Contents

Acknowledgments ......................................................................................................................... 11
Introduction ................................................................................................................................. 15

CHAPTER ONE
The Idea of the Expedition:
"Benefit for the World of Scholarship" ................................................................................... 25

Michaelis' Proposal: Arabia and the Search for Meaning in the Bible ........................................ 26
Johann David Michaelis and the Georgia Augusta University, Göttingen .................................... 30
Why Denmark and Johann Hartwig Ernst von Bernstorff? ....................................................... 36
Assembling the Team: The Philologist – Frederik Christian von Haven .................................... 44
The Cartographer and his Teacher: Carsten Niebuhr and Tobias Mayer ................................ ...... 46
The Botanist – Peter Forsskål: An "Apostle" of Linnaeus .............................................................. 55
Fragen an eine Gesellschaft gelehrter Männer: A European Exercise in Inquiry ......................... 63
Bernstorff the Manager. Driving the Project: New Suggestions, Additions and Problems ............. 68
CONTENTS

Niebuhr and his Instruments: A Detour on the Lunar Distance
Method and the Problem of Determining Longitude ......................... 74
Changing the Route and the Royal Instructions ............................... 81

CHAPTER TWO

Exploration and Death. Learning about Egypt, the Red Sea and Yemen ...... 92

The Outbound Voyage – Copenhagen to Alexandria ............................. 93
Introduction to Egypt: Alexandria, the Nile and Arrival in Cairo .......... 114
Niebuhr – Ethnography, Map Making, the Great Pyramids and Hieroglyphs ............................................................................ 119
Forsskål – The Flora Aegyptiaco .................................................... 136
Haven – Manuscripts and Hebrew Codices ........................................ 139
Frustration and Failure in the Sinai ................................................... 143
Sailing the Red Sea – Discovering Marine Life and Creating a Chart ......................................................................................... 156
Scientific Discovery in Yemen: Exploring the Tihāmah and the Coffee Mountains ........................................................................ 172
A Tragic Ending in Yemen: al Mukhā, San’a’, Bombay .......................... 182

CHAPTER THREE

The Solitary Explorer. The Long Road Home:
India, the Persian Gulf and the Lands of the Middle East ..................... 203

Rejuvenation and Inspiration: A Brief Exposure to the Culture of Western India ................................................................. 204
The Voyage from Bombay to al Baṣraḥ: Oman, Persepolis and Pirates of the Persian Gulf ............................................................. 215
“Do not order me to travel too hastily. Now is the time when I can learn something.”; The Lands and Peoples of Iraq and the Levant .......... 235
From Caravans to Kings: The End of the Expedition ........................... 275

CHAPTER FOUR

Presenting the Expedition to the World and the Expedition’s Significance for the 18th Century ............................................................... 284

The Struggle to Publish the Findings of the Expedition ......................... 286
From Geography to Philology: The Results of the Expedition .............. 295
Geography ......................................................................................... 297
Cartography ....................................................................................... 314
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CONTENTS</th>
<th>9</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Astronomy</td>
<td>316</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Antiquities</td>
<td>322</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Botany and Zoology</td>
<td>331</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Philology</td>
<td>326</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Evaluation of Niebuhr's Works in the 18th-Century and Since</td>
<td>340</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Epilogue – Niebuhr's Return to a Rural Tradition: The Meldorf Years, 1778–1815</td>
<td>343</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conclusion</td>
<td>354</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>List of Illustrations, Maps and Charts</td>
<td>402</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bibliography of Published Sources</td>
<td>404</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Index</td>
<td>432</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>