holländska med listor över subskribenter i Nederländerna! *Iter Palaestinum* utgavs dessutom som faksimil i Sverige av bokförlaget Rediviva 1969.

Breven till och från Hasselquist och Linné, tidigare utgivna i *Bref och skrifvelser af och till Carl von Linné* I:7 (1917), återfinns numera i *The Linnaean Correspondence* i den digitala plattformen Alvin på Uppsala universitetsbibliotek https://www.alvin-portal.org/ Där finns självfallet också Linnes korrespondens med Bäck, Tessin och Rydelius samt med Vetenskapsakademiens sekreterare. De brev Linné publicerade i *Lärda tidningar* har utgivits på nytt i *Herr Archiatern och Riddaren Linnaeus i Lärda Tidningar 1745–1780*, red. Ove Hagelin, Hagströmerbibliotekets skriftserie 1654-5354 (2007). Forskningen över Hasselquists liv och verk är relativt omfattande, här kan särskilt framhållas Carl-Otto von Sydow, ”Hasselquist, Fredric”, i *Svenskt biografiskt lexikon* 18 (1969–1971), Sverker Sörlin & Otto Fagerstedt, *Linné och hans apostlar* (2004) samt Thord Silverbark, *Dr. Hasselquists resa. Linnélärjungen i Mellersta Östern 1749–1752* (2008), och i samtliga verk anförda källor och litteratur, i synnerhet Silverbarks framställning vad gäller Hasselquists uppdrag som vicekonsul samt för förhandlingarna om att få hem samlingarna. En nyligen publicerad artikel är Sabira Ståhlberg & Ingvar Svanberg, ”Fredrik Hasselquist. Linnélärjungen som utforskade Anatolien, Egypten och Palestina”, i Olof Heilo (red.), i temanumret ”Resenärer” av *Dragomanen. Årsskrift för Svenska forskningsinstitutet i Istanbul* (2021), 31–42.

Eva Nyström

Peter Forsskål's last days in the Yemen highlands. Peter Forsskål (born in Helsinki in 1732, died in Yarim in 1763) is remembered as a student and apostle of Professor Carl Linnaeus, a dedicated Enlightenment era naturalist and philosopher ahead of his time. Nearly 260 years have elapsed since his untimely death, and only recently has he justifiably earned, and kept a place amongst the unforgettable naturalists of the mid-eighteenth century.

The Danish scientific expedition to Southwest Arabia, a group of six young men with Danish, Swedish, and German backgrounds representing different disciplines, started with great expectations from Copenhagen in early 1761. They reached Yemen in a little less than two years via Marseille, Malta, Constantinople, and Egypt (Carsten Niebuhr, *Reisebeschreibung nach Arabien und anderen umliegenden Ländern*, 1 (Copenhagen, 1774); Lawrence Baack,

Undying curiosity, Carsten Niebuhr and the Royal Danish Expedition to Arabia (1761–1767) (Stuttgart, 2014)).

After landing at al Luhayyah, on the Red Sea coast in north-western Yemen in late October 1762, the explorers spent months conducting intensive and enthusiastic fieldwork in friendly cooperation with locals. This, however, ended abruptly when the party reached al Muchā in April 1763. Severe problems with the authorities began to mount. Additionally, the hot, damp, and unhealthy climate affected the well-being of the whole group. The adverse conditions resulted in the first casualty, the death of the group's philologist.

The journey continued to Ta'izz, a flourishing town at the foot of Jebel Sabir at the altitude of 1,400 metres. Even here, they were under great stress as problems continued. The dilemma on whether to continue to San'a, the capital, where they had an appointment with the imam or return to al Muchā was the key question. Travelling on one's own inside Yemen was not an option for foreigners in the eighteenth century. Formal consents were necessary. After several indecisive to and fro shifts, permission to continue finally came. The camels were loaded and the group was ready to restart their journey, but tragically Peter Forsskål's health had collapsed. Nevertheless, true to himself, he refused to delay any longer and they departed for San'a. The group commenced from Ta'izz on June 28th, in a low mood with Forsskål's condition extremely unstable. All wished to settle the business with the imam and join the English fleet, which was to sail from al Muchā to India in August, with the summer monsoon and then continue back to Europe. The desire to return home as soon as possible had grown, but it was not to be.

The small caravan of five expedition members with camels and donkeys with their drivers had left Ta'izz for San'a by the northeast highland route via Sumara Pass. (On highland Yemen experiences, see Hugh Scott, *In the High Yemen*, 2nd edition (London, 1947), especially chapter XIII: "Through the highlands to San'a", 98–116. Scott has described the grand beauty and the interesting nature of Yemen highlands in this documentary book on the British Museum entomological expedition to Yemen in 1936–1937. Peter Forsskål is here frequently referred to.)

The road winded along steep hillsides and valleys. The district was not uninhabited. There were many small villages along the way. They rested in roadside inns, rest houses, and in caravanserais along the journey. By July 2nd they had reached the town of Ibb, at 2,000 metres in altitude on a mountain spur. They left Ibb along a paved road. However, the paved road gave way to



An engraving of the town of Yarim after the drawing by Carsten Niebuhr from his Reisebeschreibung nach Arabien und anderen umliegenden Ländern*, 1 (Copenhagen, 1774). It shows the view from the room where Peter Forsskål was lying on his deathbed. This is a mirror image, engraved by A. J. Defehrt (1723-1774).*

the difficult highland terrain replete with sharp turns and bridges. The camels had to be led one by one through the worst places. The progress slowed. This was hard for Forsskål, whose condition was again getting worse. Eventually, on July 4th, they reached the small village of Mensil on the slopes of Jebel Sumara, a 3,000 metre high mountain. By then, their mental and physical fatigue was immense. In Mensil, they paused in a comfortable caravanserai, but for only one night after a dispute with the camel drivers who were in a hurry. Forsskål was able to rest only for a while. After zigzagging on slopes of Jebel Sumara, the road descended abruptly onto the highland Yarim plateau.

Eventually, Forsskål's condition became unbearable. Finally, the group had to take a longer break in the small town of Yarim on the plateau. They settled at an inn but had to leave because of restless and curious locals. A hut was hired where Forsskål could rest. He never recovered but passed away in slumber on the morning of July 11th, at 9:30, 1763, after falling into restful sleep the previous evening. (On Forsskål's last days and death, see Niebuhr 1774, 394–405; Lulu Anne Hansen & Martin Rheinheimer, "Niebuhr im Jemen



After 229 years, in November 1992, I was travelling with a British Museum group from Ta'izz to San'a via Yarim. As the site of Peter Forsskål's death, Yarim was for me, the number one goal on this historically oriented excursion. It was getting late, and we had to hurry. Our tour leader Dr. Selma al'Raid was well prepared. She was obviously familiar with the place and the bus was directed without delay to a viewpoint. There was just enough time before twilight for me to take this snapshot in the light of the setting sun. Although the hut where Forsskål died has long since disappeared, it must have been nearby. The viewing spot could hardly have been a better one. Photo: Marjatta Rautiala.

und die Ehre des Reisenden in der Fremde", in Martin Rheinheimer (ed.), *Grenzen in der Geschichte Schleswig-Holsteins* (Neumünster, 2006), 237–280. On Forsskål's death, 261–268.)

To arrange a respectable burial for a European was no easy matter in this Muslim country. The burial of Peter Forsskål was complicated, carried out by night, and in great haste. He was buried in a coffin in the European manner. However, that should not have been done because the grave and the coffin was ransacked in hope of treasures. A reburial had to be done elsewhere without the coffin, which was given to the gravediggers in payment. News of the reburial reached the others only later after the group had continued towards San'a. During the bygone decades many have tried to locate Peter Forsskål's

grave but failed, and to this day, his final burial place is unknown. In highland Yemen, the memory of Forsskål has faded into oblivion. In Europe, he is remembered thanks to Carsten Niebuhr, the sole survivor of the Arabian journey, who came home after a 7 year odyssey. He finally organized and published the Forsskål-material which over the years had reached Europe. (On Niebuhr's collected papers as well as other important documents concerning the expedition to Arabia, see Baack 2014, 23, n. 19.)

Marjatta Rautiala

Guinea pigs in eighteenth-century Sweden. The domestic guinea pig, *Cavia porcellus* (Linnaeus, 1758) got its Swedish name *marsvin* (known since 1638) from its trans-ocean origin ('pig from other side of the ocean'). It was already domesticated in the Andes as an important source of protein in pre-Columbian times, probably between 4,000 and 7,000 years ago. Scholars assume that it originates from the montane guinea pig, *Cavia tschudii* Fitzinger, 1867. The domestic species reached Europe with the Spanish and Dutch seafarers in the early sixteenth century. The Swiss naturalist Conrad Gessner first described the guinea pig in Europe in 1554 in his *Historia animalium*. He made an illustration based on a live specimen he had received from a friend in Paris. He named the animal *cuniculus vel porcellus indicus*, i.e., 'a rabbit or rather piglet from India'. Later, he had obtained a pair of guinea pigs from another friend. He could thus give precise information about their colour polymorphism, feeding habits and extraordinary fertility. Gessner adds that he has not tried to eat the flesh. Skeleton remains dated 1574–1575 have recently been recovered at Hill Hall, a manor in Essex, England, and are the oldest known archeological evidence for guinea pigs in Europe (Sheila Hamilton Dyer, "Animal Bones", in P. Dury & R Simpson (eds.*), Hill Hall: A singular house devised by a Tudor intellectual* (London, 2009), 346). Another skeleton has been found in a site in Mons, Belgium, of somewhat later date (Fabienne Pigière et al., in *Journal of Archeological Science* 39 (2012), 1020 ff.).

We do not know exactly when guinea pigs reached Sweden. In a protocol from Stockholm Palace in 1666, roots and cabbage are mentioned as fodder for the young King Charles XI's *Mahrswÿn* (i.e., guinea pig). The king liked to surround himself with exotic pets and had many species in the castle. It was not until the eighteenth century that information about guinea pigs became