large collection of Egyptian artefacts in Alexandria. Lavrin also collected objects from Sudan and as early as 1843 he sent a small collection to the Provincial Museum of Car-

niola (figs. 184-189).¹³⁸ But it is not known whether Lavrin actually obtained these objects in the field. The information currently available indicates that he bought them from an antique shop where looted objects were sold. A newspaper article reveals that they originally belonged to the captured Sheik Gundar, a Nuba chief from the mountains.¹³⁹ Nevertheless, comparative research has shown that the objects of the Lavrin collection have much more in common with the heritage of the Nilotic peoples (the Dinka, Shilluk and Bari) than the Nuba. In any case it is the first African collection in Slovenia.

The predominant opinion about the Knoblehar collection is that the objects were obtained during his first journey in winter 1849/50. He probably obtained some of them during his contacts with the local population, but part of the collection definitely originated in Khartoum (such as the horn spoons and cups). The city was full of looted goods that slave merchants stole from villages after they captured the inhabitants. Knoblehar could have obtained certain objects only by purchasing them and not during his first encounter with the local population. These objects were important status symbols and were too valuable to be sold or even given away to a stranger (e.g. a woman's iron apron, a stool, an ostrich-feather headdress, a ritual double-headed spear). He brought some 250 exhibits to Ljubljana and put them on public display at the seminary. Knoblehar added short descriptions to individual objects, which were summarised in the newspaper *Laibacher Zeitung*.¹⁴⁰ Later some objects were exhibited at the lyceum and were eventually kept at the Provincial Museum of Carniola. Occasionally they were included in special missionary exhibitions in Ljubljana and in Groblje near Domžale. The collection had been in Ljubljana for over a century when the ethnologist Boris Orel drew attention to it in a scholarly paper.¹⁴¹ Orel was the first to bring up the problem of the reconstruction of the original Knoblehar collection. Because of inconsistent inventory practices a growing number of mistakes had occurred over the years. The confusion was made even worse by the constant moving of non-European collections. The individual collections were mixed and inventory numbers on objects were lost or disappeared. Some of the objects were inventoried as many as three times, whereas others were left unnumbered. In 1968 the ethnologist Pavla Štrukelj thoroughly analysed the Knoblehar collection.¹⁴² She described the collection and its historical background and she drew attention to its inventory problems.¹⁴³ Despite her research, the problem remained unsolved. In addition, difficulties with the interpretation of the objects emerged. Mistakes multiplied to the point where, for example, a Native American object from the Baraga collection was attributed to the Nilotic peoples of the Knoblehar collection.¹⁴⁴

Today the Knoblehar collection features 232 ethnographic and natural science exhibits, but various examples of animal hide (leopard and gazelle), as well as various stones, shells and jewellery (iron bracelets) are missing. Perhaps some of them are lost forever or have been erroneously attributed to other collectors. This will be resolved during the review of all non-European collections at the museum. Knoblehar and his associates sent various objects home to their relatives, friends and supporters of the mission, so there is a chance that some items might be discovered in other museums (e.g. the National Museum of Slovenia or the Slovenian Museum of Natural History) or private collections. It is also possible that some of the objects in the Egyptian collection of the Slovene Ethno-



graphic Museum (e.g. amulets, ushabtis) also belonged to Knoblehar. A 1944 inventory of the items attributes the entire collection to Knoblehar, but this is incorrect, because other collectors are also mentioned in the inventory book and on the objects. Knoblehar was also interested in Egyptian antiques, apparently under the influence of Lavrin, because the National Museum of Slovenia, for example, keeps a figurine of Osiris on a wooden base with an inscription saying that Knoblehar discovered it in the ruins of the ancient Egyptian capital of Memphis.¹⁴⁵ However, an interesting question arises in connection with objects that were taken to Belgrade in the mid-20th century and sold to the War Museum.¹⁴⁶ These were well-preserved weapon exhibits from the Nilotic peoples (the Dinka, the Bari). Because such pieces were very rare in Slovenia, their provenance must be connected with the Knoblehar mission. Not much is known about the circumstances under which the Knoblehar collection was kept in Vienna. In 1850 it was taken there for the planned Nubian museum, but instead, the objects became private property. The Ethnographic Museum purchased them in 1925 and still keeps them today. A document in the museum's archive mentions that the Dobrucky family kept the items exhibited in their living room as wall decorations. Another very interesting datum is the note that the African objects were varnished. The document says that the objects were collected by Ryllo and Knoblehar, but Ryllo did not participate in collecting objects in Sudan, because he arrived in Khartoum severely ill and died soon afterwards. Nevertheless this information is important, because Ryllo might be mentioned because of a private connection with the Dobrucky family. The collection features a wooden cross that may have belonged to the deceased missionary (fig. 191). The document also mentions a photograph of a missionary camp at Philae, which was published in the newspaper *Faust* in 1856. Did the Dobrucky family own an original or only a newspaper print? The family was obviously interested in the Sudan mission, but the main reason for this still remains to be established. Knoblehar probably brought only a part of the collection that he kept at the missionary residence in Khartoum to Ljubljana and Vienna. Taylor mentions the Khartoum collection, particularly the well-crafted spears and ebony clubs.¹⁴⁷

BEAUTY AND PAIN

In mid-January 1850 Knoblehar went to Bari territory for the first time, where he met a chief named Nigila. The chief was initially alone, but later his numerous wives, sons and daughters joined him. Only one of the women wore a piece of red-dyed leather around her waist, whereas others wore mesh aprons made of iron ringlets. The apron obtained by Knoblehar consists of ringlets, connected with a string made of natural fibres and trimmed with a narrow leather ribbon on the bottom edge (figs. 63-64).¹⁴⁸ Only the wives and daughters of chiefs were allowed to wear such aprons, which were a status symbol for women. Similar aprons were also known in ancient Egyptian culture and they consisted of sewn pieces of gold. They were worn mostly by rulers and were an obligatory part of the costume during religious rituals.¹⁴⁹ The apron also had an important role in the afterlife cult, because it was placed on the body of the deceased pharaoh during the mummification ritual (e.g. Tutankhamun, ca. 1330 BC).¹⁵⁰ A widespread habit of the Nilotic peoples was that men and women wore a string tied around their waist, which dangled like an animal tail at the back. This custom is also probably a remnant of Egyptian prehistory, when kings wore the

tail of a sacrificed bull tied at their waist. This was an important part of the regalia symbolising fertility and supernatural power. The king Den, who ruled Egypt around 3000 BC, is already depicted with the bull's tail.¹⁵¹ Later the animal tail was replaced with a string with pieces of gold and semiprecious stones sewn onto it. The examples in the Knoblehar collection are made of natural-fibre string with pieces of iron sewn onto it. In two cases the ends are embellished with leather tassels, and in one case the tassel is made of animal hair (figs. 78-79, 81). The wearing of the animal tail also reveals another example of the close connection between people and animals. Cattle were an important source of survival for the people along the Nile, so bulls were always worshipped and sacrificed. A black ox was dismembered during funeral ceremonies, near the funerary mound, where a forked stick was placed for hanging offerings to various deities.¹⁵² The bull's tail was hung on the forked stick as an offering to the gods. The cult of Apis - a black bull with a white spot on the forehead - originated in Memphis in northern Egypt, where holy bulls were buried in giant granite sarcophagi that were dragged deep into underground chambers of the Serapeum. Shepherds along the White Nile were profoundly saddened when one of their oxen died. Some buried the dead beast with great care and planted its horns on the mound. Many owners wanted to be buried near their favourite ox, because the animal meant to them more than the members of their family. The Nuer observed another interesting tradition, which is also known from depictions on ancient Egyptian monuments: one of the horns of their cattle was sometimes twisted downward to neutralise an evil force that could harm the animal.¹⁵³ The Nuer believed that the right side was positive and the left negative. They were aware that the animal was in pain when its horn was being twisted, so in solidarity they wore several tight iron bracelets on their left arms day and night. They tormented themselves until they almost lost their left arms.¹⁵⁴ The division into left and right also had a geographic significance. The right was the east, from where all life came, whereas the left was the west, which symbolised death.¹⁵⁵ This again reveals parallels with the religious beliefs of ancient Egyptians: the path to the kingdom of Osiris, the land of the dead, began on the left bank of the Nile. Iron rings of various widths are usually taken for bracelets, but the people along the White Nile, both men and women, also wore them as anklets. Sometimes women pulled the rings as high as their knees. Worn in that way, they rubbed on the skin and caused burning pain while walking. The pain was particularly severe during dancing, but dancers preferred bleeding legs over admitting pain and taking off the rings. In this way they expressed their courage and gained respect in the eyes of men. Like for the Nuer, the iron rings were therefore not only an accessory but also a tool for inflicting suffering. Two heavy earrings are probably also connected with pain (fig. 70). Similar earrings are known among the Marakwet in Kenya and are a very important element in the circumcision ritual. Before the initiation, the father gives the chosen son earrings as a sign of heredity, but if the son shows sign of pain during the circumcision, he brings the shame on the entire family. The father immediately tears the earrings off and throws them away. Then he selects a new heir from among his sons and gives him new earrings.¹⁵⁶

Most of the items in the Knoblehar collection are iron jewellery and they mostly belonged to the Bari (figs. 138-153). Bracelets and anklets of different shapes are decorated with slanting incisions forming a grid (figs. 145-148). The incisions are still marked with traces



of reddish-brown ochre. The bracelets are of various widths and are made of a single piece of wire. Sometimes the wire was twisted, forming a spiral bracelet. They also intertwined two pieces of wire, mostly for thicker bracelets. The ends of the bracelets are of different shapes: usually they are just cleanly cut off, but in some cases they are shaped as reversed single or double loops (figs. 149-150). Woman's necklaces are fashioned in a similar way (fig. 143).¹⁵⁷ In one case, a round iron plate is placed on the spirally twisted wire necklace (fig. 144). Children's necklaces are made of plain wire with ends shaped as hooks to facilitate fastening it around the neck. Small iron tubes are strung along the wire on both preserved necklaces and one of them features a pendant - a double spiral made of iron (fig. 151). Similar pendants were used not only by the Bari, but also by other peoples (the Dinka, Jur, Acholi and Azande).¹⁵⁸ These decorations served as amulets or were signs that drove away misfortune and protected the child.¹⁵⁹ The spiral pendant was very popular among Egyptian women as late as the 20th century, because it represented symbolic protection during pregnancy and was believed to grant safe childbirth. The symbol of the double spiral for the protection of pregnant women and children was already known in ancient Egypt and Mesopotamia, where the amulet symbolised the goddess of birth Nintu. Such pendants were also made and used in Europe and the Mediterranean. They were most widely used from the 12th to 8th centuries BC.

Contact with the ancient cultures of the Nile valley is also evident from necklaces with decorations made of ostrich eggshell.¹⁶⁰ The round plates, perforated in the middle, were made of broken ostrich eggshell and placed on a string. The eggshell was soaked in water before drilling to prevent breaking due to pressure. The round shape was obtained by polishing on a stone surface. The compact eggshell has always been used for various purposes by the African population. Its versatility was recognised already in the pre-dynastic Egypt and in the prehistoric Nubia. The oldest examples date from the Mesolithic period, from 7500 to 7000 BC. Ostrich-egg jewellery such as necklaces and belts has been found mostly in the graves of women and children.¹⁶¹ The Bari wore such jewellery as necklaces or tied around their waists (fig. 132).¹⁶² Men added an ivory loop to the belt, which they attached to the penis. Sometimes they adorned it with a boar's tooth (fig. 87). In addition to ostrich eggshell, they used shellfish and snail shells in jewellery (figs. 133-134). They placed several hundred perforated round plates that were one or two millimetres thick on natural-fibre strings.¹⁶³ Even in the 20th century various African tribes used the ostrich egg as an amulet to protect the house and all its inhabitants from misfortune. Usually they placed the egg on top of the thatched roof structure on the hut. This custom was also present in Sudan, Abyssinia and western Africa, such as Togo.¹⁶⁴ The ostrich egg was used as an apotropaic symbol on top of the roof already in the ancient Nubian cultures,¹⁶⁵ but its significance probably has an even earlier origin.

POSTURE AND DEATH

The spear was an important status symbol of the Nilotic peoples. Every young man who underwent the initiation ritual had the right to carry the spear. As a rule, the son received the spear from his father, so spears passed on from one generation to another. The giving of the spear represented a symbolic connection between the future and past generations.¹⁶⁶

The spear as a weapon was used in two ways: it was thrown from a long distance or used to stab the adversary from a short distance. They also stabbed and killed sacrificial animals with the spear. It was a versatile tool, with which they attacked elephants, speared fish in the river, harvested durra in the fields, sliced meat and chopped wood.

Every man felt great responsibility towards his spear and was emotionally attached to it. He constantly carried it with him, polished it frequently and guarded it from thieves. It was an extension of his right arm and it expressed the power and vitality of his life force. When throwing the spear, the Nuer often cried out: "My right arm!" The spear had great economic value, but its symbolic significance was even greater. Those who could afford an iron spear, and paid for it with many heads of cattle, were highly respected in their community. The poor fashioned their spears from wood, but these spears were only symbolic. The Knoblehar collection features 17 spears representative of all different types of this weapon (fig. 196). Their average length is approximately 2.10 metres and the handle is attached to narrow heads, some of which are up to one metre long. The sockets of the heads are cylindrical and open on one side. When the spearhead was fixed to the handle, the open side was pressed together. The stick for the handle was carefully selected. After it was cut, it was first polished with the spearhead and then held above the fire for a while so to harden the wood. The wooden handle was decorated with cut strips of lizard and snake skin. Sometimes a narrow band of iron was wrapped around the stick as well. The surface of the iron band wrapped around one spear was used to sharpen the head of another spear. The flight of the spear was balanced with a broad iron band wrapped around the end. Iron spearheads are a fine example of the blacksmith's art, revealing a traditional technological procedure dating from earlier historical periods.

The masterpieces of the Bari and Jur blacksmiths are exceptional relics of ancient knowledge developed by the prehistoric culture of the Nile. This is true both for the technology and design of objects. According to local customs, some Nilotic tribes placed a bent or broken spear in the grave of the deceased.¹⁶⁷ During the late Iron Age, the people of Europe, particularly the Celts, also ritually destroyed weapons before placing them in the grave with the deceased. It was a great honour if the locals gave a spear to a foreigner. Knoblehar was honoured in this way; the local chiefs highly respected him and welcomed him with open arms. When he became part of their community, Knoblehar received their spears as a sign of respect, and on his departure, the Bari chiefs gave them to him as a souvenir and as a sign that he was welcome in their territory.¹⁶⁸

The most unusual example is definitely a wooden spear with two iron heads that are placed flat next to each other (figs. 159-160). During his field research among the Lotuko in southern Sudan in 1922 the anthropologist Charles G. Seligman drew a double-headed spear. It was a ritual object of a woman who used it for summoning rain. It was kept together with other sacred spears in a special hut that was probably used as a cult space for performing rituals.¹⁶⁹ Sometimes wizards kept a spearhead in a clay pot as one of their tools.¹⁷⁰ A beautifully crafted spearhead in the Knoblehar collection might have been a wizard's accessory (fig. 158). Spearheads were also practical for slicing meat and cutting wood. Knoblehar also kept spearheads in his Khartoum collection, because Taylor saw them there and described them as supreme artefacts that could have easily been made the



blacksmiths of Europe.¹⁷¹ The collection also featured a wooden spear carved from a single piece of ebony (fig. 161). The Bari taught their children fighting skills, primarily archery. The Nuer and the Chir made similar bows. They were wrapped with strips of lizard or snake skin, whereas the bows of the Bari were also wrapped with thin, narrow iron bands like their spears.¹⁷² The bows are sometimes over two metres long and are made of wood or bamboo (fig. 174). The Helyab and Bor also armed themselves with bows, whereas other Nilotic peoples did not use them.¹⁷³ The arrows were made of long reeds, into which the narrow part of the iron arrowhead was placed (figs. 177-178). Their special feature is sharp hooks. The arrowhead was smeared with poison obtained from the juice from the roots of the uiri tree. The Bari also smeared their arrows with a substance made from the crushed heads of poisonous snakes. The arrows in the Knoblehar collection are kept in two leather quivers that are dyed red.¹⁷⁴ The African collection of the Slovene Ethnographic Museum contains three eye daggers that are very rare exhibits in museum collections worldwide.¹⁷⁵ Two eye daggers belong to the aforementioned Lavrin collection, whereas one was obtained by Knoblehar (fig. 169).¹⁷⁶ Bari warriors used this forked stick with a small hatchet to put out the eyes of an adversary that they had clubbed to the ground so that he would not look at them while dying. They believed that the gaze of the dying defeated adversary could be fatal for the victorious warrior. Another object with an interesting background is an iron sword with a curved blade that ends in a long, stick-like base that was originally attached to a wooden handle (fig. 164). The shape of the sword resembles the swords once made in ancient Egypt. They were most widespread during the 19th dynasty, when they were used from the Nile delta to Nubia.¹⁷⁷ The sword was very often the attribute of a king's power dominating over enemy forces. The curved swords were also known among the prehistoric peoples of the Middle East and particularly the Hittites of Anatolia.¹⁷⁸ Another important part of the outfit in the pharaoh's army was a staff with a curved blade shaped like a spearhead.¹⁷⁹ Knoblehar obtained two examples of this weapon (figs. 165-168).

The 1851 inventory does not mention a club, which is very unusual, because clubs were very widespread among the Nilotic peoples and so it is surprising that Knoblehar did not leave any in Ljubljana. Instead he took at least two to Vienna (fig. 190). Knoblehar also kept several ebony clubs at the missionary residence in Khartoum and gave some of them to Taylor.¹⁸⁰ Men used clubs as weapons. At the same time, clubs were objects that additionally emphasized an individual's role in the society. Almost everybody had a spear, but a club was a privilege. It was often made from a tree root. The club was a status and ritual object even in ancient Egypt. Nubian kings used a staff with a heavy round head during ceremonies.¹⁸¹ Like the sword with a curved blade, the club expresses the majestic divine force possessed by kings while destroying their enemies. A frequent motif on the facades of Egyptian temples shows the pharaoh subjugating adversaries with a sword or a club. Maybe under the influence of these relief depictions, the people along the Nile recognised these weapons in the hands of the pharaoh as an object representing divine power and absolute authority. Therefore the similarities in design between Egyptian and Sudanese objects are no coincidence. Two interesting objects among the weapons in the collection are small round hand shields that do not exceed twenty centimetres in diameter (figs. 170-172). They are made of thick leather, probably hippopotamus hide.¹⁸² There is a handle on the inside. Some shields were decorated with natural red dye and ostrich feathers. With

a double loop on the edge, the shield was attached to a staff, with which the Bari warriors defended themselves from club blows, while at the same time striking the adversary. There were also shields without loops.¹⁸³ One such shield is also preserved in the Lavrin collection.

PLEASURE AND REST

The natives living along the Nile were avid smokers, so it is no surprise that the collection also contains five clay pipes. The missionaries, who called the locals' pipes shibuk, were most surprised to find that women were also addicted to smoking tobacco. Both men and women smoked pipes in the form of long, hollow wooden stems connected with large ceramic bowls for tobacco and charcoal. Sometimes they also attached a special mouthpiece made from a different type of wood or bone to the stem. Later they also used spent rifle cartridges for mouthpieces.¹⁸⁴ The mouthpieces were decorated with incisions, and the stems were usually dyed with ochre. The stems could be up to one meter long. The Knoblehar collection contains a characteristic Shilluk pipe with a tall ceramic tobacco bowl that has a narrow opening and is decorated with incised cross-hatching (figs. 126-127). The other pipes in the collection came from the Bari people. Their pipes had low, cup-like tobacco bowls made of fired, fine, high quality clay. Some were painted with a glaze and decorated with incisions or stamps (figs. 118-125). Bari pipes have a horn-shaped stand on the base so they can remain stable while being smoked (figs. 120-125). The Bari produced more double-bowled pipes, but the Shilluk had them as well (fig. 119).¹⁸⁵ The locals cut used pipe stems into rings and chewed them as medicine for diarrhoea (fig. 128). Among the objects Knoblehar brought to Ljubljana, there were also eight examples of "smith's tongs", which look like long pincers with spade-shaped ends (figs. 129-131).¹⁸⁶ These tongs are believed to have been used by blacksmiths, although Knoblehar mentioned that the craftsmen only used forked wooden sticks to handle the hot iron. Given the delicate shape of these "tongs", their function is more likely connected with smoking, which is also supported by Harnier's illustration of an older man using this type of tongs to fill his pipe. Even today, water pipe smokers use similar tools to move the tobacco and hot coals. The records from the Sudan mission mention the Bari chief Muga, who traveled to Alexandria and back to Gondokoro with Knoblehar in 1853 (figs. 56-57). The description of this chief also mentions the stool he always kept with him: during the day he sat on it and at night he used it as a pillow. Chiefs and tribal leaders usually owned this type of stool. When Knoblehar received a group of Bari chiefs, they also offered him a similar stool, because they perceived him as an important dignitary.

The Slovene Ethnographic Museum has two well-preserved examples of Bari stools. The first example is from the Lavrin collection (1843), and the other belongs to the Knoblehar collection (figs. 112-114, 187-189). Both have oval, slightly inclined upper surfaces for sitting and four arched legs with wider bases. Along the longer side the legs are connected by a double, ladder-shaped stretcher.¹⁸⁷ The shape of the legs themselves has an anthropomorphic character, because they actually imitate the human leg and foot. The outer surface of the leg is adorned with incisions. The pairs of legs are slightly bowed outwards from the corners to provide better stability. Along the leg surfaces and the lower part of the seat there are traces of woodworking. Knoblehar mentioned that woodcarvers used ar-



rowheads in their work, and that the stools were also decorated with glass beads.¹⁸⁸ They did not have special woodworking tools, so the saw with teeth on both sides of the blade (fig. 110) is all the more interesting. Perhaps Knoblehar found it in Khartoum and brought it home as an example to show his countrymen an object with similar form and function to their own. While he wanted to highlight the different character of the African world on the one hand, on the other he was inclined to show items that reminded him of home. Thus he did not hide his excitement when he saw a wooden construction for drying sesame in Chir territory that immediately reminded him of hay racks (Sln. kozolec) in Carniola.¹⁸⁹ One of Harnier's illustrations of the Bari also shows a chief and an older man sitting on stools similar to those in the Knoblehar and Lavrin collections. More than half a century after Knoblehar's time, Leonard Stevenson found an identical model of stool in Gondokoro.¹⁹⁰ During their field research near Gondokoro in 1921, Charles Gabriel Seligman and his wife Brenda Zara also documented a similar type of stool.¹⁹¹ The Bari stools are similar to the small Slovene type of stool known as a *pručka*. The Bari were enthusiastic about the alcoholic beverage called *merissa*, which tasted like beer. They brewed the drink themselves, and to strain and filter it they used long bags of woven reeds. The lower, wider part was sewn shut, and the upper part had an opening that was tied with string (fig. 109). The anthropologist E. E. Evans-Pritchard found a similar type of strainer among the Anuak people in 1935. The form of the strainer had remained unchanged for decades among the people of southern Sudan and Uganda, due to its practical usefulness.¹⁹² This form of strainer probably has its origins in the ancient Egyptian and Nubian cultures.¹⁹³ The locals drank from gourds and ate food with their fingers or shells as utensils. The missionaries used horn spoons and poured their drinks into cups made from ivory and rhinoceros horn (figs. 100-107). These cups were made by craftsmen in Khartoum and were well-loved among the Arabic population, because they believed that the rhinoceros horn had magical powers. The cup was thought to protect the drinker from all poisonous substances, because they believed that the horn removed all poisons from the liquid.

WITCHCRAFT AND CELESTIAL GOURD

The leather necklaces with diverse pendants are the only items in the collection with religious significance. As props used by rain-wizards, shamans or chiefs, they were simultaneously symbols of the magical pagan forces Knoblehar confronted with the Bible and cross in hand. It is interesting that he included these items in his collection, because he liked to praise his model Baraga, for example, for burning pagan statues and destroying magical aids. Knoblehar probably collected the necklaces and various amulets as an example of the primitive world of African shamanism to show his countrymen (figs. 75-77, 82-86, 88-89). He was not interested in the amulets' meanings, and even less in the way the magical rituals were conducted. Today it is difficult to know what the primary role of individual amulets hanging on the leather necklaces may have been. Only those that wore them or used them for magical rituals knew their true meanings. African magic was fascinating to Europeans, who interpreted it in every possible manner, from scholarly analyses to imaginary stories. Only a few researchers such as Evans-Pritchard approached the issue critically, because they obviously understood that there was no room for white people in the African spiritual world.¹⁹⁴ Some amulets are accompanied by appropriate descriptions

and fortunately some of these are found in this collection. The Nuer described the origin of their tribe with the legend of the great gourd that fell from the sky, revealing that it contained a spear, a leopard skin, and a man named Kir.¹⁹⁵ A gourd as a heavenly gift also had a significant role as a religious aid or amulet. Small gourds were used as protective amulets to ward off evil forces. Shamans or rain-wizards kept various healing herbs and salves in gourds (fig. 75). The Ashanti oral tradition holds that all harmful human diseases were safely stored in gourds, so that when the god of the heavens became angry and broke a gourd the diseases quickly spread around the world.¹⁹⁶ Diseases could only be cured with a healing powder that the Ashanti wizard prepared and sprinkled into a gourd. They frequently used turtle shells and bones to make this powder. Turtle shell was also used for amulets by the Acholi people, who lived in northern Uganda.¹⁹⁷ There are two necklaces with turtle shell pendants in the Knoblehar collection (figs. 75-77). The Bari people's significant amulets were half-moon shaped iron bells or rattles, because their noise would drive away evil spirits (fig. 91). Shamans and healers also frequently wore them. Similar rattles were used even in the 20th century in southern Sudan (by the Lotuka and Toposa), in Uganda (by the Madi and Ganda) and the Turkana in the north-western part of Kenya. Generally men wore them during initiation ritual dances and women wore them during wedding dances.¹⁹⁸ An iron, spiral-wound staff with long bell-like pendants was used by shamans during rituals (fig. 90). The jingling noise was used to establish contact with ancestral spirits or to banish demonic forces.

The peoples along the White Nile did not generally have the custom of fashioning statues of their gods, as was (and still is) the tradition in western Africa. In only a few exceptional cases did they create statues (the Bari) or use masks during rituals (the Shilluk).¹⁹⁹ Gods and mythological ancestors were faceless; instead of wearing wooden masks, people preferred to decorate their faces with paint and scarification. Knoblehar's colleague Martin Hansal managed to obtain two very interesting wooden statues of a man and a woman, which may have been connected with ancestor worship, from the Bari.²⁰⁰ The simple, stylized anthropomorphic form holds a surprise in the use of two real teeth, which are fixed in the mouth (fig. 195). These statues, dyed with ochre, represent an exceptionally rare example of Nilotic art. Their rarity may mean that creating statues was not a part of the craftsmen's everyday repertoire, but rather developed from the tendency to imitate what they saw at the mission. Mission churches were adorned with various statues and paintings; among them was the chapel on Knoblehar's ship, which the locals always enjoyed visiting.²⁰¹ The missionaries explained the Holy Bible using pictures, and sometimes they also used statues as visual aids, especially statues of the Virgin. The locals encounter with European Christian art may not only have contributed to speeding their understanding of Catholic teachings, but it may also have awakened the idea of making their own images of their idols and ancestors (fig. 192).²⁰²

LEGACY AND MEMORY

Knoblehar also sent zoological and botanical collections to Ljubljana and Vienna.²⁰³ At least two crates, which are believed to have contained stuffed birds among other objects, were sent to Vienna in 1855.²⁰⁴ Jožef Gostner sent a crate to Mitterutzner in Brixen the



same year. The contents included birds, stork feathers, spears and a quiver of arrows.²⁰⁵ Knoblehar's interest in Sudanese history may also be seen in the very rare preserved example of a chronicle from the Funj Sultanate, which once stood in the north-eastern part of Sudan in the Blue Nile basin.²⁰⁶ The sultanate arose at the beginning of the 16th century and remained through the first half of the 19th century. It is unknown where Knoblehar obtained such a valuable historical source, but it is known that he brought it to Vienna in 1850 so that it could be translated and studied.²⁰⁷ Like Luka Jeran in Ljubljana, Mitterutzner took care of the mission's publicity in Brixen. He came to know Knoblehar in Rome in 1844 and they had remained friends since then, although they only communicated through correspondence.²⁰⁸ He established the Society of Mary to support the mission and persuaded Tirolean priests and laypeople to go to Khartoum. Between 1853 and 1869, 32 people decided to join the African mission. In autumn 1856 he also went to Alexandria himself for five days. He travelled on the steamer *Australia* in the company of his countrymen, but when he returned on the same ship, his companions also included eight children, whom the missionaries had bought on the slave market. Mitterutzner also had some interesting cargo on the ship: four live leopards and an elephant's tusk weighing 53 kg.²⁰⁹ This unusual cargo was intended for the Miramare Castle near Trieste, as a missionary gift to Archduke Ferdinand Maximilian. Mitterutzner was to deliver the gift on behalf of the missionary Jožef Gostner, but it is more likely that all this was organized by Knoblehar. It is hard to imagine that such goings on would take place without his knowledge. This delivery to Miramare was probably not an isolated example. It was generally known that the archduke was a passionate antique collector, and probably practically every important Austrian traveller brought him some kind of gift for his collection. The castle halls also held an exhibition of Anton Lavrin's Egyptian collection, and the expansive grounds were decorated with his stone sphinxes.²¹⁰ The Egyptian collection was removed to Vienna in 1867 and today is partially exhibited in the Art History Museum there. One of the sphinxes is still on the pier at the harbour beneath the castle today. Many items from southern Sudan remained at Miramare. It is not known who brought them there, but they were surely delivered to Trieste during the time of Knoblehar's mission. The objects were not intended for exhibition to the wider public, but were used as wall decorations in the main staircase. Quite a few objects, such as spears, were simply sawed off to the length required to display them in a fan-like shape on the wall. Many of the objects from the Miramare Castle should be considered good quality comparative materials for the study of the Knoblehar collections in Ljubljana and Vienna. This is also true of the ethnographic and natural science collections of Knoblehar's colleagues and acquaintances in Khartoum (e.g. Taylor, Binder, Hansal, etc.).²¹¹ The ethnographic collection the Italian explorer Carlo Piaggia sent to Berlin and Florence is very important.²¹² In 1857 Piaggia came to know Jernej Mozgan, who told him about conditions surrounding the Holy Cross mission.

When Jakob Danninger returned from Africa to his home town of Au in central Austria, he stopped in Ljubljana on 1 March 1857. He carried with him a manuscript of devotional songs that the missionary Überbacher had translated into Bari. This song collection was to be printed in Vienna.²¹³ Danninger also left items in Vienna that Knoblehar had donated for building a new church. He also brought a small African collection home. The stuffed birds on beautifully crafted bone bases were decorations, but the rest was quickly put to use

by the family. The most useful objects were the large horn spoons that they used to scoop flour, because the Danninger family not only had a large farm but also their own mill. It is unknown how many items Jakob Danninger brought from Africa. Thus it is that much more important that his descendent Johann Danninger still carefully maintains some African objects and shows off his portrait of Ignacij Knoblehar with great pride (figs. 193-194). Mr. Danninger told me that he has no portraits of Jakob, so the Knoblehar portrait serves as an indirect memento of his prominent ancestor. In December 1853 a mission caravan on the way to Khartoum stopped near the one-time capital of Meroe (fig. 18). Knoblehar took his new colleagues to see the famous ruins and Oton Trabant sent a tin box containing several items that he had discovered among the pyramids to Ljubljana. The precise nature of his discoveries is unknown, because the objects have since disappeared.²¹⁴

In 1853 the Prule foundry in Ljubljana, which was managed by Anton Samassa, carried out a formidable feat: its workers cast a bell that weighed 122 kilograms and was marked with the serial number 1000. They were even more proud of their achievement because the bell was intended for the missionary church in Gondokoro. Apart from this large bell, two smaller ones weighing 63 and 34 kilograms were cast. All of them were adorned with pious images and inscriptions in Latin and Slovene.²¹⁵ In the spring of 1855 the peoples of the White Nile, right at the equator, heard an unusual sound echoing across their land. Christianisation had become audible. For almost five years the locals listened to the tolling of the bells but then silence reigned again. In January 1860 the missionaries left Gondokoro and sailed north on six ships. All three bells were in the cargo. The largest was taken to Korosko, and later it was moved to the new missionary station in Shellal. The smallest of them could still be heard in 1882 at the missionary station of Delen in Kurdufan.²¹⁶ Soon afterwards Muslim extremists dismantled it and threw it from the tower. The damaged bell was then taken to Khartoum, where it lay discarded in the mission's garden. In the summer of 1926, the missionary Bernard Kohnen sent it back to Ljubljana (fig. 37). Four years later it was put on display at the missionary exhibition, but after that it disappeared without a trace.²¹⁷ Likewise it is unknown where Knoblehar's cross, which was laid in his casket at his funeral, is today. Slovene pilgrims went to Naples in 1871 in order to visit the grave of their famous countryman.²¹⁸ The abbot of the monastery took them to the crypt, where it took them much effort to open the white casket. Among his skeletal remains there was a wooden cross of olivewood. The pilgrims took the cross as a souvenir, and in exchange they laid a small wreath with an inscription and a tricolour ribbon on his skull. Luka Jeran later sent the cross to the missionary Kaufman, who had returned home to Tirol from Africa.²¹⁹

A dark brown horn ring with an inlay of pearls in the shape of a cross is also ascribed to Knoblehar. The inside of the ring has a sticker with the label: "Missionary Dr. Ignacij Knoblehar's ring".²²⁰ The pro-vicar's ring is now held by the National Museum of Slovenia. Knoblehar's relative, the Franciscan Heironim Knoblehar brought it to the museum.²²¹ Twenty years after Knoblehar's death, his professor Benvenut Crobath held his 50th anniversary mass at the Franciscan church in Ljubljana. At the celebration they presented him with a staff with a cross and a statue of St. Francis. The staff had a sheet of paper attached, which contained Knoblehar's youthful poem "Evening Sadness". The celebrant also received the missionary's tobacco pouch as a gift.²²² In addition to the objects connected with Knoble-



har, there are also numerous books, articles, poems, lectures, plays and commemorative events. Upon the 80th anniversary of his death a "Knoblehar Commemoration" was held in Škocjan on 14 and 15 August 1938, whose main purpose was to encourage the start of the procedure to beatify the missionary.²²³ In April 1948, upon the 90th anniversary of his death, Slovenes in the refugee camp in Spittal an der Drau, Austria prepared a cyclostyle booklet (10 - 14 cm) with the title Knoblehar: Velikan po duhu in delu in prvi misijonar osrednje Afrike (Knoblehar: A giant in his spirit and deeds and the foremost missionary of Central Africa) (fig. 34). A reprint of F. Jaklič's article was published here.²²⁴

During the time of Knoblehar's mission, photography was still in its infancy, so illustrations were still the accustomed form of pictorial documentation. Jakob Šašel was aware of this and used his engraving experience to draw interesting motifs during his short stay in Khartoum (figs. 6, 8-13, 15, 17, 23-26, 41, 57).²²⁵ The illustrations by Jožef Gostner, a priest and painter from Völs near Brixen, are also a valuable source.²²⁶ His letter of 7 August 1855 makes it clear that he illustrated a travelogue written by Giovanni Beltrame. The Italian missionary spent some months travelling along the Blue Nile and arrived in Fazogl and Benisangol.²²⁷ Gostner drew 13 colour illustrations on the basis of Beltrame's manuscript. In exchange Beltrame made his travelogue available to Gostner and allowed him to take information from it. A description of Beltrame's travels and some of Gostner's drawings were published in 1856 in the Viennese newspaper Faust (figs. 27-28). The same year a colour illustration of the mission camp in Philae in autumn 1853 was published. The artist is not named, but given the well-known circumstances, the illustration could only have been made by two painters: Gostner or Šašel (fig. 14). A similar illustration is found in Šašel's manuscript but it contains significantly less information. One searches the background in vain for the remains of Trajan's Kiosk, the best-known architectural feature in the temple complex dedicated to Isis (fig. 15). The illustrator of the picture in Faust placed 19 people in the scene, among whom the Bari chief Mugo with his characteristic long, red cloak and headdress of ostrich feathers is in the centre. Šašel only illustrated four people, not including the Bari chief. In his picture the only dark-skinned person is a camel driver, and even he is similar to the one seen in the newspaper illustration. Both mission artists were fairly accomplished, but a comparison shows that the newspaper illustration most probably originated on Gostner's sketch pad. This may also be clearly seen in the portraits of the chief Mugo. Gostner depicted him with jewellery on his arms and legs, but Šašel did not draw these ornaments, even though he wrote to people back home about how he had counted the rings on his fingers.²²⁸ Šašel's African pictures are currently known only from the illustrated manuscript he completed in 1863. It is not out of the question that Šašel drew these from memory or that he looked to published models that were available at the time. There are no traces of the drawings he sent his parents or the editor of the newspaper *Zgodnja Danica*.²²⁹ Finding them would help clarify the significant confusion regarding the authorship of the original models. The illustrations made by Wilhelm von Harnier in 1861 have the greatest documentary value (figs. 43-46, 48-55, 59-61).²³⁰ He had an exceptional sense of detail, particularly in drawing the natives and their clothes, jewellery and weapons, as well as in depicting their body decorations (e.g. body painting and scarification).²³¹ Quite a few items in the Knoblehar collection only received proper explanations of their function with the aid of Harnier's illustrations. The illustrations of places

connected with Knoblehar's mission along the White Nile are especially important. Harnier depicted Mount Logvek and wrote in his commentary that Knobelhar also climbed it. He also drew a group of the Bari as they spoke with the missionary Morlang near the church in Gondokoro (fig. 54). In addition, he drew the entire Gondokoro mission complex with the church and huts in the vicinity (fig. 55). The illustration of the Holy Cross with a marshy landscape in the foreground is also just as significant, because the mission church is also visible in the background (fig. 50). When Harnier drew the Holy Cross it did not occur to him that he would meet his fate here: while hunting he shot a buffalo and the wounded animal trampled him to death.²³² Felled at the age of twenty-five, he remained by the White Nile forever. In 1866 his brother Adolf arranged his notes and sketches and published them in a book-length travelogue edition. Morlang also occupied himself with drawing. He made numerous simple, schematic sketches of objects, the settlements of both mission stations along the White Nile and landscape panoramas. Old photographs are also very helpful in understanding how objects were used and which ethnic groups they belonged to. The exceptional photographic material kept in the Sudan archive at the University of Durham is a true treasure trove of information.²³³ For example, one document that is useful for shedding light on the Knoblehar collection is a photo of two Bari chiefs that was taken in 1926 near Mongalla (fig. 197). The photograph shows some similar items: a large horn (fig. 94), a spear, a belt (fig. 132) and an iron rattle (fig. 91).²³⁴

Much has been written about Knoblehar in scholarly articles, popular works and children's literature.²³⁵ Documentation of all the records connected with Knoblehar published in Slovenia and abroad is being carried out at the Slovene Ethnographic Museum. Currently not much is known about what was published on Knoblehar's mission in Sudan. Even more fascinating is the question of how the memory of the missionary has survived in the oral tradition, in stories and songs. When Knoblehar was in Gondokoro the Bari sang various songs about him.²³⁶ To the Africans, "Abuna Soliman" was an exceptional, unusual man, who left his individual mark in their lives. Thus it is not impossible that even today somewhere along the White Nile one might be able to hear people singing, "Soliman, roromue . . . Soliman, do rarata".

THE HOLY GRAIL AND THE GREEN SAHARA ▶

The Shilluk believed that their king was the reincarnation of the divine spirit Nyikang. They paid him the highest honour, but when he was no longer able to sexually satisfy his wives, it was time to execute him. The timely death of the physically feeble king was necessary, because the divine power that ensured the fertility of nature also declined along with him.²³⁷ This idea originates in the ancient myths of Egypt (Osiris), Mesopotamia (Tammuz) and Greece (Adonis). The ancient peoples resurrected gods and divine beings from the afterworld by means of magic rituals in order to preserve the cycle of life. The Shilluk preserved this balance by replacing the old king with the new one at the right time. The archetype behind this ancient tradition also played a central role in the famous medieval legend of the Holy Grail.²³⁸ The entire land suffered because of the old, feeble Fisher King: nature became barren, meadows ceased to be green and animals and people died. The dying kingdom was saved by the youthful energy of the knight Perceval. The connection



between the Shilluk and the legend of the Holy Grail must be understood in the light of their common origin in the mythology of the prehistoric peoples of the eastern Mediterranean.²³⁹ The cyclic renewal of the life force and the concern for fertility was manifested even at the time of the first dynasties of ancient Egypt through the ceremonial ritual of Sed, when after a certain period of his reign the king was initiated into enigmatic mysteries in order to confirm his vitality. An important part of this ritual involved running in the central courtyard of the temple complex. By running, the king symbolically united the entire kingdom with his energy and established a connection between the celestial and terrestrial worlds through his spiritual force.²⁴⁰ During the Sed ritual, the king wore an apron with a bull's tail affixed to the back. By carrying the bull's tail, the king was believed to receive the exceptional power of this animal. In Egypt, the bull was already a sacred animal at the time of the first dynasties, and his divine cult was also known among the prehistoric cultures of Mesopotamia and Anatolia. In the afterlife cult, the bull was the main sacrificial offering. Many tombs were decorated with real bull's heads (e.g. Alaca Hüyük).²⁴¹ The bull's head was also used as a decoration for temples and sacrificial areas. Many were made out of clay and dyed with natural red pigment (e.g. Çatal Hüyük).²⁴² The dominant role of cattle in the earliest stages of cultures from Egypt to Anatolia points to their common cultural origin, which was recognised as early as 1944 by the archaeologist Henri Frankfort, in his study of the double spiral amulet. On the one hand, similar phenomena of ancient cultures between the Nile and the Tigris are documented, but on the other, we can see the same phenomena preserved among the peoples of the White Nile. Frankfort reached far back, into the period around 10,000 BC, when the Sahara was a fertile land.²⁴³ But then climatic changes followed and the Sahara progressively turned into a desert. Rivers dried up and people moved to the east. Some settled along the Nile, while others went further to the north and east. New civilisations emerged, along with new religious and political systems. The memory of a green Sahara faded over the millennia, but some peoples along the White Nile preserved the heritage of their ancestors. The Shilluk, Dinka, Nuer and Bari kept the ancient traditions of the pastoral peoples in their material and spiritual culture until the 20th century.²⁴⁴

The Knoblehar collection at the Slovene Ethnographic Museum displays obvious archaic features. Although it is covered with the veil of the 19th century, it reveals the world of various prehistoric cultures of the Nile valley. However, this is not the prehistory of archaeological periods, but a living everyday prehistory that is in fact timeless. The people along the White Nile were the heirs of long-gone civilisations whose material and spiritual world is also reflected in some objects of the Knoblehar collection. These objects lead us to the very beginning of the first cultures along the Nile, while at the same time they form an invisible arch that touches primary religious beliefs about the universe, human existence, transience and eternity.

*When Dengdit was creating the world,
He created the sun that is born, dies and returns;
He created the moon that is born, dies and returns;
He created the stars that are born, die and return;
He created the man that is born, dies and never returns.*

Dinka song

- 1 For basic biographical information see the fundamental work on Knoblehar published in 1943 by Franc JAKLIČ under the title *Apostolski provikar Ignacij Knoblehar in njegovih misijonskih sodelavci v osrednji Afriki* (The Apostolic Pro-Vicar Ignacij Knoblehar and His Missionary Co-Workers in Central Africa). It was reprinted twice, in 1955 and 1996. Considerable material was published in several studies by Zmago ŠMITEK (cf. particularly: ŠMITEK, Z. 1982: 149-153; 1986: 111-118; 1988: 48-58; 1991: 165-166 and 1994: 239-243). On Knoblehar also cf.: STANONIK, F. 1882: 308-313; EHRlich, L. 1919: 93-96; EHRlich, L. 1928; EHRlich, L./BOHINEC, V. 1925-1932; ANŽIČ, A. 1928: 36-68; GRACAR, J. 1937-1938: 97-101; JAKLIČ, F. 1954: 84-98; DEBELJAK, T. 1958: 545-558; GÜNTHER, H. 1984: 411; TADINA, I. 1991; KOLASKA, A. 1991; GAFFURI, L. 1996: 25-26; LAH, A. 1999: 13-14; ČUK, S. 1998: 20-21; UDAL, J. O. 1998: 386-388; GRANDA, S. 1999: 563-567; GRANDA, S. 2001 a: 17; GRANDA, S. 2001 b: 105-107; FRELIH, M. 2005 a: 100-101; FRELIH, M. 2005 b: 41-61; KAJFEŽ, T. 2007 a: 145-148; BOŽIČ, R. 2008: 13; FRELIH, M. 2008: 26-31; ŽAKELJ, J. 2008. One of the earlier sources is: JAROSLAV, F. 1881 (a brochure with a summary of previously published material); UMEK OKIŠKI, A. 1863 (a long poem in memory of Knoblehar); and MITTERRUTZNER, J. C. 1869 (the author was a great supporter of the mission and Knoblehar's confidante).
- 2 Friderik Irenej Baraga (1797-1868).
- 3 The institution "Congregation for the Evangelisation of Peoples" or in Latin "Congregatio de propaganda fide" was better known by its shortened name "Propaganda Fide".
- 4 The Roman institute "Collegium Romanum" later became the Gregorian University.
- 5 Maksymilijan Ryllo (1802-1848). For his biography cf.: CZERMINSKI, T. J. 1911.
- 6 Knoblehar wrote about his doctoral studies in a letter to his friend Jože Partelj, dated 10 January 1846: "In den Willen Gottes ergeben, konnte ich mich stets mit ausgeheiterem Gemüte für meine Missionen vorbereiten, und fand genug Ruhe, daß ich meine Prüfungen für das Doctorat in der Theologie glücklich bestehen konnte." (Illyrisches Blatt 54, 1846: 215).
- 7 MCEWAN, D. 1988; SUNDKLER, B./STEED, C. 2000: 137-140; MULDER, A. 1960: 399; HOLT, P. M./DALY, M. W. 1988: 79.
- 8 The fundamental study on Lavrin is the unpublished dissertation by the Austrian Egyptologist Gottfried Hamernik from 1985, (HAMERNIK, G. 1985). Cf. also: KAJFEŽ, T. 2007b: 15-37.
- 9 HILL, R. 1956; GRAY, R. 1961.
- 10 For an overview of Knoblehar's missionary activities in Sudan cf.: TADINA, I. 1991; KOLAR, B. 1998: 70-87.
- 11 ZACH, H. M. 1986: 25.
- 12 For a more detailed analysis of Austrian policy in Sudan cf.: JAKLIČ, F. 1943: 116; SAUER, W. 2002 b: 39-44.
- 13 From a description of a meeting between an English couple, the Bakers, and a missionary called Franz Morlang in Gondokoro: "Over a bottle of wine one night, he admitted that the mission station was a pretext, a way for Austria to obtain a foothold in the country and spy out the possibility of forming a colony there. There was no serious intention of converting the heathen" (SHIPMAN, P. 2004: 175).
- 14 This is particularly true for activities in southern Sudan (trading contacts, the exploration of the Nile, etc.). On Austrian missions in Africa cf.: AMATI, A. 1858; MITTERRUTZNER, J. C. 1861; THAUREN, J. 1933 and 1935; ZACH, H. M. 1985.
- 15 Janez Kocjančič (Johann Kociancic, 1826-1853). BREN, H. 1927-1928: 177-183.
- 16 SPILLMANN, J. 1891: 112-113.
- 17 Bayard Taylor (1825-1878).
- 18 "Dr. Knoblecher, who, of all men I saw in Khartoum, was best qualified to judge correctly, assured me that they needed only a just and paternal government, to make rapid progress in the arts of civilization." (TAYLOR, B. 1854: 391).
- 19 ZACH, H. M. 1986: 13.
- 20 Zgodnja Danica 12, 1854: 49.
- 21 Martin Dovjak (1821-1854).
- 22 Zgodnja Danica 9, 1857: 34.
- 23 Jernej Mozgan (Bartholomäus Mosgan, 1823-1858). Some records mention the surname Možgan, whereas Jaklič and Kotnik refer to Mozgan (Móžgan). About Mozganu cf.: KOTNIK, F. 1943.
- 24 JAKLIČ, F. 1943: 169.
- 25 Franz Binder (1824-1875).
- 26 STIANSEN, E. 2000: 8. The same article was published also in German: 2002: 111-126. It features drawing of "an Austrian missionary", which is in fact a drawing from Knoblehar's ship log. It depicts Tunan, a village of the Shilluk



- and a featured on page 25 and dated 3 December 1849 - (Tunan Dorf der Shilluk Neger). Cf.: STIANSEN, E. 2002: 125, [15].
- 27 Jakob Schaschel (1832-1903); Croat. Jakob Šašel; Slo. also Jakob Šašelj. To mark the 100th anniversary of Šašel's death, Karlovac City Museum published his entire diary in German and Croatian (SCHASCHEL, J. 2003). The museum management kindly gave me access to the original version of the diary and pictorial material, and I sincerely thank them for this. ŠAŠELJ, I. 1938; 1939 a and 1939 b.
- 28 SCHASCHEL, J. 2003; ŠMITEK, Z. 1994: 239-243.
- 29 SCHASCHEL, J. 2003: 110; 251. Cf. also Lap's letter from Khartoum: Zgodnja Danica 9, 1854: 39.
- 30 Alfred Edmund Brehm (1829-1884). BREHM, A. E. 1983: 56.
- 31 JAKLIČ, F. 1943: 117.
- 32 ŠAŠELJ, I. 1939 b: 74.
- 33 Zgodnja Danica 22, 1855: 94.
- 34 Zgodnja Danica 25, 1855: 105.
- 35 Zgodnja Danica 20, 1853: 82. The surname Streinz most probably refers to the Austrian doctor Wenzel M. Streinz (1792-1876), who was known for his book entitled *Anleitung zur Untersuchung der Apotheken, vorzüglich aber zur Prüfung der Aechtheit und Güte der Arzneien. Ein handbuch für Sänitäts- und Polizeibeamte, Aertze, Wundärzte und Apotheker, wie nich minder für Materialwaarenhändler und Drogisten*, Prague 1825.
- 36 MITTERRUTZNER, J. C. 1890.
- 37 Matthäus Kirchner (1826-1912).
- 38 Jožef Švegel (Josef Schwegel 1836-1914).
- 39 Daniele Comboni (1831-1881).
- 40 Katoliški misijoni 32/8, 1958: 402.
- 41 SAUER, W. 2007: 210-212; ROSA LEONE, A. 1988: 11-12.
- 42 Nicolo Olivieri (1792-1864). Zgodnja Danica 12, 1853: 51; ROMANATO, G. 1998: 206-207.
- 43 The chronicle of the Ursuline convent in Škofja Loka for 1859: pp. 48-49.
- 44 Zgodnja Danica 41, 1856: 178-179.
- 45 UŠENIČNIK, F. 1933: 305.
- 46 SMOLIK, M. 1995: 86-87.
- 47 For the exploration of the Nile cf: BEKE, C. T. 1860; SPEKE, J. H. 1863; MARNO, E. 1874; BOHINEC, V. 1925: 1-24; idem 1929-1929: 17-23 and 1944; MOOREHEAD 1965; HILL, R./TONIOLO, E. 1975; UDAL, J. 1998; TROZZI, N. 2001: 111-120. A very interesting travel log of a voyage on the White Nile that includes many colour illustrations: HARNIER von, W. 1866. As a general survey of the Nile, I recommend a masterpiece by Emil Ludwig, who in a novel described the African river from its sources to its delta in the Mediterranean. The work was translated into Slovene by Jože Kastelic, who also wrote the foreword. (LUDWIG, E. 1981).
- 48 KLUN, V. F. 1850 a and b. The German version was published in the second edition (KAINBACHER, P. 2003).
- 49 Zgodnja Danica 24, 1851: 102; LUKAS, F. 1854 (1859): 535.
- 50 KREIL, K. 1854 (1859).
- 51 Also Loquek, Logvek, Logweck in Logwek, whereas the Arabic name was Gebel el Redjaf. The name Logwek probably come from the Nyángbara language. The Bari word for an earthquake or the shaking of the ground is gringrina-kak. Cf. also: STRUCK, B. 1909: 403. Harnier also mentions the name Lu-gnutet, which he translates as 'Erdbebenberg', which means Earthquake Hill or Shaking Hill. HARNIER von, W. 1866: supplement XVII: Berg Logwek. Following Knoblehar's example, Klun places Logvek in the area 4°10' N, but this is not correct. (KLUN, V. F. 1850 a: 30).
- 52 Also Lumutat, Lamutat. Cf. also: STRUCK, B. 1909: 403.
- 53 JAKLIČ, F. 1943: 210-211.
- 54 Zgodnja Danica 20, 1853: 82.
- 55 John Hanning Speke (1827-1864).
- 56 SPEKE, J. H./GRANT, J. A. 1862-1863: 223.
- 57 UDAL, J. O. 1998: 472-473.
- 58 ŠMITEK, Z. 1995: 159-178.
- 59 TAYLOR, B. 1854: 380-381.
- 60 LOHWASSER, A. 2008: 121-128.
- 61 TAYLOR, B. 1854: 284.
- 62 TAYLOR, B. 1854: 346-354.
- 63 "Early in 1851 Dr. Knoblecher, Catholic bishop apostolic for Central Africa, published in Germany his account of the ascent of the White Nile in a latitude of eight degrees north. His descriptions were so careful and evidently so correct, and they revealed such an unexpected and wide field of African travel, that when I found myself in Egypt before the close of the same year I determined to devote the whole of the winter to reaching as far a point on the White Nile as was possible with my limited means." (DALY, C. P./TAYLOR, B. 1875: 303).
- 64 Ferdinand de Lesseps (1805-1894).

- 65 LESSEPS de, F. 1888.
- 66 DE GREY/RIPON 1859-1860: 179.
- 67 "Dr. Knoblecher, the founder of the Austrian Church Mission establishment at Gondokoro, ascertained by a long series of observations that the Nile reached its lowest level there in mid-January." (SPEKE, J. H. 1863: 331).
- 68 BREHM, E. A. 1983: 56.
- 69 Nicola TROZZI (2001) offers a very detailed presentation of Knoblehar's significance to the European researchers that focused on the Nile in the mid-19th century. The author does everything in his power to direct the spotlight on Nile research toward Knoblehar's companion Emanuel Pedemonte. His role was definitely important, although it is clearly evident from the records of contemporaries such as Lesseps, Brehm and Taylor who was known as the true expert on the Nile.
- 70 EWALD, J. 1980: 345.
- 71 Kristijan Pajer (Christian Paier, 1839-1895).
- 72 Zgodnja Danica 24, 1860: 194.
- 73 For his life and work cf.: KAMBIČ, M. 1975; ZUPAN ŠORLI, N. 2008 (with bibliography).
- 74 Alois Payer - Königl. Hofphotographen in Egypten, vorm. Mitglied der Apostol. Mission für Central-Afrika zu Chartum unter der Leitung ihres Chefs, der Hochwürdigem Herrn Provicars Dr. Ignaz Knoblecher in den Jahren 1853-1856; see PAYER, A. 1864.
- 75 Kirchner mentions him in a letter dated 15 January 1855 (Zgodnja Danica 13, 1855: 59). The surname Payer is phonetically written as Bajer.
- 76 "Gondokoro is the seat of an ivory-market during the month December and January, when traders from Khartum visit it, and obtain their ivory in exchange for grain and beads; and here the late Pro Vicario Knoblecher established a Roman Catholic mission, which was abandoned in 1859."
- 77 VERNE, J. 1969: 220.
- 78 FADLALLA, H. L. M. 2004: 76-79.
- 79 EVANS-PRITCHARD, E. E. 1971: 134.
- 80 EVANS-PRITCHARD, E. E. 1971: 25-27.
- 81 "His conviction and indefatigability in the face of overwhelming diversity should bestow on Knoblecher a rare position in the inceptive annals of Christian contact with the people of southern Sudan." (SUNDKLER, B./STEED, C. 2000: 139).
- 82 JAKLIČ, F. 1943: 171.
- 83 Zgodnja Danica 33, 1851: 137-138; Zgodnja Danica 36, 1851: 147-148.
- 84 For geographic conditions and the Nilotic peoples in Sudan, compare WERNE, F. 1848; HARTMANN, R. 1884; BUCHTA, R. 1888; SCHRÖTTER von, H. 1915; EVANS-PRITCHARD, E. E. 1993; SELIGMAN, C. G. and Z. B. 1932;
- 85 EVANS-PRITCHARD, E. E. 1951: 116.
- 86 In literature, the names of peoples are mostly derived from the English transliteration of Arabic names. The Dinka is the English version of the Arabic name Denkwai (TITHERINGTON, G. W. 1927: 159).
- 87 Also the Dinca, Dinka, Dinkas and Denka. FROBENIUS, L. 1893: 335-345.
- 88 For the Dinka cf. TITHERINGTON, G. W. 1927.
- 89 SIERKSMA, F. 1963: 232.
- 90 For further details on this topic cf.: DENG, F. M. 1978.
- 91 TAYLOR, B. 1854: 353.
- 92 TITHERINGTON, G. W. 1927: 171.
- 93 They are also mentioned as the Shillook, Shilluk and Schiluk. For basic studies of the Shilluk see: FROBENIUS, L. 1893: 321-335; HOFMAYR, W. 1925; HOWELL, P. P. 1952 in 1953. Cf. also: EVANS-PRITCHARD, E. E. 1950: 2-3.
- 94 For natural pigments from Knoblehar collection see: KRAMAR, S. 2008.
- 95 Zgodnja Danica 18, 1853: 74.
- 96 BURTON, J. W. 1981: 501-502.
- 97 ALFÖLDI, A. 1959: 3.
- 98 EVANS-PRITCHARD, E. E. 1951: 116; FRAZER, J. G. 2001: 265-268.
- 99 Also the Nouaer.
- 100 EVANS-PRITCHARD, E. E. 1993: 15-21.
- 101 In the literature, the following names can be found: Kiec, Kječ, Kic, Kič, Kik, Kich, Kitsh, Kytch, Kitj, Kish and Kiec. Knoblehar called the people the Kyk.
- 102 Zgodnja Danica 18, 1853: 74.
- 103 Zgodnja Danica 4, 1856: 15.
- 104 Zgodnja Danica 31, 1855: 130.
- 105 Zgodnja Danica 3, 1859: 21.
- 106 Also KOTNIK, F. 1943: 48
- 107 HARNIER von, W. 1866: 22; supplement XXVII: Missionsstation "Zum Heiligen Kreuz".
- 108 Also Helyab, Aliab, Eliab.



- 109 FROBENIUS, L. 1893: 345-354.
- 110 Zgodnja Danica 5, 1856: 17.
- 111 Zgodnja Danica 22, 1853: 91.
- 112 JAKLIČ, F. 1943: 60.
- 113 Zgodnja Danica 22, 1855: 95.
- 114 Also: SPARKS, R. 2006 - "Southern Larim shield", Accession Number 1979.20.180 - Pitt Rivers Museum.
- 115 GAFFURI, L. 1996: 167-212.
- 116 MITTERRUTZNER, J. C. 1867. Johannes Chrysostomus Mitterrutzner (1818-1903). About his life and work cf.: MENGHIN, O. 1936 and BLASBICHLER, K. 1993. He wrote a special study in memory of Tyrolean missionaries and volunteers in Sudan: MITTERRUTZNER, J. C. 1890. He is also the author of a short biography on Knoblehar (MITTERRUTZNER, J. C. 1869).
- 117 MORLANG, F. 1973; GAFFURI, L. 1996: 212-261; UDAL, J. O. 1998: 455.
- 118 GUADALUPI, G. 2001: 242-251.
- 119 SHIPMAN, P. 2004: 357.
- 120 JAKLIČ, F. 1943: 62-63.
- 121 KLUN, V. F. 1850 a: 24-26.
- 122 Also Djur. Cf.: PETHERICK, J. 1861: 394.
- 123 See SPARKS, R. 2006 - "Bari bellows stick", Accession Number 1922.25.7 - Pitt Rivers Museum.
- 124 HARNIER von, W. 1866: supplement XIX: Wandernde Schmiede. Cf. also: PETHERICK, J. 1861: 395-396.
- 125 FRELIH, M. 2007: 33; 59. For a detailed account of the film "Im Deutschen Sudan" cf.: ZWERNEMANN, J. 1978. The photo archive of the Slovene Ethnographic Museum features a rare photograph of a blacksmith working an object with a stone. The picture was taken in northern Togo in 1914. Inv. no. SEM F 34188, cf.: FRELIH, M. 2007: 151, [150].
- 126 About blacksmiths compare also SCHASCHEL, J. 2003: 99.
- 127 KLUSEMANN, K. 1924: 138-140.
- 128 AMBORN, H. 1970: 91-92; FOLORUNSO, C. A. 2003: 80-82.
- 129 REYMES COLE, W. E. R. 1910: 90-92; JENNINGS BRAMLY, A. 1906: 101-102.
- 130 SELIGMAN, C. G. and Z. B. 1928: 462-468; SELIGMAN, C. G. and Z. B. 1932: 280-289.
- 131 PÜHRINGER, M. 2008: 166-167; 186.
- 132 SELIGMAN, C. G. and Z. B. 1928: 476.
- 133 JAKLIČ, F. 1943: 170.
- 134 FRAZER, J. G. 2001: 270-271.
- 135 The witchdoctor was filmed during the ritual by Boris Kuhar. The footage is 75 seconds long and can be seen on the website of the Slovene Ethnographic Museum (<http://www.etno-muzej.si/sl/zadnji-vrac>).
- 136 GOLOB, F. 1997: 16-30; FEEST, F. C. 1998: 285-312.
- 137 RUSSEGGGER von, J. 1841-1850; WERNE, F. 1848.
- 138 Illyrisches Blatt, Laibach 1844: 24. ŠTRUKELJ, P. 1980-1982: 129-130.
- 139 For greater detail cf. also GOLOB, F. 1997: 79, note 230.
- 140 Laibacher Zeitung 1851: 668; 733-734; 1029-1030.
- 141 OREL, B. 1953-1954: 139-140.
- 142 ŠTRUKELJ, P. 1967; 1968 and 1980-1982.
- 143 ŠTRUKELJ, P. 1968: 147;
- 144 GOLOB, F. 1997: 79-80, notes 230 and 231.
- 145 KOCUVAN, E. 1997: 26.
- 146 War Museum of the Yugoslav National Army. PETROVIĆ, Đ. 1962: 22, [34] and 24, [42].
- 147 TAYLOR, B. 1854: 354.
- 148 KLUN, V. F. 1850 a: 24. SCHRÖTTER von, H. 1915: 206.
- 149 HELLINCKX, B. R. 1997: 113-116; REID, A. 2003: 62.
- 150 HELLINCKX, B. R. 1997: 119-121, [6].
- 151 RUSSMANN, E. R. 2001: 67, [2].
- 152 EVANS-PRITCHARD 1949: 8.
- 153 EVANS-PRITCHARD, E. E. 1947: 36.
- 154 EVANS-PRITCHARD 1953: 7.
- 155 EVANS-PRITCHARD 1953: 6.
- 156 BEST, G. 1993: 119-120.
- 157 For comparison cf.: SPARKS, R. 2006 - "Bari neck ornament", Accession Number 1903.2.3, Pitt Rivers Museum.
- 158 For comparison cf.: SPARKS, R. 2006 - "Amulet", Accession Number 1884.140.261, Pitt Rivers Museum.
- 159 FRANKFORT, H. 1944: 198.
- 160 WENGROW, D. 2003: 126-128.
- 161 GOEDE, B. 2006: 47-50. Fig. 8 features a similar chain as the one in the SEM collection. Cf. also: HONEGGER, M. 2004: 34, [19].

- 162 For comparison cf.: SPARKS, R. 2006 - "Lotuko necklet", Accession Number 1942.1.450; "Didinga or Larim necklet, Accession Number 1940.7.073, Pitt Rivers Museum. Cf. also: BEST, G. 1993: 131, [114].
- 163 For comparison cf.: SPARKS, R. 2006 - "Lotuko neck ornament", Accession Number 1946.8.102, Pitt Rivers Museum.
- 164 SCHRÖTTER von, H. 1915: 228; FRELIIH, M. 2007: 122, [92].
- 165 HOFMANN, I./TOMANDL, H./ZACH, M. 1984 b: 93-96.
- 166 EVANS-PRITCHARD 1953: 3-5.
- 167 GRINSELL, L. V. 1961: 479.
- 168 Zgodnja Danica 31, 1855: 130.
- 169 Also Latuko. Cf.: SELIGMAN, C. G. and Z. B. 1932: 330-331, [21].
- 170 EVANS-PRITCHARD, E. E. 1938: 56; EVANS-PRITCHARD, E. E. 1953: 4.
- 171 TAYLOR, B. 1854: 354: "Many of the spears in Dr. Knoblecher's possession are as elegantly formed and as admirably tempered as if they had come from the hands of a European blacksmith."
- 172 HARTMANN, R. 1884: 132-134.
- 173 Zgodnja Danica 5, 1856: 17.
- 174 BIASUTTI, R. 1941: 241.
- 175 SPARKS, R. 2006 - "Murle [Djibba] axe", Accession Number 1884.21.25, Pitt Rivers Museum.
- 176 SEM EM 2608 in 2622.
- 177 A sword with a sickle blade was called a *khepesh* in ancient Egypt, which meant "front leg of an ox". SCHOSSKE, S. 1980: coll. 820-821; Example of a Nubian sword: DAVIES, W. V. 2004: 108, [82].
- 178 They were widespread as far as India and Nepal: LENK-CHEVITCH, P. 1941: 84.
- 179 MONTET, P. 1958: 227.
- 180 TAYLOR, B. 1854: 354: "I have in my possession some of these clubs, which were presented to me by Dr. Knoblecher."
- 181 MORENZ, L. D. 2005: 52-54.
- 182 For comparison cf.: SPARKS, R. 2006 - "Imatong shield", Accession Number 1940.7.089, Pitt Rivers Museum.
- 183 BAUMANN, H./THURNWALD, R./WESTERMANN, D. 1940: 228, [227].
- 184 SCHRÖTTER von, H. 1915: 240.
- 185 VALLANCE, D. J. 1911: 378, [48:4].
- 186 ŠTRUKELJ, P. 1967: 160.
- 187 A very similar stool is kept at the Anthropological and Ethnographic Museum in St. Petersburg. The stool, which is partially damaged, is thought to have belonged to the Bongo people. (V. V. Junker Collection, 1889). For a description see: Art of Tropical Africa, p. 79, [180].
- 188 KLUN, V. F. 1850 b: 23.
- 189 KLUN, V. F. 1850 b: 22.
- 190 SPARKS, R. 2006 - "Bari stool", Accession Number 1903.2.5, Pitt Rivers Museum.
- 191 SPARKS, R. 2006 - "Bari stool", Accession Number 1940.12.535, Pitt Rivers Museum.
- 192 SPARKS, R. 2006 - "Anuak beer strainer", Accession Number 1936.10.48., Pitt Rivers Museum.
- 193 HOFMANN, I./TOMANDL, H./ZACH, M. 1984 a: 87-90.
- 194 EVANS-PRITCHARD 1935: 421-422.
- 195 WILSON, E. W. 1954: 113.
- 196 WILSON, E. W. 1954: 121; SELIGMAN, B. Z. 1914: 310-319.
- 197 STIGLER, R. 1922: 248, [3: 18].
- 198 They have iron rattles attached to the arm with leather straps. The Turkana call them *ngituroi*, and rattles for the ankles are called *ngichoroi*. A man may only attach one long rattle (a *kupkurkur*) to his right leg, and a woman may have one on each leg. For more detail on this custom see: BEST, G. 1993: 168-170.
- 199 BOCCASSINO, R. 1941: 257.
- 200 Martin Ludwig Hansal (1823-1885). PLANKENSTEINER, B. 2005; Museum of Ethnology in Vienna: Inventory No. 14466, 14467. (ZACH, H. M. 1986: 267). For comparison also see: SPARKS, R. 2006 - "Bari figure", Accession Numbers 1884.65.23. and 1939.2.1, Pitt Rivers Museum.
- 201 JAKLIČ, F. 1943: 148, 163-164.
- 202 SELIGMAN, C. G. and Z. B. 1932: 24-25.
- 203 HEPPER, F. N. 1962: 227.
- 204 Zgodnja Danica 2, 1856: 7; ŠMITEK, Z. 1982: 150.
- 205 Zgodnja Danica 2, 1856: 7.
- 206 HOLT, P. M. 1963: 48.
- 207 HOLT, P. M. 1988: 250.
- 208 BLASBICHLER, K. 1993: 78-81.
- 209 BLASBICHLER, K. 1993: 88.
- 210 KAJFEŽ, T. 2007 b: 21.
- 211 The Binder collection has around 550 exhibits. It is kept in a museum that bears his name: the "Franz Binder" World



- Ethnographic Museum in Sibiu, Romania. See: LESOWSKY, W. 2001.
- 212 Carlo Piaggia (1827-1882). KOTNIK, F. 1943: 56; ROMITI, A. 1998: 18.
- 213 Zgodnja Danica 10, 1857: 39.
- 214 Zgodnja Danica 4, 1853: 15.
- 215 JAKLIČ, F. 1943: 180.
- 216 JAKLIČ, F. 1943: 337.
- 217 Ilustracija 2/10, 1930: 358.
- 218 BREN, H. 1939: 58-59.
- 219 JAKLIČ, F. 1943: 318-320.
- 220 I thank Dr. Matija Žargi, for the information about this ring (inv. no. 6903).
- 221 JAKLIČ, F. 1943: 309.
- 222 JAKLIČ, F. 1943: 118.
- 223 A commemorative booklet with a program and contribution by J. Gracar entitled, "Ali bo Knoblehar svetnik?" (Will Knoblehar be sainted?) Štefan Rostohar of Ljubljana donated the booklet to the Slovene Ethnographic Museum in 2007. He obtained it in Škocjan during a mission that lasted from 12 to 19 March 1958.
- 224 This very rare example of this booklet was donated to the Slovene Ethnographic Museum by Dr. Janez A. Arnež (Studia Slovenica) in 2007.
- 225 JAKLIČ, F. 1943: 178; KOČEVAR, S. 2003.
- 226 JAKLIČ, F. 1943: 178-179.
- 227 Also Benisongol. Zgodnja Danica 11, 1857: 42. BELTRAME, G. 1858 and 1861; BELTRAME, G. et al. 1858.
- 228 ŠAŠELJ, I. 1938: 11; DRUŽAK, A. 2003: 168.
- 229 ŠAŠELJ, I. 1938: 11. See also: ŠAŠELJ, I. 1939 b: 74.
- 230 Wilhelm von Harnier (1836-1861).
- 231 SCHRÖTTER von, H. 1915: 214-215.
- 232 HARNIER von, W. 1866: suppl. XXVII: Missionsstation "Zum Heiligen Kreuz"; UDAL, J. O. 1998: 458.
- 233 For basic information on the archive see: DALY, M. W./FORBES, L. E. 1994; HOGAN, J. 2007: 155-180.
- 234 DALY, M. W./FORBES, L. E. 1994: 111, [110].
- 235 KOVAČIČ, E. 1970: 85; DEBEVEC, J. 1930.
- 236 Zgodnja Danica 2, 1856: 8.
- 237 FRAZER, J. G. 2001: 268.
- 238 WESTON, J. L. 1993: 58-62; JUNG, E./FRANZ von, M.-L. 1998: 191-192.
- 239 NITZE, W. A. 1909: 382-394.
- 240 JUNG, E./FRANZ von, M.-L. 1998: 192; NAYDLER, J. 2005: 85-86.
- 241 LLOYD, S. 1967: 15-29; MELLAART, J. 1964.
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SUDANSKE ZBIRKE V ETNOGRAFSKEM MUZEJU NA DUNAJU

Barbara Plankensteiner

Na začetku dvajsetega stoletja je sudanska zbirka Antropološko etnografskega oddelka Naravoslovnega muzeja na Dunaju veljala za najdragocenejši del afriške zbirke.¹ Kristian Bahnson je v članku o etnografskih muzejih v nemško govorečih evropskih deželah leta 1888 poudaril pomen teh mednarodno priznanih zbirk: "Najboljši in najraznovrstnejši material za proučevanje ljudstev ob Nilu lahko najdemo v Dvornem muzeju (Hofmuseum) na Dunaju, kjer predmeti iz tistih dežel sestavljajo najboljše zbirke muzeja."² Te zbirke tedaj niso bile tako izjemne zaradi sijajnih, enkratnih predmetov ali visoke estetske vrednosti etnografskih artefaktov, temveč zaradi pripisane znanstvene vrednosti. Poleg tega so bili nekateri predmeti zbrani zelo zgodaj in so bili veliko starejši od zbirk drugih muzejev. Toda kljub temu slovesu zbirke predmetov iz južnega Sudana vse do danes niso podrobno obdelane in ustrezno objavljene.

Zato razstava o Knobleharju v Ljubljani ponuja odlično priložnost za vsaj bežen pogled na zgodovino in vsebino teh dragocenih in redkih zbirk. Danes je njihova znanstvena vrednost še višja ne samo zaradi posebnih zgodovinskih okoliščin, v katerih so nastale in zaradi njihove povezave z znamenitimi prvimi "raziskovalci." afriške celine, temveč predvsem zaradi njihove vloge materialnega arhiva preteklosti določenega dela sveta, kjer nenehno divjajo spopadi.

V skladu z drugimi muzejskimi zbirkami, vsebina in viri južno sudanskih zbirk odražajo zgodovinski odnos Avstro-Ogrskega cesarstva z neevropskimi deželami. V primeru Sudana so ta odnos določali prvi politični stiki med Habsburškim in Otomanskim cesarstvom, ki je nadzoroval Egipt in Sudan večino devetnajstega stoletja. Zaradi te povezave je več posameznikov iz Avstrije obiskalo ta odmaknjen del sveta po uradni dolžnosti ali zasebno, njihove zbirke materialne kulture pa se danes nahajajo v dunajskem Etnografskem muzeju.³ Nekateri avstrijski državljani so v dvajsetih letih devetnajstega stoletja sodelovali v ekspanzionističnih egipčanskih vojnah na območju Sudana. Paša Mehmed Ali je uraden stik z Avstrijo prvič vzpostavil leta 1834, da bi v Sudan povabil strokovnjake za rudarstvo, ki bi raziskali zaloge rude v pravkar okupiranih območjih. Na Avstro-ogrsko se je obrnil zato, ker se je želel izogniti vmešavanju Velike Britanije in Francije (Zach 1985). Za to nalogo so v Sudan poslali Josepha Russeggerja in sedem drugih Avstrijcev. Leta 1850 je avstrijski cesar Fran Jožef I. potrdil načrt za vzpostavitev avstrijskega konzulata v Kartumu in leta 1851 za prvega konzula imenoval Konstantina Reitzta. Reitz in drugi diplomati, zaposleni na tem konzulatu, so zbirali naravoslovno gradivo in etnografske predmete ter jih podarili dunajskemu Etnografskemu oddelku.

Prvi afriški predmeti v katalogu Antropološko etnografskega oddelka obsegajo več kot 500 etnografskih enot iz tedanje Abesinije in območja ob Zgornjem Nilu, ki jih je v Avstrijo prinesel Josef Natterer (1822-1862), Avstro-Ogrski konzul v Kartumu od 1857 do 1862 in jih podaril cesarskemu naravoslovnemu uradu leta 1865. Natterer je verjetno imel pomembno

1) Do leta 1928, ko je Etnološki muzej kot samostojna ustanova odprl vrata javnosti, so etnografske zbirke hranili v Naravoslovnem muzeju, na Antropološko etnografskem oddelku, ki se je pozneje preimenoval v Etnografski oddetek.

2) Bahnson 1888: 136.

3) "Iz Avstrije." v tem primeru pomeni iz nekdanjega habsburškega cesarstva in ne samo iz današnje Avstrije.

vlogo pri vzpostavitvi zbirke, saj je bil kustos v Cesarskem naravoslovnem uradu na Dunaju, predhodniku Naravoslovnega muzeja, preden je kot raziskovalec odpotoval v Sudan. Njegov vzor je bil nedvomno njegov stric Johann Natterer, sloviti raziskovalec Brazilije v tridesetih letih devetnajstega stoletja. Druga registrirana zbirka sedeminpetdesetih predmetov je bila sad prve odprave Giovannija Mianija (1810-1872) na območja ob Zgornjem Nilu leta 1860. Kot drugi raziskovalci sredine devetnajstega stoletja je iskal izvire Nila, vendar je bil pri tem neuspešen. Med drugim potovanjem je dosegel reko Uele, vendar je umrl od izčrpanosti v pokrajini Mangbetu. Del njegove zbirke se nahaja v Naravoslovnem muzeju v Benetkah.

Zbirka stopetdesetih predmetov prvega avstrijskega konzula Konstantina Reitza je bila podarjena tehnološkemu uradu Tehnične univerze leta 1853, pozneje pa so jo preselili v Etnografski oddelek Naravoslovnega muzeja. Kot zbirka njegovega predhodnika Nattererja je bila sestavljena večinoma iz orožja, sulic in gorjač. Bolj raznoliko zbirko približno dvestopetdesetih predmetov je ustvaril Martin Ludwig Hansal (1823-1885). Hansal je prvič odpotoval v Sudan leta 1853 kot učitelj v misijonu Gondokoro, bil pa je tudi tajnik Ignacija Knobleharja. Po vrnitvi v Sudan je s prekinitvami od leta 1863 naprej vodil avstrijski konzulat v Kartumu, leta 1871 pa je postal častni konzul. Ko so mahdisti leta 1885 zasedli Kartum, je izgubil življenje, z njegovo smrtjo pa se je končala tudi zgodovina avstrijske diplomatske misije v Sudanu. Etnografska zbirka na Dunaju pa ni nastala samo po zaslugi diplomatov, temveč tudi misijonarjev, ki so prispevali kar nekaj predmetov. Zgodovine afriškega misijona v južnem Sudanu, ki ga je podpiral avstrijski cesar, tu ni treba opisovati, saj je glavna tema razstave in kataloga. Toda dunajski Etnološki muzej hrani tudi več zbirk, povezanih s tem cerkvenim podvigom. Zbirka skoraj petdeset predmetov Maksimilijana Rylla in Ignacija Knobleharja, prvih vikarjev misijonske postaje v Gondokoru, je v muzej prispela leta 1925. Tri leta pred tem je muzej prejel devet predmetov iz zapuščine misijonarja Josepha Ohrwalderja (1856-1913), ki je preživel mahdijsko ujetništvo.

Veliko obsežnejše so bile zbirke, ki so jih muzeju podarili prvi zasebni popotniki in raziskovalci južnega Sudana. Največjo med njimi je zbral zoolog Ernst Marno (1844-1883), ki je pri rosnih dvaindvajsetih letih odpotoval v egipčanski Sudan proučevati živalstvo. Tam se je podal na več raziskovalnih odprav na območje Oromo in kot eden prvih Evropejcev je obiskal in kartografiral ozemlje med Belim in Modrim Nilom leta 1871 in 1873, nazadnje pa tudi Kordofan leta 1875. Ne samo, da je izdal več potopisov, temveč je Etnografskemu oddelku na Dunaju podaril več kot osemsto predmetov. Slikar Richard Buchta (1845-1894) se je po več letih potovanj po Evropi in Otomanskemu cesarstvu leta 1870 preselil v Kairo, kjer je odprl fotografski atelje. Tam ga je leta 1877 Romolo Gessi kot fotografa najel za delo v Bahru el Ghazalu, kjer so vladali italijanski guvernerji pod egipčansko upravo. Pozneje je prispel v Lado, sedež guvernerja Ekvatorije Emin Paše (Eduarda Schnitzerja), ki je bil doma iz Šlezije. Buchta je Emin Pašo spremljal na več potovanjih v kraljestvo Bunjoro in v Azande. Na teh potovanjih je zbral več etnografskih predmetov in posnel več fotografij, zaradi katerih je pozneje zaslovel, saj so bile prve fotografije tega območja in tamkajšnjega prebivalstva. Buchta je Etnografskemu oddelku na Dunaju podaril dvesto etnografskih predmetov in fotografij ter omogočil, da je oddelek pridobil tudi zbirko Emin Paše. Še en pomemben del sudanske zbirke je zapuščina Wilhelma Junkerja (1840-1892), ki jo je muzej

prejel v dar leta 1892 in ki šteje več kot 430 predmetov iz območja ob Zgornjem Nilu. Wilhelm Junker je med letoma 1880 in 1886 prepotoval Bahr el Ghazal. Večji del njegove zbirke se nahaja v Kunstammer v Sankt Petersburgu. Tik pred smrtjo je izdal potopis v treh knjigah, ilustriranih z Buchtovimi fotografijami in risbami. Najbolj zanimiv posameznik med avstrijskimi popotniki v južnem Sudanu pa je bil Freiherr Rudolf Carl von Slatin (1857-1932) ali Slatin Paša. Več kot deset let je preživel v mahdijskem ujetništvu in leta 1895 je izdal svoje spomine v zelo priljubljeni knjigi *Ogenj in meč Sudana*. Iz njegove zapuščine je v muzeju samo nekaj sulic in puščic, medtem ko jih je nekaj še v lasti njegovih potomcev.

THE SUDAN COLLECTIONS AT THE MUSEUM OF ETHNOLOGY IN VIENNA¹

Barbara Plankensteiner

At the turn of the 20th century, the Sudan collection of the Anthropological-Ethnographic Department at the Natural History Museum in Vienna² was considered to be the most precious part of its Africa holdings. In his 1888 article on ethnographic museums in German-speaking Europe, Kristian Bahnson put a special emphasis on these internationally renowned holdings: "The best and richest material for the study of the peoples of the Nile countries is to be found at the Hofmuseum in Vienna, where the collections from this region are among the museum's best" (Bahnson 1888:136).³ It was not the existence of spectacular unique pieces or the high aesthetic quality of some of these ethnographic artefacts, but rather the scholarly value attributed to them that made this collection so exceptional at that time. Furthermore, some of the objects were collected at a very early stage and predated much of what was kept in other museums. In spite of this appreciation, the southern Sudan collections have not been studied in detail and adequately published until today.

The Knoblehar exhibition in Ljubljana therefore offers a welcome opportunity to at least glance superficially at the history and content of these precious and rare holdings. Today their scholarly value arises not just from the specific historical circumstances that brought them together and from their relation to famous personalities of the early "exploration" of the African continent, but in particular from their importance as a material archive for the past of a region in constant turmoil.

In concordance with the other museum collections, the composition of and the sources for the southern Sudan collection reflect the historical relationship of the Austro-Hungarian Empire with the world outside of Europe. In the case of the Sudan it resulted from the early political relationship of the Habsburg Empire with the Ottoman Empire, which controlled Egypt and the Sudanese regions for most of the 19th century. This connection brought several Austrian⁴ individuals to these remote areas on official or private missions, and their collections of material culture ended up in the ethnographic collection in Vienna. Some Austrian nationals had participated in the expansionist Egyptian wars in the Sudanese territories in the 1820s. Pasha Mehmed Ali contacted Austria on an official basis for the

1) Translated by author.

2) Until 1928, when the Museum of Ethnology was opened to the public as an independent institution, the ethnographic collections were held at the Natural History Museum initially, as the Anthropological-Ethnographic Department and later just the Ethnographic Department.

3) Author's translation

4) In this article, "Austrian" denotes citizens of the former Habsburg Empire and not just of present-day Austria.

first time in 1834 when he planned to invite mining experts to Sudan to explore the mineral deposits in the newly occupied territories. He deferred to Austria-Hungary in this respect because he wanted to keep Great Britain and France at a distance (Zach 1985). Joseph Russegger and seven fellow Austrians were sent to the Sudan with this assignment. In 1850 the Austrian Emperor Franz Joseph I approved the plan to open an Austrian Consulate in Khartoum and dispatched Konstantin Reitz as first consul in 1851. Reitz and several diplomats working at this consulate thereafter collected natural history specimens and ethnographic objects and gave them to the Ethnographic Department in Vienna.

The very first African objects catalogued by the Anthropological-Ethnographic Department comprised more than 500 ethnographic specimens from what was then called Abyssinia and the Upper Nile region, brought to Austria by Josef Natterer (1822-1862), the Austro-Hungarian consul in Khartoum from 1857 to 1862, and donated to the imperial natural history office in 1865. Natterer might have been instrumental for the interest in collecting because he was employed as a curator at the imperial natural history office in Vienna, the precursor to the Natural History Museum, before he travelled to Sudan with the initial purpose of scholarly research. He was definitely inspired by the great deeds of his uncle Johann Natterer, celebrated for his research in Brazil in the 1830s.

The second registered collection of 57 items resulted from Giovanni Miani's (1810-1872) first exploration of the Upper Nile in 1860. Like other explorers in the mid-19th century, he tried to find the sources of the Nile but didn't succeed. During his second trip he reached the Uele River but died of exhaustion in the Mangbetu country. Part of his collection is kept at the Natural History Museum in Venice. A collection of 150 objects from the first Austrian consul Konstantin Reitz was donated to the technology office of the University of Technology in 1853 and later transferred to the Ethnographic Department of the Natural History Museum. Like the collection of his successor, Natterer, it consisted mainly of weapons such as spears and clubs.

A more varied collection of about 250 objects was assembled by Martin Ludwig Hansal (1823-1885). Hansal initially travelled to Sudan in 1853 to work as a teacher at the Gondokoro Mission, where he also acted as secretary to Ignacij Knoblehar (a.k.a. Ignaz Knoblecher). After his return to Sudan he headed the Austrian consulate in Khartoum intermittently from 1863 on and became honorary consul in 1871. He was killed during the occupation of Khartoum by Mahdist troops in 1885 and the history of the Austrian diplomatic mission in Sudan ended with his death. The ethnographic collection in Vienna profited not only from diplomats, but also missionaries, who contributed some additions. The history of the African Mission in southern Sudan, supported by the Austrian emperor, does not have to be repeated here, since it is the main focus of this exhibition and catalogue. However, the ethnological museum in Vienna also owns several collections related to that Christian enterprise. A collection of nearly 50 objects by Max Ryllo and Ignacij Knoblehar, the first vicars of the mission station in Gondokoro, was handed over to the museum in 1925. Three years earlier the museum had received 9 items from the estate of the missionary Joseph Ohrwalder (1856-1913), who survived captivity under the Mahdists. Far more extensive were the collections that the museum acquired from early private travellers and explorers

who ventured into southern Sudan. The largest collection was assembled by the zoologist Ernst Marno (1844-1883) who, at the tender age of 22, travelled to Egyptian Sudan to study animals. There he also undertook exploratory trips into the Oromo areas and was one of the first Europeans to reach and map the regions between the White and Blue Niles in 1871 and 1873, and finally Kordofan in 1875. He not only published several books on his travels, but also provided the ethnographic department in Vienna with over 800 items.

The painter Richard Buchta (1845-1894) settled in Cairo in 1870, after several years of travel throughout Europe and the Ottoman Empire, and opened a photographic studio. From there Romolo Gessi engaged him in 1877 to work as a photographer in Bahr el Ghazal, where the Italian acted as governor for the Egyptian administration. He later reached Lado, seat of the governor of Equatoria, the Silesian-born Emin Pasha (a.k.a. Eduard Schnitzer), whom he accompanied on several trips, such as to the Bunyoro kingdom and to the Azande. On these trips he collected ethnographic objects and took series of photographs that later made him famous because it was the earliest photographic documentation of these areas and their population. Buchta donated 200 ethnographic objects and photographs to the Ethnography Department in Vienna and also provided the connection that allowed the department to acquire a collection from Emin Pasha himself.

Another important part of the Sudan holdings was a gift of the estate of Wilhelm Junker (1840-1892), donated to the museum in 1892 and numbering over 430 items from the Upper Nile regions. Wilhelm Junker travelled the Bahr el Ghazal region extensively between 1880 and 1886. The major part of his collection is kept at the Kunstkammer in St. Petersburg. Shortly before his death he published his travel notebooks in three volumes illustrated with Buchta's photographs and drawings.

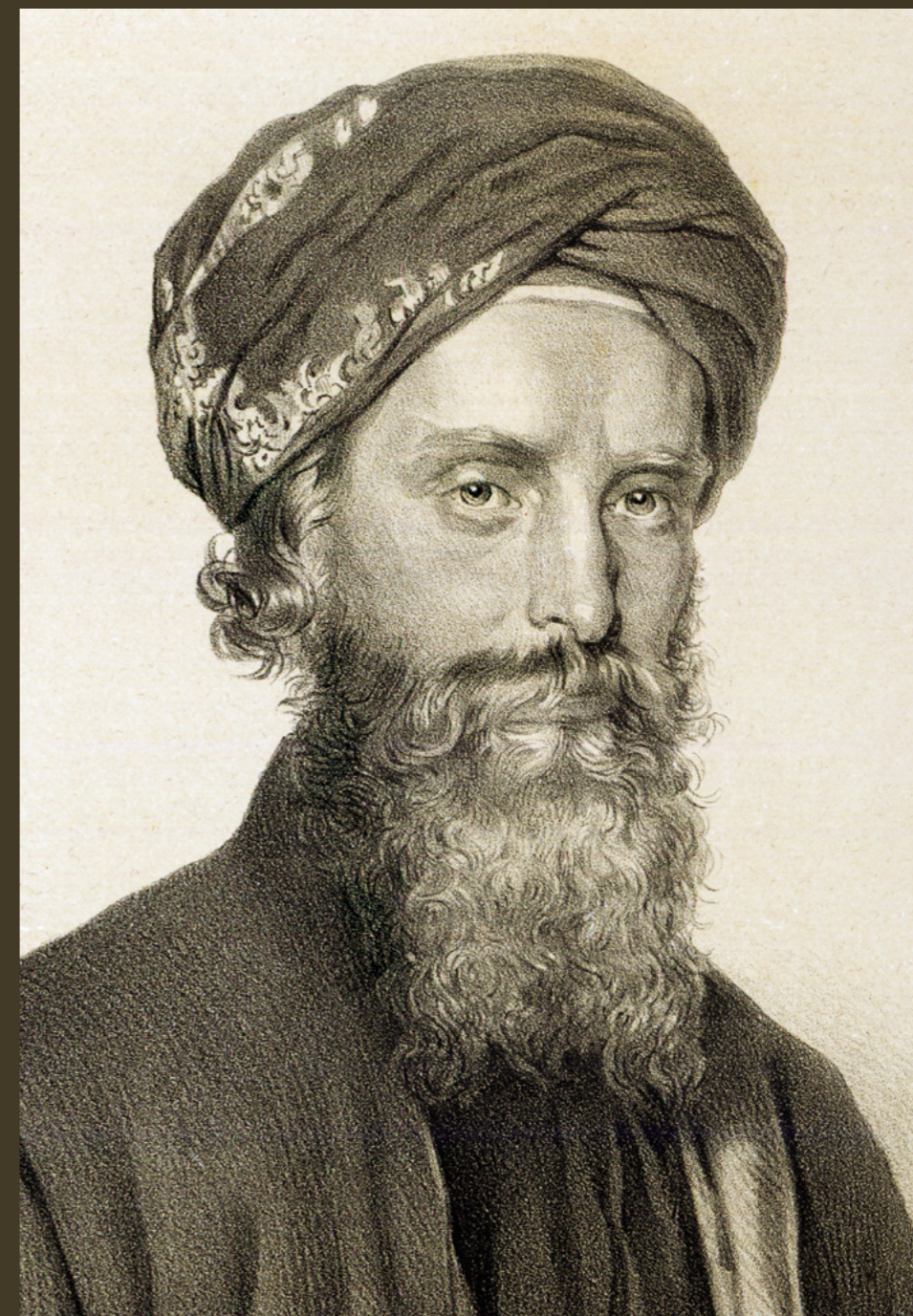
The most dazzling character among the Austrian travellers in southern Sudan has to have been Freiherr Rudolf Carl von Slatin (1857-1932), alias Slatin Pascha. He spent over 10 years in captivity of the Mahdi and published his memoir in 1895 in the very popular book *Fire and Sword in the Sudan*. The museum holds only some spears and arrows from his estate, but his descendants still keep some memorabilia.

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*Dr. J. Knoblecher. Missionär in Africa.
Strauß*

1. :: Dr. Ignacij Knoblehar - Abuna Soliman (1819-1858)



2-4. :: Škocjan. Nasproti cerkve stoji hiša s spominsko ploščo. Na tem mestu je nekoč stala Knobleharjeva rojstna hiša. / Škocjan. A house with a memorial plaque across from the church: The house in which Knoblehar was born used to stand at the same site.



3.



4.



5. :: Friderik Irenej Baraga (1797-1868), misijonar med ljudstvi Očipva in Otava v severni Ameriki (avtoportret). / Friderik Irenej Baraga (1797-1868), a missionary among the Ojibwa and Ottawa Indians in North America. (Self-portrait.)



6. :: Kairo / Cairo

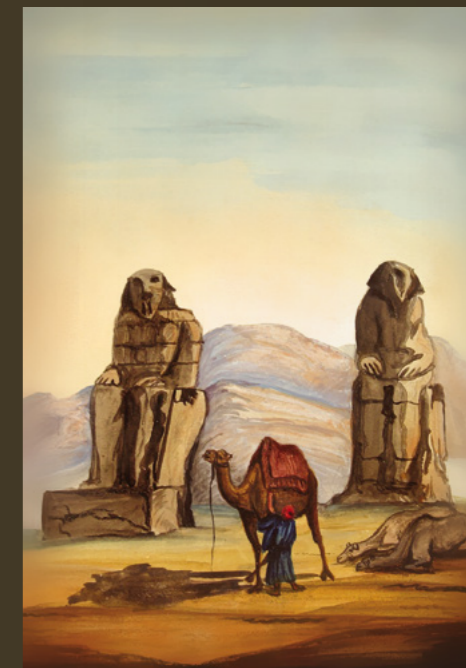
7. :: Kairo / Cairo



8. :: Piramide v Gizah in velika sfiga. / The pyramids in Giza and the great sphinx.



9. :: Kairo. Sikomora, ki je rastla na mestu, kjer se je ustavila Sv. Družina, je bila zelo priljubljen romarski cilj. / Cairo. The sycamore tree in Cairo at the site where the Holy Family stopped was a very popular pilgrimage destination.



10. :: Luksor. Memnonova kipa v zahodnih Tebah. / Luxor. Memnon Colossi in western Thebes.



11. :: Medinet Habu. Ruševine templja Ramzesa III. / Medinet Habu. Ruins of the temple of Ramses III.



12. :: Otok Elefantina pri Asuanu. Levo so ostanki starega egipčanskega svetišča, ki je bilo posvečeno Khnumu, bogu reke Nil, njenih izvirov in brzic. Na sredini je nilometer, zidana konstrukcija za meritve višine vode. Nilometer so postavili že v dobi faraonov, uporabljali pa so ga še v 19. stoletju. / Elephantine island at Aswan. To the left, the remains of an ancient Egyptian temple of Khnum, the god of the river Nile's sources and rapids. In the middle stands the Nilometer, a station that shows the height of the Nile waters. The Nilometer was constructed in the age of the pharaohs and was still used as late as the 19th century.



13. :: Abu Simbel. Levo je veliko svetišče posvečeno faraonu Ramzesu II., desno pa stoji svetišče kraljice Nefertari in boginje Hator. / Abu Simbel. To the left, the large temple of the pharaoh Ramses II; to the right, the temple of the queen Nefertari and goddess Hathor.



14. :: Tabor v Filah. Raztovarjanje ladijskega tovora na kamele oktobra 1853. V ozadju so vidni ostanki arhitekture Izidinega svetišča na otoku File. Na risbi neznanega avtorja je v modrem šotoru, pred katerim stoji drog z avstrijsko zastavo, verjetno upodobljen Knoblehar, ki sedi levo ob vhodu. / Camp in Philae. The loading of the ship's cargo onto camels in October 1853. Remains of the temple of Isis on the island of Philae can be seen in the background. In this drawing by an anonymous artist Knoblehar is probably depicted sitting to the left of the entrance of the blue tent, in front of which a flagpole with an Austrian standard stands.



15. :: Tabor v Filah je narisal tudi Jakob Šašel. Na Šašlovi sliki je nekaj podobnosti z risbo iz časopisa Faust (npr. stoječa kamela s črnim gonjačem). / Jakob Šašel also made a drawing of the camp in Philae. A few elements in Šašel's image are similar to a drawing from the Faust newspaper (e.g. the standing camel with a black driver).



16. :: Prve brzice Nila pri Asuanu. / The First Cataract in Aswan.



17. :: Puščavska karavana decembra leta 1853: prvi je jahal vodnik, za njim Knoblehar, nato Jakob Danninger in Martin Hansal. Prehod čez puščavo na poti Korosko-Berber je trajal skoraj dva tedna. / Desert caravan in December 1853: the first in the line of riders was the guide, followed by Knoblehar, then Jakob Danninger and Martin Hansal. The crossing of the desert from Korosko to Berber lasted almost two weeks.



18. :: Meroe. Starodavno mesto je bilo nekoč južna prestolnica kušitskega kraljestva (800-300 pr. Kr.) v Nubiji, na območju južnega Egipta in severnega Sudana. Grobnice v obliki manjših piramid so si ogledali tudi misijonarji na poti v Kartum. / Meroe. This ancient city was the capital of the Kushite kingdom (800-300 BC) of Nubia, in southern Egypt and northern Sudan. On their way to Khartoum, the missionaries saw tombs in the shape of small pyramids.



19. :: Kartum. Pogled v smeri proti toku Modrega Nila, kjer je na levem bregu nekoč stal tudi Knobleharjev misijon. / Khartoum. View in the direction of the Blue Nile; Knoblehar's mission was located on the left bank.



20. :: Maksimilijan Rylo (1802-1848).



21. :: Kartum. Misijonski stavbni kompleks z vrtom in s sadovnjakom. Na vrtu so bili pokopani tudi nekateri misijonarji (Rylo, Kocjančič, Comboni). Leta 1885 so muslimanski skrajneži, t. i. mahdijevci, kompleks opustošili. Pozneje je celotno območje zakupila sudanska vlada za graditev vladne palače. / Khartoum. The complex of the mission with a garden and orchard. Some of the missionaries were buried in the garden (Rylo, Kocjančič, Comboni). In 1885 Muslim extremists, the Mahdists, devastated the complex. Later the Sudanese government purchased the site and built its palace there.



22. :: Jakob Šašel. Leta 1853 se je kot prostovoljec priglasil za pomoč v Kartumu. Spomine na afriško dogodivščino je leta 1863 je strnil na 143 straneh rokopisa v lepo izpisani nemški gotiči. Poleg avtoportreta je v besedilo vključil tudi 33 barvnih risb. Rokopis je shranjen v Mestnem muzeju v Karlovcu (Gradski muzej Karlovac). / Jakob Šašel. In 1853 he volunteered to help in Khartoum. In 1863 he wrote a memoir of his African adventure, producing 143 pages of manuscript in elegant German Gothic script. He illustrated his memoirs with 33 colour drawings with captions and a self-portrait. The manuscript is kept at the Karlovac City Museum (Gradski muzej Karlovac).



23. :: Gugalnici podobna naprava je mladim fantom koristila za zabavo in telovadbo. / A swing-like device used for boys' entertainment and physical exercise.



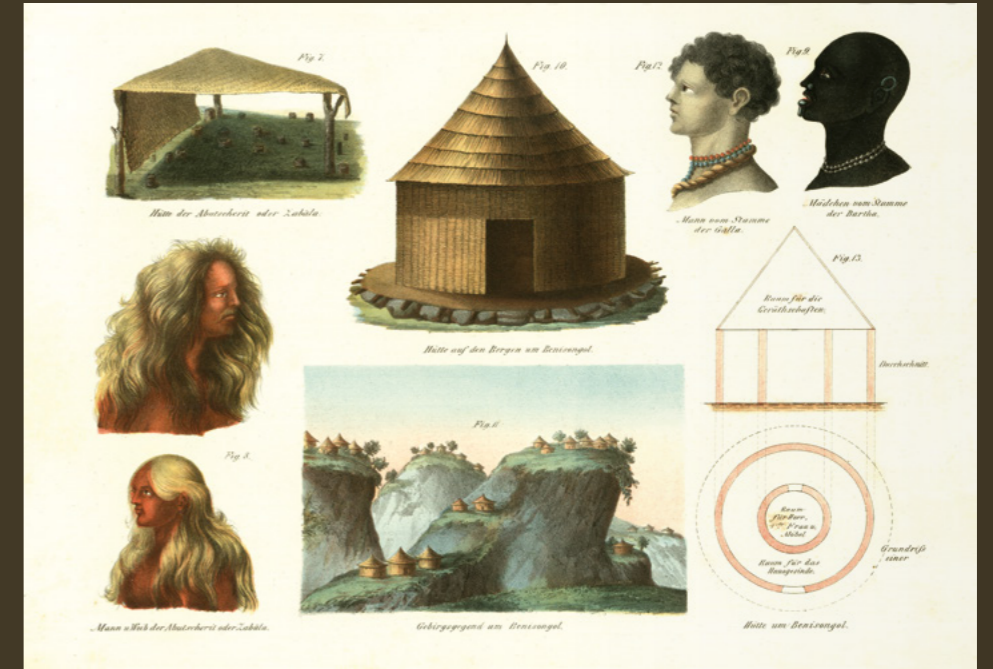
24. :: Naselje domačinov. Jakob Šašel je med drugim narisal tudi naselje domačinov ob Belem Nilu. Koče med rastlinjem in hribovito ozadje so plod umetnikove domišljije, saj nikoli ni zapustil Kartuma. / Local settlement. Jakob Šašel drew a typical village on the White Nile. The huts amidst the vegetation and the hilly background spring from the artist's imagination, because he never left Khartoum.



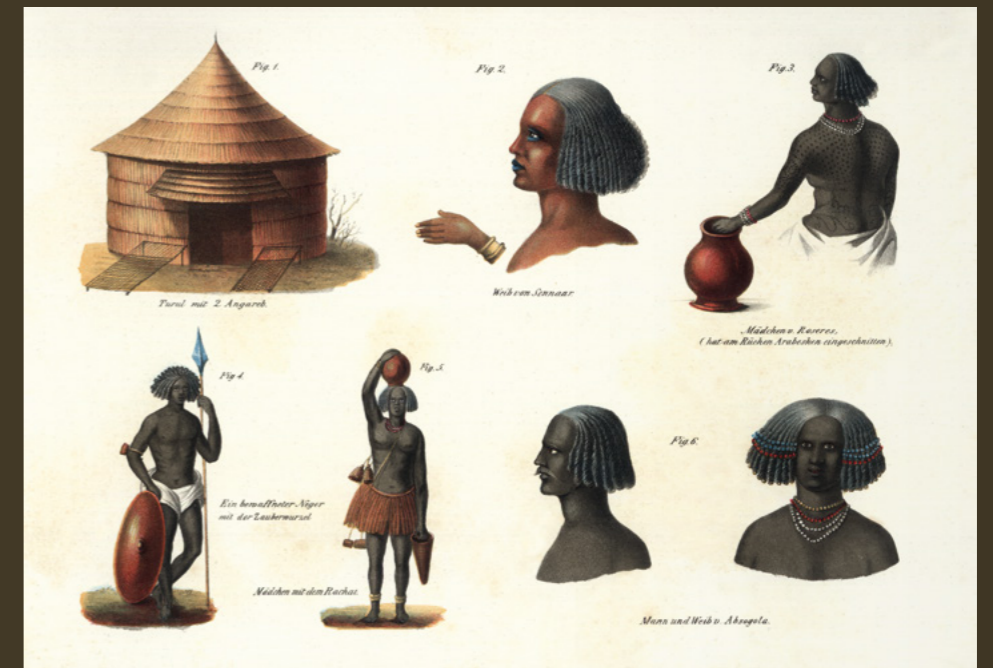
25. :: Lov na krokodila. / Crocodile hunt.



26. :: Ples s kačami. / Snake dance.



27. :: Ljudstvi Barta in Galla in njihova bivališča ob Modrem Nilu. / Barta and Galla peoples and their dwellings on the Blue Nile.



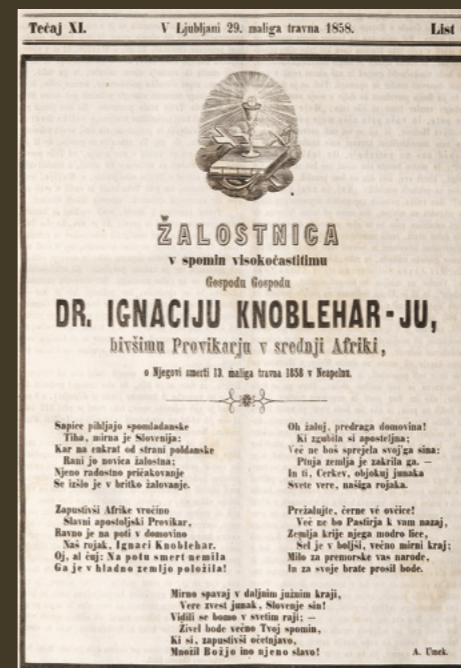
28. :: Bivališče in ljudje iz okolice Sennarja ob Modrem Nilu. / A dwelling and people from the surroundings of Sennar on the Blue Nile.



29. :: Bayard Taylor, ameriški popotnik in pisatelj, je med bivanjem v Kartumu leta 1852 pogosto obiskal Knobleharja. / Bayard Taylor, an American traveller and writer, often visited Knoblehar during his stay in Khartoum in 1852.



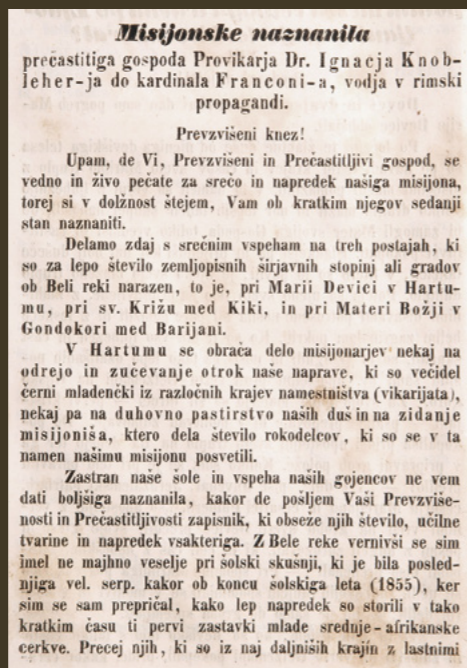
30. :: Podoba Marijinega društva, ki ga je Knoblehar ustanovil za podpro afriškemu misijonu. / A pious image from the Society of Mary, which Knoblehar founded to support the African mission.



33. :: Knobleharjeva osmrtnica je bila objavljena v Zgodnji Danici 29. aprila 1858. / On 19 April 1858 Knoblehar's obituary was published in Zgodnja Danica.



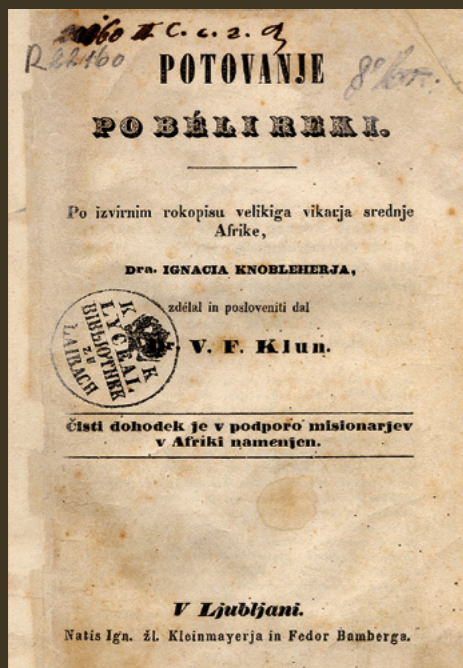
31. :: Katoliški list Zgodnja Danica je imel samo štiri strani, izhajal je vsak teden in med letoma 1850 in 1858 so bile skoraj v vsaki številki novice iz Afrike. / The Catholic weekly Zgodnja Danica consisted of only four pages, but from 1850 to 1858 almost every issue featured news from Africa.



32. :: Primer objave Knobleharjevega poročila v Zgodnji Danici. / One of Knoblehar's reports published in Zgodnja Danica.



34. :: Ob 90-letnici Knobleharjeve smrti so Slovenci v begunskem taborišču v Spittalu (Avstrija) pripravili ciklostilno izdajo knjižice (10x14 cm) Knoblehar: Velikan po duhu in delu in prvi misijonar osrednje Afrike. / To mark the 90th anniversary of Knoblehar's death, Slovenes at the Spittal refugee centre (Austria) printed a cyclostyle booklet (10x14 cm) entitled "Knoblehar: A giant in his spirit and deeds and the foremost missionary of Central Africa".



35. :: O Knobleharjevem prvem potovanju po Nilu je leta 1850 v knjižici, ki je izšla v slovenskem in nemškem jeziku, pisal profesor zemljepisa in zgodovine Vicencij F. Klun. / Knoblehar's first voyage on the Nile in 1850 was described in a booklet published by the professor of geography and history Vicencij F. Klun in Slovene and German.



36. :: Zemljevid iz leta 1810. Spodaj levo je gorska veriga Mesečeve gore. Pod gorovjem so na severni strani narisani izviri Belega Nila. / A map from 1810. Bottom left the Mountains of the Moon are featured. At the foot of the mountains, to the north, the sources of the White Nile are represented.



39. :: Karavana temnopoltih sužnjev na poti v Egipt. / A caravan of black slaves on their way to Egypt.



37. :: Misijonar Bernard Kohlen je v Ljubljano pripeljal najmanjši zvon od tistih, ki so nekoč zvonili v Gondokorju. / The missionary Bernard Kohlen brought the smallest of the Gondokoro bells to Ljubljana.



38. :: Učenca v misijonski šoli v Kartumu. / Two students at the mission school in Khartoum.



40. :: Februarja 1859 je v samostanu uršulink v Škofji Loki umrla Marija Hamisa. Slika je shranjena v samostanu uršulink Sv. Duh pri Škofji Loki. / In February 1859 Hamisa died at the Ursuline convent in Škofja Loka. The painting is kept at the Ursuline convent in Sv. Duh near Škofja Loka.



41. :: "Stella matutina" (Jutranja zvezda) je bila značilna arabska dahabija, dolga, ozka ladja z jadri. Trup je bil okovan z železom. Knoblehar si jo je priredil za svoje bivalne prostore, v zadnjem delu pa je bila tudi kapelica. / Stella matutina (Morning Star): a typical Arabic dahabiya, a long and narrow vessel with sails. Its hull was reinforced with iron. Knoblehar had his living quarters and a chapel built on the ship.



42. :: "Stella matutina" je plula po Nilu še dolgo po Knobleharjevi smrti. Konec 19. stoletja je bila še v uporabi, pozneje pa so jo verjetno preimenovali in je za njo zginila vsaka sled. / The Stella Matutina continued to navigate the Nile long after Knoblehar's death. In the late 19th century it was still in use, but later it was most probably renamed and it disappeared without a trace.



43. :: Močvirje ob Belem Nilu. / A swamp on the White Nile.



44. :: Čreda bivolov na Harnierjevi sliki. Prav bivol je pokončal mladega slikarja, nedaleč od misijonske postaje Sv. Križ. / A herd of buffalo in Harnier's painting. The young painter was killed by a buffalo near the Holy Cross missionary station.



45. :: Domačina med lovom na povodnega konja. / Two locals hunting hippopotamus.



46. :: Šiluki. / The Shilluk people.



47. :: Vas Šilukov na obrežju Belega Nila. / A Shilluk village on the bank of the White Nile.



48. :: Nueri. / The Nuer people.



49. :: Kiki. / The Kyk people.



50. :: Misijonska postaja Sv. Križ. Na bregu stoji belo pobarvana cerkvena, v kateri je bila relikvija Jezusovega križa. Relikvijo je misijonarju Mozganu podaril škof Anton Martin Slomšek. / The Holy Cross missionary station. A small whitewashed church stands on the bank, containing the relic of the Holy Cross. The relic was given to the missionary Mozgan by Bishop Anton Martin Slomšek.



51. :: Harnierjevi sopotniki Čirom delijo meso razkosanega bivola. / Harnier's companions distributing buffalo meat to the Chi.



52. :: Plesalke plemen Heliab in Bor. / Helyab and Bor dancers.



53. :: Polnočni ples Barijcev z orožjem in baklami ob zvoku rogov in ritmu velikih bobnov. / Midnight dance of the Bari with weapons and torches to the sound of horns and rhythm of large drums.



54. :: Harnier je narisal Barijce v družbi misijonarja Franca Morlanga pred cerkvijo Sv. Marija v Gondokorju. Večino podobnih predmetov, ki jih vidimo na sliki, je Knoblehar prinesel v Ljubljano leta 1850. / Harnier drew the Bari in the company of the missionary Franz Morlang in front of the church of the Blessed Virgin in Gondokoro. In 1850 Knoblehar brought many objects to Ljubljana that were similar to those depicted.



55. :: Misijonska postaja Gondokoro. Na obrežju stoji cerkev, posvečena Mariji - Sancta Maria ad Flumen Album (Sveta Marija ob Beli Reki). / The Gondokoro missionary station. The church of the Blessed Virgin stands on the bank: Sancta Maria ad Flumen Album (the Blessed Virgin on the White River).



56. :: Barijski poglavar Muga na sliki J. Gostnerja. / The Bari chief Muga in a drawing by J. Gostner.



57. :: Muga na sliki J. Šašla. / Muga in a drawing by J. Šašel.



58. :: Uporaba kovaškega meha s pomočjo paličic. / Using the blacksmith's bellows with the help of two sticks.



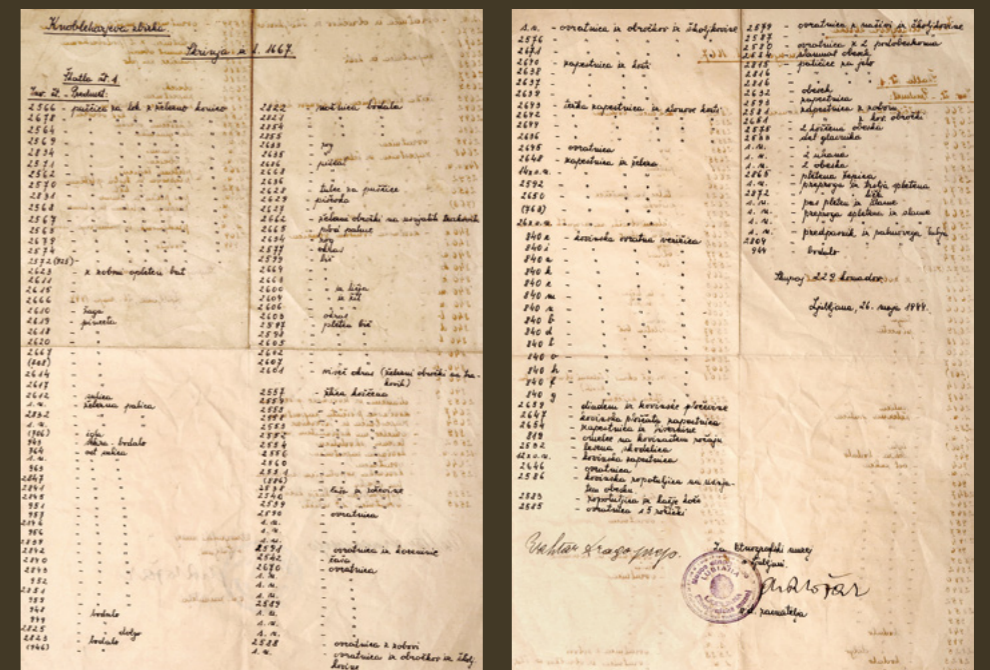
59. :: Kovaški mojster s kamnom izdeluje železno sulično ost. / Master blacksmith with stone in hand making an iron spearhead.



61. :: Belenian. Knoblehar je večkrat omenil, da bo na starost odšel na hrib Belenian, nedaleč od Gondokorja, in tam v samoti preživljal poslednje dni svojega življenja. / Belenian. Knoblehar often mentioned that when he got old, he would climb Belenian hill near Gondokoro and spend the last days of his life in solitude there.



60. :: Logvek (606 m). Knoblehar se je povzpel na hrib in na skalnatem vrhu pustil vklesan podpis s svojima začetnicama. / Logvek (606 m): Knoblehar climbed to the summit and carved his initials on a rock at the top.



62. :: Popis Knobleharjeve zbirke med II. svetovno vojno, 26. maja 1944. Predmeti so bili shranjeni v leseni skrinji z letnico 1667. / Inventory of the Knoblehar collection during the Second World War, 26 May 1944. The items were kept in a wooden box marked with the year 1667.



63.-64. :: Ženski predpasnik iz železnih obročkov. / 64.
Women's apron made of iron ringlets.



65.-66. :: Usnjeno pokrivalo s črnimi nojevimi peresi. / 66.
Leather hat with black ostrich feathers.



67.-68. :: Naglavni okras iz nojevih peres. / Headdress with
ostrich feathers. 68.



69. :: Železni načelek ali diadem. / Iron headband or diadem. 70. :: Bakrena uhana. / Copper earrings.



71. :: Usnjen obesek s petimi rogovi. / Leather pendant with
five horns.

72. :: Usnjena ovratnica s koščnimi ploščicami. / Leather
necklace with bone plates.



73. :: Pletena ovratnica, napolnjena s semeni. / Woven
necklace filled with seeds.

74. :: Otroška ovratnica. / Children's necklace.



75. :: Ovratnica z amuleti (oklep želve, buča, živalski krempej in usnje). / Necklace with amulets (tortoise shell, gourd, claw and leather).



76-77. :: Ovratnica z amuleti (oklep želve z žeblicami, cof iz žime v odrezanem rogu, fragment preluknjane kosti). / Necklace with amulets (a turtle shell with spikes, a tassel of animal hair in a sawn-off horn and a fragment of perforated bone).



77.

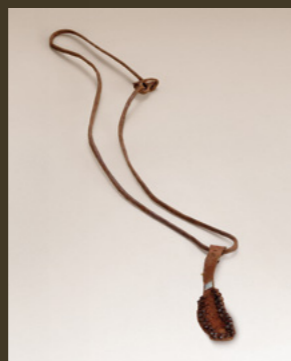
77. :: Usnjena pletena vrv z zanko in z zaključkom iz štirih trakov. / Woven leather string with loop, ending in four straps.



78. :: Usnjena pletena vrv z zanko in z zaključkom iz štirih trakov. / Woven leather string with loop, ending in four straps.



79. :: Pletena usnjena okrasna vrv z okrasnimi cofi iz žime. / Woven leather decorative string with decorative tassels of animal hair.



80. :: Usnjena ovratnica z obeskom (železni obročki našiti na usnjenem traku). / Leather necklace with pendant (iron ringlets sewn on a leather strap).



81. :: Obesek za moški pas. / Man's belt pendant.



82. :: Amulet (v kožo plazilca ovita bučka). / Amulet (small gourd with seeds, wrapped in reptile skin).



83. :: Prevrtan zob divje svinje na vrvi iz naravnih vlaken. / Perforated wild boar tooth on a string of natural fibres.



84. :: Preluknjana živalska zoba na usnjeni vrvi. / Two perforated animal teeth on a leather string.



85. :: Amulet (prevrtan in ošiljen živalski zob, ovalna koščena ploščica z luknjicami). / Amulet (perforated and sharpened animal tooth, oval bone plate with perforations).



86. :: Prevrtan živalski zob na vrvi. / Perforated animal tooth on a string.



87. :: Merjaščev zob kot obesek na pasu. / Boar tooth as a belt pendant.



88. :: Živalski zob na železni zapestnici, okrašeni z vrezji. / Animal tooth on an iron bracelet decorated with incisions.



89. :: Usnjena ovratnica z obeski. / Leather necklace with pendants.



90. :: Železna obredna spiralno zavita palica z obeski. / Iron ceremonial spiral-coiled staff with pendants.



91. :: Zvončki na usjnjeni vrvici. / Bells on leather cord.



92. :: Piščal. / Whistle.



93. :: Signalni rog z usnjeno prevleko. / Signal horn covered with leather.



94.-95. :: Signalni rog delno prevlečen z usnjem. / Signal horn partly covered with leather.



95.



96. :: Lesena piščal. / Wooden whistle.



97.-98. :: Lesena piščal. / Wooden whistle.



98.



99. :: Lesena flavta z vrezanim okrasom. / Wooden flute with decorative incisions.



100.-101. :: Žlica iz slonovine. / Ivory spoon.



101.



102. :: Žlica iz roževine. / Horn spoon.



103. :: Žlica iz roževine. / Horn spoon.



104. :: Skodelica iz nosorogovega roga. / Bowl carved from rhinoceros horn.



105. :: Čaša iz nosorogovega roga. / Cup carved from rhinoceros horn.



106. :: Čaša iz nosorogovega roga. / Cup carved from rhinoceros horn.



107. :: Čaša iz nosorogovega roga. / Cup carved from rhinoceros horn.



108. :: Posoda iz trsja v mrežastem prepletu iz vrvic. / Vessel made of reeds in a string net.



109. :: Cedili za pivo. / Beer sieves.



110. :: Žaga. / Saw.



111. :: Prepletena vrv za prenašanje posode. / Woven rope for carrying pots.



112.-114. :: Stolček in vzglavnik, izrezljan iz enega kosa lesa. / Stool and headrest carved from a single piece of wood.



113.



114.



115. :: Čop iz žime, ki so ga moški nosili pri plesu. Uporabljali so ga tudi za odganjanje muh. / Horsehair tassel worn by men during dances. It was also used for chasing away flies.



116. :: Bič iz kože povodnega konja. / Whip from hippopotamus hide.



117. :: Palica z izrezljano ptičjo glavo. / Staff with carved bird head.



118. :: Keramična pipa z bambusovo cevjo. / Ceramic pipe with bamboo stem.



119. :: Dvojna keramična pipa. / Double ceramic pipe.



120.-122. :: Keramična pipa z izrastki. / Ceramic pipe with protrusions.



121.



122.



123.-125. :: Keramična pipa. / Ceramic pipe.



124.



125.



126.-127. :: Velika keramična pipa z leseno cevjo, okrašeno z vrezji in usnjem. / Large ceramic pipe with wooden stem, decorated with incisions and leather.



127.



128. :: Cev pipe s koščnim ustnikom. Odrabljeno leseno cev so ponavadi razrezali na kolobarčke, ki so jih žvečili za boljšo prebavo in zaščito pred diarejo. / Stem of pipe with bone mouthpiece. Worn-out wooden stems were usually cut into ringlets and chewed to improve digestion and prevent diarrhoea.



129. :: Železne prijemalke za tobak in oglje. / Tobacco and charcoal iron tongs.



130. :: Zvonček na koncu prijemalke. / Bell at the end of ladle.



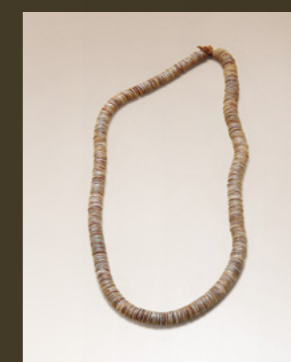
131. :: Prijemalki za tobak in oglje. / Tobacco and charcoal tongs.



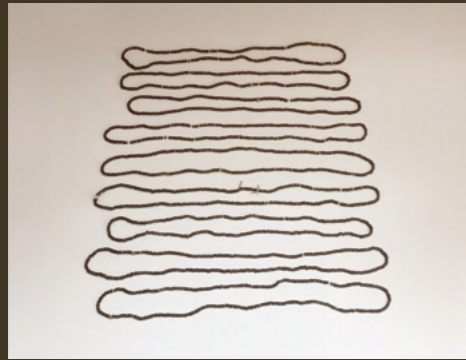
132. :: Pas iz preluknjanih okroglih ploščic, narejenih iz lupine nojevega jajca. / Belt of perforated round plates made of oyster eggshell.



133. :: Okras za oprsje iz preluknjanih okroglih ploščic, narejenih iz školjčnih lupin. / Chest ornament of perforated round plates made from shells.



134. :: Ogrlica iz preluknjanih okroglih ploščic narejenih iz školjčnih lupin. / Necklace of perforated round plates made from shells.



135. :: Devet ogrlic (črna semena nanizana na vrvici). / Nine necklaces (black seeds on string).



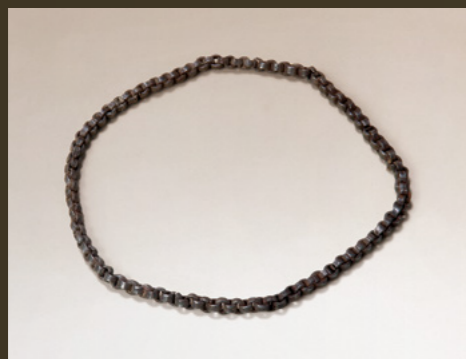
136. :: Ogrlica s črnimi semeni, s koraldami iz školjk in z modro stekleno koraldo. / Necklace of black seeds, with shell beads and blue glass bead.



137. :: Ogrlica s črnimi semeni. / Necklace of black seeds.



138. :: Železna verižica z obeski. / Iron necklace with pendants.



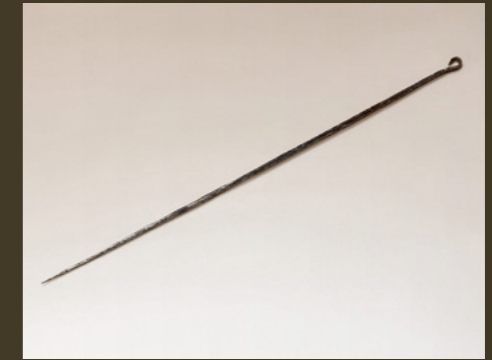
139. :: Železna verižica. / Iron necklace.



140. :: Železna verižica (detajl). / Iron necklace (detail).



141. :: Pas iz železnih obročkov. / Belt of iron ringlets.



142. :: Železna igla z uvitim koncem. / Iron pin with curved end.



143. :: Spiralno oblikovana železna ovratnica. / Spiral iron necklace.



144. :: Spiralno oblikovana železna ovratnica z okroglo železno ploščico. / Spiral iron necklace with round iron plate.



145. :: Železne zapestnice (nazožni obroči?). / Iron bracelet (anklets?).



146. :: Železne zapestnice (nazožni obroči?). / Iron bracelet (anklets?).



147. :: Železne zapestnice. Zunanja površina je okrašena s poševnimi vrezji. V zarezah so sledovi okre. / Iron bracelets. The external surface is decorated with oblique incisions with traces of ochre.



148. :: Železna zapestnica (detajl). / Iron bracelet (detail).



149. :: Železna zapestnica. / Iron bracelet.



150. :: Spiralno zavita železna zapestnica. V zarezah so sledovi okre. / Spirally twisted iron bracelet. Traces of ochre in incisions.



151. :: Otroška ovratnica. Na ovratnici je obesek iz žice, navite v dvojno spiralo. Je amulet, ki je odganjal nesrečo in varoval otroka. / Children's necklace. This necklace features a pendant of wire coiled in a double spiral. This amulet protected the child from misfortune.



152. :: Železna zapestnica. / Iron bracelet.



153. :: Železna zapestnica. / Iron bracelet.



154. :: Narokvica iz slonovega zoba. / Ivory armband.



155. :: Zapestnice iz slonovega zoba. / Ivory bracelets.



156. :: Železna sulična ost. / Iron spear-head.



157. :: Železna sulična ost. / Iron spear-head.



158. :: Železna sulična ost. / Iron spear-head.



159.-160. :: Sulica z dvojno ostjo. / Spear with two blades.



160.



161. :: Lesena sulična ost. / Wooden spear-head.



162. :: Železen nastavek na spodnjem delu sulice. / Iron base of spear.



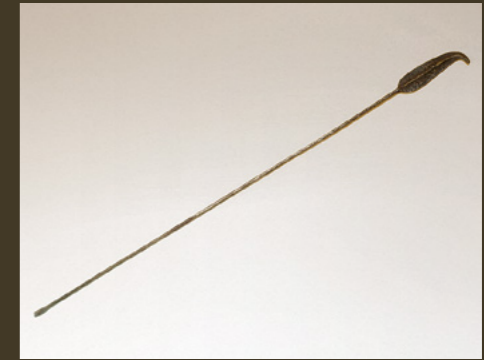
163. :: Okrašena sulična ost. / Ornamented spear-head.



168. :: Železni meč z ukrivljenim rezilom. / Iron sickle-sword.



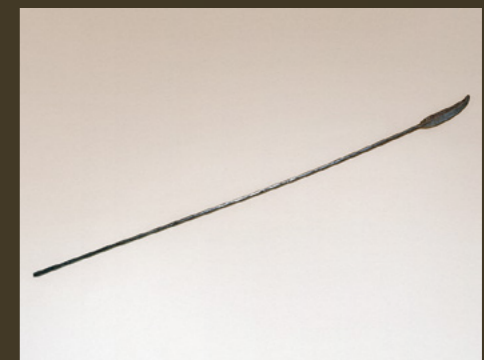
165.-166. :: Železna palica z ukrivljenim rezilom v obliki sulične osti. / Iron staff with curved blade shaped as a spearhead



166.



167.-168. :: Železna palica z ukrivljenim rezilom v obliki sulične osti. / Iron staff with curved blade shaped as a spearhead.



168.



169. :: Očesno bodalo: železna sekirica na rogovilasti palici za prebadanje oči. / Eye dagger: iron hatchet on forked handle, used for stabbing eyes.



170. :: Usnjeni ščitnik zapestja. / Leather wrist shield.



171.-172. Usnjeni ščitnik zapestja. / Leather wrist shield.



172.



173. :: Lok, povit s trakovi iz kože plazilca (1), in lesen lok povit z železnim trakom in kožo plazilca (2). / Bow wrapped with straps of lizard skin (1) and wooden bow wrapped with iron strip and lizard skin (2)



174. :: Pastirski palici. / Herder's staffs.



175.-176. :: Usnjen tul s puščicami. / Leather quiver with arrows.



176.



177.-178. :: Različne oblike konic puščic. / Different shapes of arrowheads.



178.



179. :: Semena. / Seeds.



180. :: 37 različnih kamnov (kremen), nabranih na obrežju Nila. / Thirty-seven different stones (flint) from the bank of the Nile.



181. :: Železova ruda in pesek. / Iron ore and sand.



182. :: Naravno barvilo za telo (okra). / Natural body-paint (ochre).



183. :: Naravno barvilo za telo: pepel in zdrobljene kosti. / Natural body-paint: ashes and pulverised bone.



184. :: Lavrinova zbirka (1843): Lesen kij. / Lavrin collection (1843): Wooden club.



185. :: Lavrinova zbirka (1843): Lesen kij. / Lavrin collection (1843): Wooden club.



186. :: Lavrinova zbirka (1843): Usnjen ščit. / Lavrin collection (1843): Hide shield.



187.-189. :: Lavrinova zbirka (1843): Stolček in vzglavnik, izrezljan iz enega kosa lesa. / Lavrin collection (1843): Stool and headrest carved from a single piece of wood.



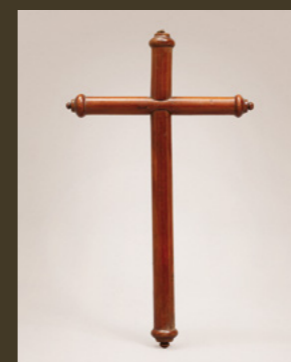
188.



189.



190. :: Knobleharjeva zbirka (Etnografski muzej na Dunaju): lesena obredna palica in kij iz trdega lesa. / Knoblehar collection (Ethnographic Museum in Vienna): Ritual wooden staff and club made of hardwood.



191. :: Knobleharjeva zbirka (Etnografski muzej na Dunaju): lesen križ. / Knoblehar collection (Ethnographic Museum in Vienna): Wooden cross.



192. :: Zbirka Miramare (Etnografski muzej na Dunaju): lesen kipec prednika ali božanstva. / Miramare Collection (Ethnographic Museum in Vienna): Wooden figurine of ancestor or deity.



193.-194. :: Četrtek, 28. februar 2008, Au pri Oberleisu v Avstriji: Johann Danninger je z velikim spoštovanjem pripovedoval o Knobleharju. Njegova slika ga je spominjala na daljnega sorodnika Jakoba Danningerja, ki je leta 1851 s Knobleharjem odpotoval v Kartum.



193.-194. :: Thursday, 28 February 2008, Au near Oberleis in Austria: Johann Danninger spoke of Knoblehar with utmost respect. His portrait reminded him of his distant relative Jakob Danninger, who travelled to Khartoum with Knoblehar in 1851.



195. :: Hansalova zbirka (Etnografski muzej Dunaj): lesen kipec prednika ali božanstva. / Hansal Collection (Ethnographic Museum in Vienna): Wooden figurine of ancestor or deity.



196. :: Sulice. / Spears.



197. :: Barijska poglavarja. Fotografirana sta pri Mongalli leta 1926. / Bari chiefs. Photographed at Mongalla in 1926.



198. :: Karta reke Nil in Južni Sudan. / Map of the Nile and Southern Sudan.

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