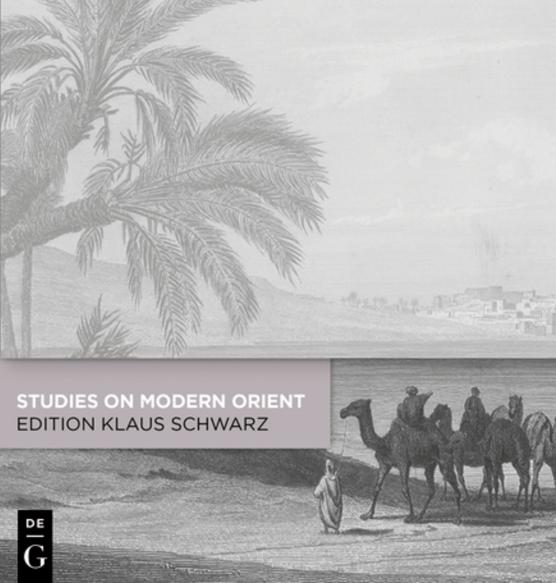
DE GRUYTER

ON THE WAY TO THE »(UN)KNOWN«?

THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE IN TRAVELOGUES (C. 1450–1900)

Edited by Doris Gruber and Arno Strohmeyer



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Arno Strohmeyer

On the Way to the “(Un)Known”? The Ottoman Empire in Modern Travelogues: Introduction

1 Origin of the volume

This collected volume brings together sixteen papers revised for print from the international conference “On the Way into the Unknown? Comparative Perspectives on the ‘Orient’ in (Early) Modern Travelogues,” which took place from 28 to 30 November 2019 at the Institute for Modern and Contemporary Historical Research (since 2020: Institute for Habsburg and Balkan Studies, IHB) of the Austrian Academy of Sciences in Vienna.[1] The conference’s organizer was the research project “Travelogues: Perceptions of the Other 1500 – 1876 – A Computerized Analysis”.[2] The interdisciplinary and international project focused on German language travelogues in the collections of the Austrian National Library, covering the period from 1500 to 1876. In order to analyze perceptions of the “other” and the Orient in a large-scale text corpus, algorithms for the

1 Christoph Würflinger, Lisa Brunner, and Martin Krickl, Tagungsbericht: On the Way into the Unknown? Comparative Perspectives on the “Orient” in (Early) Modern Travelogues, 28.11.2019 – 30.11.2019 Vienna, in H-Soz-Kult, 07.03.2020, accessed 22 May 2022, <www.hsozkult.de/conferencereport/id/tagungsberichte-8682>.

2 The project (I 3795-G28) led by the author was funded by the Austrian Science Fund (Fonds zur Förderung der wissenschaftlichen Forschung, FWF) and the German Research Foundation (Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft, DFG). Participating institutions besides the IHB are the Austrian Institute of Technology, the Austrian National Library, the Research Center L3S of the Leibniz University of Hannover, and the Department of History of the Paris Lodron University in Salzburg. It took place from 2018 to 2021 at the Institute for Habsburg and Balkan Studies of the Austrian Academy of Sciences in Vienna. See Doris Gruber, Martin Krickl, Lijun Lyu, Jan Rörden, and Arno Strohmeyer, Travelogues: Fremdwahrnehmungen in Reiseberichten 1500 – 1876, in Marlene Ernst et al. (eds.), digital humanities austria 2018. empowering researchers (Vienna 2020), pp. 62 – 66, accessed 22 May 2022, <https://epub.oeaw.ac.at/?arp=0x003b3d14>; Doris Gruber, Elisabeth Lobenwein, and Arno Strohmeyer, Travelogues – Perceptions of the Other 1500 – 1876. A Computerized Analysis, in Thomas Wallnig et al. (eds.), Achtzehntes Jahrhundert digital: zentraleuropäische Perspektiven. Das Achtzehnte Jahrhundert und Österreich. Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Gesellschaft zur Erforschung des Achtzehnten Jahrhunderts 34 (Vienna et al. 2019), pp. 129 – 131. More detailed information can be found on the project website: accessed 22 May 2022, <https://travelogues.github.io/>.

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semi-automatized search for, and evaluation of, digitally available texts were created. The conference was co-organized by the research project "The Mediality of Diplomatic Communication: Habsburg Envoys in Constantinople in the Mid-17th Century".[3] The project team analyzed the communication of Habsburg diplomats in Constantinople with the Imperial Court in Vienna in the years around 1650. The letters of the envoys and the travel reports written during diplomatic missions were the main subjects of investigation. The focus was on a virtually unknown travelogue written in 1650 and allegedly lost in the turmoil of World War II, that had been found again. In addition to papers given during the conference, the contributions by Maria E. Dorninger and Alexander Jost from the University of Salzburg have been included in the present volume.

2 The Ottoman Empire in Modern Travelogues

Like travelogues in general, accounts of journeys to the Ottoman Empire prove to be a diverse source, ranging from diaries, memoirs, scholarly treatises, and chronicles, to notes, sketches, handbooks, travel guides, letters, and maps. Mixed forms are not uncommon. Some travelogues were written with the intention of publication, while others served only as personal reminiscences or were addressed to a small circle of relatives. The length of the journey could vary from a few weeks to several years, as did the motives for writing: some travelogues were written on the author's own initiative, others were commissioned, some appeared as independent monographs, others were published in collections or were never printed. There is also a wide range of time frames, for while some travelogues were published close to the time of travel, for others this was not the case, as they were written many years or even several decades later. In addition to exclusively text-based accounts, there are also abundantly illustrated travelogues.

The travelogues analyzed in this volume reflect the colorful diversity of the genre. All contributions share a focus on reports of journeys to the Ottoman Empire that took place from the late middle ages to the early twentieth century and that are based on the direct observations and experiences of the authors.[4] Prag-

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3 The project les by the author was also funded by the FWF (P 30091-G28) and implemented from 2017 to 2021. More detailed project information is available on the project websites: accessed 22 May 2022, <http://diploko.at/> and <https://gams.uni-graz.at/context:dipko>.

4 Almut Höfert, Den Feind beschreiben: "Türkengefahr" und europäisches Wissen über das Osmanische Reich 1450 – 1600 (Frankfurt am Main et al. 2003), pp. 120 – 121. On the difficulties of defining travel writing, see Peter Hulme and Tim Youngs, Introduction, in Peter Hulme and Tim matically, the spatial extent of the Ottoman Empire is determined according to state law at the time of the respective trip, which means, for example, that Egypt during the reign of Mehmed Ali Pasha (1769 – 1849) and the British Protectorate (1882 – 1914) as well as the Balkan states, as long as they were formally under Ottoman sovereignty, are included. Unlike many Asian empires and the Persian Empire, many regions of the Ottoman Empire, especially parts of Asia Minor and the Balkans, but also the Holy Land, were relatively easy to travel to for Europeans through practically the entire modern era, despite its many wars with foreign powers. Much more difficult, as they were associated with great danger and more complex to organize, were journeys to the corsair states of Africa, where many Europeans were held hostage, for example. Regardless of the geographical origin of the authors, their main destinations were Istanbul, the Eastern Mediterranean, Greece, the Hejaz, and the Holy Land, while the Black Sea region, the border area with Persia, the inside of Anatolia, Mesopotamia, and the coast of North Africa were much less frequently travelled.[5]

As this collected volume also shows, the group of authors of travelogues was extremely heterogeneous:[6] The authors came from different socio-economic backgrounds, were socialized differently, and belonged to different religious communities. Many of them went to the Ottoman Empire as pilgrims, either to reach the Holy Land, especially Jerusalem or the Sinai Peninsula, or went on *hajj* to Mecca and Medina. The authors also included merchants on the Silk Road, employees of (Western) trading companies, adventurers and, from the later eighteenth century onwards, a growing group of European aristocrats on the Grand Tour.[7] Many travelogues originate in diplomatic contacts of the Ottoman Empire with European powers, which became more frequent from the sixteenth century onwards.[8] Thus, in France and the Holy Roman Empire, at

Youngs (eds.), The Cambridge Companion to Travel Writing, 2nd ed. (Cambridge 2005), pp. 1 – 13; Doris Gruber, Europeans Encounter the World in Travelogues, 1450 – 1900, in: European History Online (EGO), published by the Leibniz Institute of European History (IEG), Mainz 2022 – 03 – 08, pp. 1 – 31, here pp. 1 – 3, accessed 22 May 2022, <http://www.ieg-ego.eu/gruberd-2022-en>.

5 Jürgen Osterhammel, Die Entzauberung Asiens: Europa und die asiatischen Reiche im 18. Jahrhundert (Munich 2010), pp. 104 – 108.

6 Suraiya Faroqhi, Approaching Ottoman History: An Introduction to the Sources (Cambridge 1999), pp. 110 – 135.

7 Osterhammel, Entzauberung, pp. 106 – 107.

8 Michael Rohrschneider, Das diplomatische Zeremoniell am osmanischen Hof als Gegenstand der Zeremonialwissenschaft des frühen 18. Jahrhunderts in: Peter Geiss, Peter Arnold Heuser, and Michael Rohrschneider, eds., Christen und Muslime in Mittelalter und Früher Neuzeit. Ein Schlüsselthema des Geschichtsunterrichts im transepochalen Fokus, Bonn 2022, pp. 253 – 281, here pp. 256 – 263.

least in the sixteenth century, a large proportion of the accounts of travels to the Ottoman Empire were written in the course of diplomacy.[9] The authors were the envoys themselves, their servants or accompanying nobles, merchants, and clerics. Examples are the letters of Ogier Ghislain de Busbecq (1522–1592) and the travelogue of Salomon Schweigger (1551–1622), which shaped an image of the Ottomans that prevailed in Central Europe for a long time.[10] The letters of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu (1689–1762), which were widely read not only in England, also owe their origin in a diplomatic mission.[11] In the course of the later seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the travels of scholars became more frequent. In the nineteenth century, more travel accounts were penned by missionaries.[12] During this period, the number of female travelers also increased significantly.[13] Finally, involuntary travel should also be mentioned, as a considerable number of travelogues was written by prisoners of war in the Ottoman Empire who recorded their experiences after their return to their countries of origin. One prominent example of these "captivity accounts," which are often considered a literary genre in their own right,[14] is Miguel de Cervantes (c. 1547–1616), who found himself in the hands of Algerian corsairs from 1575 to 1580; another is Georgius de Hungaria (1422–1502), presumably a Dominican friar from Transylvania, whose widely read autobiographical narrative was translated into German by Martin Luther (1483–1546).[15] The Nuremberg mercenary Johann Wild (1585–after 1619) even completed the *hajj* as a slave.[16] In practice, travelers often traveled in several capacities or changed roles during the journey. The Lower Austrian nobleman Hans Christoph Teufel (1567–1624), for example, was on his way from Constantinople to Jerusalem as a pilgrim; in Syria, however, the adventurer's spirit overcame him, and he traveled in short order via Babylon

9 Höfert, Feind, pp. 154–161.

10 Augerius Gislenius Busbequius, Legationis Turcicae epistolae quattuor. Qvarum priores dvae ante aliquot annos in lucem prodierunt sub nomine Itinerum Constantinopolitani & Amasiani [...] (Paris 1589); Salomon Schweigger, Ein newe Reyßbeschreibung auß Teutschland Nach Constantinopel und Jerusalem [...] (Nuremberg 1608).

11 Mary Wortley Montagu, Letters of the Right Honourable Lady M–y W—y M—-e written, during her travels in Europe, Asia and Africa [...] (4 vols., London 1763–1767).

12 Faroqhi, History, p. 121.

13 For early women travelers see Gerald M. MacLean, The Rise of Oriental Travel: English Visitors to the Ottoman Empire, 1580–1720 (Basingstoke 2006), pp. 221–225.

14 Osterhammel, Entzauberung, p. 104.

15 María Antonia Garcés, Cervantes en Argel: Historia de un cautivo (Madrid 2005); Georgius de Hungaria: Tractatus de moribus, condictionibus et nequicia Turcorum (Urach 1481).

16 Johann Wild, Neue Reysbeschreibung eines Gefangenen Christen [...] (Nuremberg 1623).

to Basra. Only after he had traveled through the Safavid Empire back to Syria did he set off again in the direction of Jerusalem, which he then visited as a pilgrim.[17]

In the travelogues, the authors mixed their personal observations and experiences with contemporary projections and subjective memories. Many reports were written after the journey had taken place, which at times blurred the memory of the authors, and the content often responded to the presumed interests of the readers, who had to be entertained. Foreknowledge and education also had a great influence, as many authors read previous accounts to prepare for the journey. Personal interests also played a role. For example, there were travelers who were above all interested in remnants of ancient cultures, less in the Ottoman Empire and its society or culture. Furthermore, impressions circulating in their home society and its handling of intercultural differences and transculturality affected the reports. In Central Europe in particular, the traumatic experiences of the Turkish Wars, which were firmly anchored in the collective memory and endured in peacetime, had strong effects. They played an important role in the construction of the image of "the Turks," which was shaped by predominantly negative stereotypes, reductionist patterns of perception that structured information and facilitated orientation in a world that seemed confusing and difficult to understand.[18] These stereotypes found – in different ways and variable in space and time – their expression in formulaic phrases, uncritical generalizations and commonplaces that affected many travelers and their reports. The Ottomans were largely regarded as inherently cruel, infidel, treacherous, word-breaking, immoral, lawless, and terrifying. These characteristics were components of the image of the "hereditary enemy (*Erzfeind*)," a widespread enemy image in Central Europe until the eighteenth century, which was based on a polarizing black-and-white view and stylized the Ottomans as evil par excellence. The term was propagandistic, served the discipline of the subjects, and had religious connotations, for it also denoted the devil.[19] If stereotypes have a particularly long tra-

17 Michael Greil, "den ohne grosse gedult ist nit müglich, durch die Turggey zu kommen": Die Beschreibung der rayß (1587–1591) des Freiherrn Hans Christoph von Teufel. Analyse und textkritische Edition (Vienna, Univ. Dipl.-Arb. 2006).

18 Hans-Jürgen Lüsebrink, Interkulturelle Kommunikation: Interaktion, Fremdwahrnehmung, Kulturtransfer (Stuttgart et al. 2005), pp. 88–89.

19 Numerous studies have appeared on this topic in recent years. Cf., for example, Almut Höfert, Ist das Böse schmutzig? Das Osmanische Reich in den Augen europäischer Beobachter des 15. und 16. Jahrhunderts, in Historische Anthropologie 11 (2015), pp. 176–192; Nedret Kuran-Burçoğlu, Reflections on the image of the Turk in Europe (Istanbul 2009); Yiğit Topkaya, Augen-Blicke sichtbarer Gewalt? Eine Geschichte des Türken in medientheoretischer Perspektive 1453–1529 (Paderborn 2015); Martin Wrede, Das Reich und seine Feinde: Politische Feindbilder dition, they become a *topos.*[20] This is exemplified by the image of the Ottomans as Antichrist and heretics and their comparison with the dragon in the Revelation of John. The perception of them as barbarians echoes ancient discourses.[21] It is also present in several travelogues, but at the same time it is repeatedly relativized or even refuted by some authors.

It is controversially discussed in historiography if this negative image has survived to the present day. Of course, stereotypes and topoi must be historicized and contextualized; the twenty first century differs in many ways from the early modern period and the image of the Turks changed in the course of modern times. However, it can be clearly seen, that a negative image of the "Turks" with historical references still exists and influences political debates on migration and Turkey's Europeanness.[22] This is evidenced exemplarily by the instrumentalization of fear of the Turks by right-wing populist circles in the 2010 Vienna city council election campaign. A comic booklet entitled *Sagen aus Wien* (Legends from Vienna), which was delivered to all Viennese households, first recalled the events of the second siege of Vienna 1683. Then, in it, the chairman of the Freedom Party of Austria (FPÖ), Heinz-Christian Strache, he later became vice chancellor (2017–2019), alongside a figure modeled on Prince Eugene, in Austria the heroically honored defeater of the Turks, asks a young boy to shoot at another young boy called "Mustafa" with a slingshot. After he did it, the boy is rewarded. On the next page is an illustration based on a woodcut of the sixteenth century. The motif: Viennese led on a leash by a Turk, and an impaled child. The brochure served to stir up xenophobia among the Viennese population, to instill fear and to illustrate how the "problem" can be solved.[23]

in der reichspatriotischen Publizistik zwischen Westfälischem Frieden und Siebenjährigem Krieg (Mainz 2004).

20 Lüsebrink, Kommunikation, pp. 87–92.

21 Almut Höfert, Alteritätsdiskurse: Analyseparameter historischer Antagonismusnarrative und ihre historiographischen Folgen, in Gabriele Haug-Moritz and Ludolf Pelizaeus (eds.), Repräsentationen der islamischen Welt im Europa der Frühen Neuzeit (Münster 2010), pp. 21–40, here p. 25; Maurus Reinkowski, Geschichte der Türkei. Von Atatürk bis zur Gegenwart (München 2021).

22 Hans-Ulrich Wehler, Die Selbstzerstörung der EU durch den Beitritt der Türkei, in Hans-Ulrich Wehler, Konflikte zu Beginn des 21. Jahrhunderts. Essays (Munich 2003), pp. 41–53, here p. 46; Heinrich August Winkler, Ehehindernisse: Gegen einen EU-Beitritt der Türkei, in Süddeutsche Zeitung, 23 November 2002, p. 13; Heinrich August Winkler, Europa am Scheideweg, in Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, 12 November 2003, p. 10.

23 Arno Strohmeyer, Krieg und Frieden in den habsburgisch-osmanischen Beziehungen in der Frühen Neuzeit, in: Reiner Arntz, Michael Gehler and Mehmet Tahir Öncü (eds.), Die Türkei, der deutsche Sprachraum und Europa. Multidisziplinäre Annäherungen und Zugänge (Wien et al. 2014), pp. 31–50, here p. 48.

The Ottoman image had positive facets as well, which can also be found in travel reports. In the sixteenth century, for example, we find admiration for the Turks, a reaction to the striking military superiority of the Ottoman army in the countryside, and to the relatively high degree of social mobility compared to the European society of estates, which made it possible to rise from slave to grand vizier. The relatively pronounced religious tolerance towards Christians and Jews, measured by contemporary standards, gave rise to "Turkish hope" among Protestants living under Catholic rulers.[24] Indicative of this is the saying "Better Turkish than Papist!" which was possibly introduced by Dutch Protestants. Behind this was the widespread view, especially in Central Europe, that one would live better under the Ottomans than under Catholic rulers.[25]

With the change in power-political relations, which became evident with the heavy defeats of Ottoman armies in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, and under the influence of the Enlightenment, the image of the Ottomans changed in Europe. Islam lost importance and the "exoticism" of the Orient gained attention. The view that the sultan was a despot and that the Ottoman system of government, which did not allow participation by the estates, was tyrannical, also became more widespread.[26] Finally, in the nineteenth century, the Eastern question and the Ottoman Empire's supposed inability to modernize became the focus of Western discourses on Turkey. Following a linear and Eurocentric understanding of history, the Ottoman Empire was widely regarded as static and incapable of development. The death of the "sick man on the Bosporus" seemed to be a matter of time and had not yet occurred only because there was disagreement about the division of the inheritance. This negative image was reinforced by the burgeoning nationalism and events such as the Greeks' struggle for freedom, which was linked to an enthusiasm for antiquity. The view that the Ottoman Empire was inferior to Europe in terms of culture and civ-

24 Joachim Eibach, Annäherung – Abgrenzung – Exotisierung: Typen der Wahrnehmung "des Anderen" in Europa am Beispiel der Türken, Chinas und der Schweiz (16. bis frühes 19. Jahrhundert), in Joachim Eibach and Horst Carl (eds.), Europäische Wahrnehmungen 1650 – 1850: Interkulturelle Kommunikation und Medienereignisse, (Laatzen 2009), pp. 13 – 73, here pp. 25 – 33.
25 Eibach, Annäherung, p. 35; Arno Strohmeyer, Die Türkenkriege der Habsburgermonarchie, in Josef Wolf and Wolfgang Zimmermann (eds.), Fließende Räume: Karten des Donauraums 1650 – 1800. Floating Spaces: Maps of the Danube Region 1650 – 1800 (Regensburg 2017), pp. 25 – 37.
26 Felix Konrad, From the "Turkish Menace" to Exoticism and Orientalism: Islam as Antithesis of Europe (1453 – 1914)?, in European History Online, Mainz 2011 – 03 – 14, accessed 22 May 2022, <http://www.ieg-ego.eu/konradf-2010-en>; Roland Minuti, Oriental Despotism, in European History Online, Mainz 2012 – 05 – 03., accessed 22 May 2022, <http://www.ieg-ego.eu/minutir-2012-en>; Osterhammel, Entzauberung, pp. 271 – 309.

ilization was therefore widespread. Islam was seen as the main cause of this. At the same time, however, there were also idealizing images, for example of the poetics and spirituality of the Orient, which gained less influence.[27]

Therefore, a journey from Europe to the Ottoman Empire was never a journey into the complete "unknown."[28] Rather, such journeys moved in the field of tension between "known" and "unknown:" The authors of the reports began the journey with a prior knowledge, result of their origins, upbringing, and education; in addition, there were widespread narratives, myths, legends, stereotypes, and topoi about die Ottoman Empire that they had come to know in the course of their socialization. Bible knowledge and historical knowledge, especially about the ancient world, also played an important role. The travelers thus possessed specific ideas about the Ottoman Empire and its people. These related to epistemically expansive fields such as politics, history, religion, economics, society, culture, military, and nature. At the same time, there were expectations to meet the "unknown," to verify, validate, or falsify existing knowledge, to eliminate gaps in knowledge, and to generate new knowledge, to make the "unknown" (better) "known." From this perspective, special epistemological interests emerge for research: How did the authors deal with the "unknown" and the "known"? How became the "unknown" (better) "known"? What procedures and techniques did the authors refer to communicate and to translate the "unknown" in their accounts? What role did communication with natives, interactions, field studies, and travel experiences play in this context?

As the contributions in this volume also illustrate, contemporary norms and traditions of information and knowledge transfer, the origins of which are to be sought, for instance, in rhetoric, historiography, and poetics, shaped the European travelogues. Characteristic, therefore, are narrative-chronological accounts that follow the course of the journey and can even read like logbooks, as well as descriptive passages in which, for example, the history, flora, and fauna, etc. of the Ottoman Empire were described. In practice, both presentation techniques were often combined. The *ars apodemica* (art of travel), which appeared around 1550 and was very influential in Europe until the eighteenth century, provided important rules for what a "good" travelogue should look like.[29] During the

27 Konrad, Menace, pp. 31–45.

28 On unknown as a research category cf. Cornel Zwierlein, Introduction. Towards a History of Ignorance, in: Cornel Zwierlein (ed.), The Dark Side of Knowledge. Histories of Ignorance, 1400–1800 (Leiden et al. 2016), pp. 1–47; Cornel Zwierlein, Imperial Unknowns. The French and British in the Mediterranean, 1650–1750 (Cambridge 2016).

29 Karl A. E. Enenkel and Jan L. de Jong (eds.), Artes Apodemicae and Early Modern Travel Culture, 1550–1700 (Leiden 2019); Gülbeyaz Kula, Knowledge of the Readership: On the Signifi-

Enlightenment, the importance of the authenticity of writing and the awareness of originality and authorship increased, leading to changes in intertextuality.[30] Intertextual and intermedial references to older travel accounts and cross-references to traditional authoritative knowledge which travelers from Europe, for example, found in the works of ancient authors and the Bible, also form an important feature. This is an insufficiently explored field of research, which is why intertextual and intermedial relations receive special attention in this volume.[31]

The accounts of travels to the Ottoman Empire thus possess a characteristic mediality.[32] Their production followed specific rules and was influenced by many factors that went far beyond the immediate travel experiences that had an impact on the content, for instance commercial considerations of publishers, the reading interest of the public as well as the production process and the conditions of production.[33] For this reason, and because of contextual and discursive imprints, they also do not reflect an authentic "travel reality," even if the authors offered assurances to the contrary, but are always the construction of a claimed "Ottoman reality" with a complex architecture that cannot always be easily understood in retrospect. Nevertheless, travelogues are still considered an important source for the study of the history of the Ottoman Empire as well as of

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cance of Apodemics for the Travel Descriptions of Salomon Schweigger and Johann Wild Using the Example of the Turkish Bath (Hamam), Zeitschrift für Germanistik, Neue Folge 24 (2014), pp. 10 – 24; Justin Stagl, Ars apodemica: Bildungsreise und Reisemethodik von 1560 bis 1600, in Xenja von Ertzdorff, Dieter Neukirch, and Rudolf Schulz (eds.), Reisen und Reiseliteratur im Mittelalter und in der Frühen Neuzeit (Amsterdam et al. 1992), pp. 141 – 189, here pp. 146 – 158, 165 – 175, 180.

30 Michael Maurer, Reiseberichte, in Michael Maurer (ed.), Aufriß der historischen Wissenschaften, vol. 4 (Stuttgart 2002), pp. 325 – 348, here p. 329; Osterhammel, Entzauberung, p. 181.

31 Doris Gruber, Intermedialität und gedruckte Reiseberichte: Ein Modell zur semi-automatisierten Anwendung, in Philipp Hegel and Michael Krewet (eds.), Wissen in Buchgestalt, Wiesbaden [expected in 2022].

32 On the term "mediality" see Werner Faulstich et al., Medialität, in Thomas Anz (ed.), Handbuch Literaturwissenschaft, vol. 1: Gegenstände und Grundbegriffe (Stuttgart 2007), pp. 203 – 264, here pp. 204 f.

33 Suggestions for further analysis of travelogues in this respect are provided by theoretical approaches of the "production studies", that examine the production process of media from a cultural and social science perspective. Cf. e. g. Vicki Mayer, Miranda J. Banks, and John Thornton Caldwell (eds.), Production studies: cultural studies of media industries (New York 2009); Miranda J. Banks, Bridget Conor, and Vicki Mayer (eds.), Production Studies: The Sequel! (New York 2015); Chris Paterson, David Lee, Anamik Saha, and Anna Zoellner (eds., Advancing Media Production Research. Shifting Sites, Methods, and Politics (New York 2016).

the travelers' countries of origin and their mutual relations and interconnections.[34]

There is currently no prevailing paradigm for the study of travelogues. However, in the later twentieth century, under the influence of cultural studies, postcolonial studies, social science approaches, and historical anthropology, the analysis of "otherness" became a focus.[35] Not least, it is a universal human experience that can be found in all epochs and societies. At the same time, experiences of "otherness" form a constitutive element in travel narratives.[36] "Otherness," however, is not easy to explore, because what is perceived as "other," how it is experienced, and how one deals with it varies greatly according to the specific circumstances and the attitude of the person encountering it. It is not an objective quality, but a relationship and the result of a subjective attribution, which is why the analysis must reconstruct the perspective of those who make this attribution.[37]

Two cognitive dimensions can be distinguished: On the one hand, "otherness" serves to establish difference, as it finds expression, for example, in the opposition "we" vs. the "others." It thus establishes a boundary that creates identity, a process that is essential for the constitution of groups and societies.[38] Thus, the discourse of alterity that separated Christians from Muslims contribut-

34 Faroqhi, History, pp. 110 – 143; Emrah Safa Gürkan, Fonds for the Sultan: How to use Venetian Sources for Studying Ottoman History?, in News on Rialto 32 (2013), pp. 22 – 28; Osterhammel, Entzauberung, pp. 176 – 196.

35 Michael Harbsmeier, Reisebeschreibungen als mentalitätsgeschichtliche Quellen: Überlegungen zu einer historisch-anthropologischen Untersuchung frühneuzeitlicher Reisebeschreibungen, in Antoni Mączak and Hans Jürgen Teuteberg (eds.), Reiseberichte als Quellen europäischer Kulturgeschichte: Aufgaben und Möglichkeiten der historischen Reiseforschung (Wolfenbüttel 1982), pp. 1 – 31; Michael Harbsmeier, Elementary Structures of Otherness. An Analysis of Sixteenth-Century German Travel Accounts, in Jean Céard and Jean-Claude Margolin (eds.), Voyager à la Renaissance (Paris 1987), pp. 337 – 355; Höfert, Alteritätsdiskurse, pp. 21 – 40.

36 Peter J. Brenner, Reisen in die Neue Welt: Die Erfahrung Nordamerikas in deutschen Reise- und Auswandererberichten des 19. Jahrhunderts (Tübingen 1991), p. 1; Gert Dressel, Historische Anthropologie: Eine Einführung (Vienna et al. 1996), p. 128.

37 Alois Hahn, Die soziale Konstruktion des Fremden, in Walter M. Sprondel (ed.), Die Objektivität der Ordnung und ihre kommunikative Konstruktion (Frankfurt am Main 1994), pp. 140 – 163, here p. 140; Lüsebrink, Kommunikation, p. 83; Michael Wimmer, Eigenes und Fremdes, in Christoph Wulf and Jörg Zirfas (eds,), Handbuch Pädagogische Anthropologie (Wiesbaden 2014), pp. 687 – 696.

38 Andrea Polaschegg, Der andere Orientalismus: Regeln deutsch-morgenländischer Imagination im 19. Jahrhundert (Berlin et al. 2005), p. 40.

ed to the formation of a European identity.[39] In the Habsburg Monarchy, the Ottomans had long been the "other" that was needed to create commonality and to bracket the heterogeneity of this multiethnic region, a process that travel narratives encouraged. "Otherness" also creates distance. This is linked to processes of understanding and appropriation that could make the "unknown" (better) "known."[40] Travelogues, therefore, not only construct difference, but they may also support processes of understanding. They thus contain a great deal of information about the authors and their society of origin. To put it pointedly: "Tell me what is strange to you, and I'll tell you who you are."

The authors of travelogues conveyed these two dimensions of "otherness" in a variety of ways, for example by using the term itself or synonymous and related expressions. Frequently, "exotic" expressions were used, for example words in local or foreign languages, which at the same time reinforced the impression of authenticity of the reports. In printed German-language reports, the typeface even changed from *Fraktur* or another broken script to *Antiqua* if words that stemmed from languages other than German were used. Special combinations of terms expressing opposites were also common. Reinhart Koselleck spoke in this context of "asymmetrical opposing terms." What he meant were pairs of contrary terms such as "Christians and pagans," "foreign and indigenous," "civilized and primitive," "developed and underdeveloped," "we and them," "home and abroad" or "good and evil." The reciprocal exclusion contained in the asymmetric counter-terms forms an external determination.[41] In the European images of the Ottoman Empire, the dichotomy "believers – unbelievers" or "Christians – Muslims" was characteristic for a long time, at least until the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Finally, there are linguistic figures that François Hartog referred to as *rhéthorique de l'altérité*. This relates to rhetorical devices in descriptions of the "other" such as comparison and analogy.[42]

The study of "otherness" carries the danger of consolidating and legitimizing intercultural differences in the present by highlighting their historical dimen-

39 Friedrich Jaeger, Neuzeit, in Enzyklopädie der Neuzeit, vol. 9: Naturhaushalt – Physiokratie (Stuttgart et al. 2009), col. 158–181, here col. 174.

40 Polaschegg, Orientalismus, pp. 41–49.

41 Reinhart Koselleck, Zur historisch-politischen Semantik asymmetrischer Gegenbegriffe, in Reinhart Koselleck, Vergangene Zukunft: Zur Semantik geschichtlicher Zeiten (Frankfurt am Main 1989), pp. 211–259.

42 François Hartog, Le miroir d'Hérodote: Essai sur la représentation de l'autre (Paris 1980); Hermann Bausinger, Stereotypie und Wirklichkeit, in Jahrbuch Deutsch als Fremdsprache 14 (1988), pp. 157–170; Peter Burschel, Das Eigene und das Fremde: Zur anthropologischen Entzifferung diplomatischer Texte, in Alexander Koller (ed.), Kurie und Politik: Stand und Perspektiven der Nuntiaturberichtsforschung (Tübingen 1998), pp. 260–271.

sions, such as stereotypes and topoi.[43] However, it can be countered that this device must not be left to circles that instrumentalize it politically. Moreover, there is currently great interest in research on this topic. Of course, globalization and digital transformation have led to a certain cultural homogenization, but at the same time, they also intensify experiences of "otherness." Mass migration, fear of foreigners, difficulty with social integration, religious fundamentalism, as well as drastic events such as the war in Syria and Afghanistan show that it is essential to be able to cope with it. Dealing with and understanding foreign people, cultures, religions, and societies is one of the great challenges of our time. Intercultural competence, empathy, and sensitization to foreign cultures, have become key qualifications for our life. By identifying, analyzing, deconstructing, and hence critically engaging with the historical dimension of "otherness" within travelogues, it is possible to raise greater awareness of this problem and generate historical contextual knowledge and orientation for the present and future.[44]

What is important is a differentiated view on these constructions and images of "otherness." Contextual influences, its use in discourses as well as individual variances, gradations and social practices must be taken into account, because the difference between one's self and the "other" is measured anew in each situation and historical context, and must therefore be analyzed in detail.[45] Moreover, the boundaries drawn by "otherness" can shift or dissolve completely: what was "other" once does not automatically always mean "other" – and research must reflect this. Research into "otherness" on a historiographical basis is therefore indispensable and, as such, forms a focus in this volume.

Research on "otherness" is based on the assumption of cultural differences. In this context, one should note that "culture" is an ambiguous term that can be seen in different ways – e. g. normative, totality-oriented, difference-theoretical, and meaning-oriented – and that there is broad agreement that it is essential to avoid the trap of interpreting cultures as monolithic, homogeneous units and underestimating their inner heterogeneity.[46] Rather, it must be assumed that there exist overlapping zones, third spaces, and situational attributions of meaning as well as knowledge, its emergence, transfer, and circulation. Against this back-

43 Höfert, Alteritätsdiskurse, p. 22.

44 Lüsebrink, Kommunikation, p. 9.

45 Osterhammel, Entzauberung, p. 29.

46 Andreas Reckwitz, Die Transformation der Kulturtheorien: Zur Entwicklung eines Theorieprogramms (Weilerswist 2000); Ansgar Nünning, Vielfalt der Kulturbegriffe, in Dossier Kulturelle Bildung. Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung, 2009, accessed 22 May 2022, <https://www.bpb.de/gesellschaft/bildung/kulturelle-bildung/59917/kulturbegriffe?p=all>.

ground, “knowledge” has developed in recent decades into a central category of analysis in the study of accounts of travels to the Ottoman Empire. In this context, it is useful to start from a broad understanding of knowledge that includes not only scholarly knowledge, but also forms of knowledge such as everyday knowledge and concepts that most people today call superstition: all these must be placed in their temporal, spatial, cultural, and social context.[47] In this expansion towards an epistemic perspective, it must be taken into account that topics such as “knowledge,” “knowledge transfer,” and “knowledge circulation” overlap with “otherness,” for example, when looking at the emergence and dissemination of stereotypes and topoi, which represent forms of knowledge as well.[48] In principle, “knowledge” plays an important role in the construction of “otherness,” which is why these two categories of analysis cannot be sharply separated from each other.[49] Due to their comprehensive significance, “otherness” and “knowledge” are cross-cutting themes that are treated in all chapters of this collected volume.

Closely related to “otherness” and “knowledge” is a theory that has significantly shaped the study of the relationship between Europe and the Orient, and thus also of the Ottoman Empire, in recent decades. Several contributions in this volume refer to it explicitly and more or less critically. The central assumption of this theory is that the Western world’s contacts with the Orient led to a characteristic discourse aimed at legitimizing the political, cultural, and ideological oppression of Muslim societies and their economic exploitation. Edward W. Said, who has decisively shaped this theory, described this phenomenon with a word he coined to title his book, the groundbreaking *Orientalism* in 1978.[50] Said claims that Orientalism is a specific attitude embedded in Western science as well as in literature and art, historiography, journalistic texts, and travelogues. Consequently, he understands Orientalism as a dominant discourse in Eu-

47 Stefan Rohdewald, Stephan Conermann, and Albrecht Fuess (eds.), Transottomanica – Osteuropäisch-osmanisch-persische Mobilitätsdynamiken: Perspektiven und Forschungsstand (Göttingen 2019); Evelin Dierauff, et al. (eds.), Knowledge on the Move in a Transottoman Perspective. Dynamics of Intellectual Exchange from the Fifteenth to the Early Twentieth Century (Göttingen 2021).

48 Friederike Hassauer, Volkssprachliche Reiseliteratur: Faszination des Reisens und räumlicher Ordo, in Hans Ulrich Gumbrecht, Ursula Link-Heer, and Peter-Michael Spangenberg (eds.), La littérature historiographique des origines à 1500 (Heidelberg 1986), pp. 259–283.

49 Stefan Rohdewald, et al., Wissenszirkulation, in: Stefan Rohdewald, Stephan Conermann, and Albrecht Fuess (eds.), Transottomanica – Osteuropäisch-osmanisch-persische Mobilitätsdynamiken. Perspektiven und Forschungsstand (Göttingen 2019), pp. 83–103, here pp. 84–85, 92–93.

50 Edward W. Said, Orientalism (New York 1978).

ropean cultures, a comprehensive cultural phenomenon, a pan-European view of Oriental countries and societies, which had the greatest impact in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

Critics questioned the polemical nature of Said's statements and highlighted methodological weaknesses as well as contradicting arguments within the book, while its theoretical core provoked fierce responses.[51] "Otherness" had previously been identified as a general anthropological phenomenon rather than a specifically European or Western one. Oriental societies themselves had a reverse variant of the European view of the East. Historians rejected and later disproved Said's idea of a homogeneous European discourse on the Orient dating back to antiquity and rated it as ahistorical.[52] Moreover, it should be mentioned that if one wants to apply the theory to the relations between the Ottoman Empire and Europe in the seventeenth century or earlier, one has to take into account that there was a clear power-political difference at least with the powers in Central Europe and East-Central Europe; Ottoman armies besieged Vienna, not Habsburg armies Istanbul. For a long time, fear shaped the image of the Turks in large parts of the population.[53] Despite these criticisms, Said's reflections are still valuable because they point to the political significance of constructions of "otherness." Knowledge of foreign cultures was often used by Europeans to gain sovereignty of interpretation, construct hierarchies, and legitimize dependencies as well as colonialism. Orientalism theory also sensitizes us to the problem of Eurocentrism, a danger in researching travelogues on the Ottoman Empire, many which was written by European authors.[54]

Another influential theory connected to the exploration of "otherness" and the relationship between the Ottoman Empire and Europe is based on the ideas

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51 Introduction to the discussion in: Bernd Adam, Saids Orientalismus und die Historiographie der Moderne: Der "ewige Orient" als Konstrukt westlicher Geschichtsschreibung (Hamburg 2013); Urs App, The Birth of Orientalism (Philadelphia 2010); Alexander Lyon Macfie (ed.), Orientalism: A Reader (Edinburgh 2000); Burkhard Schnepel, Gunnar Brands, and Hanne Schönig (eds.), Orient – Orientalistik – Orientalismus: Geschichte und Aktualität einer Debatte (Bielefeld 2011).

52 See, for example, Robert Irwin, Dangerous Knowledge: Orientalism and Its Discontents (Woodstock 2006); Daniel Varisco, Reading Orientalism: Said and the Unsaid (Seattle 2007).

53 On early roots of Orientalism cf. Natalie E. Rothman, The Dragoman Renaissance. Diplomatic Interpreters and the Routes of Orientalism (Ithaca, London 2021).

54 Robert Born and Sarah Lemmen (eds.), Orientalisms in East Central Europe: Discourses, Actors and Disciplines from the 19th Century to the Second World War (Bielefeld 2014); Yves Clavaron, Émilie Picherot, and Zoé Schweitzer (eds,), Orientalisme et Comparatisme (Saint-Etienne 2014); Mahmoud Eid and Karim H. Karim (eds.), Re-Imagining the Other: Culture, Media, and Western-Muslim Intersections (Basingstoke 2014).

of the American political scientist Samuel P. Huntington in studies he published in the 1990s. According to Huntington, after the end of the Cold War and concurrent to the declining importance of nation-states, transnational cultural areas became the decisive benchmarks of international relations. Huntington paid special attention to civilizing differences and the relations between the Western European cultural area and the Muslim one. In his view, the relationship between the two was characterized by irreconcilable opposites and bloody conflicts: it was a "clash of civilizations."[55] Although Huntington primarily referred to the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, he also argued historically with reference to the relations between the Ottoman Empire and Europe. His argumentation is still significant in public opinion, even though it met with strong criticism in scientific discourse, and for good reasons. It is a highly simplified juxtaposition based on a totality-oriented cultural concept that sees civilizations as monolithic entities with constant characteristics. Too little importance is given to the hybrid nature of cultures, processes of changing, internal differences, mutual contacts, and transcultural spaces. For this reason, most researchers strongly reject Huntington's theory.[56]

Research on travelogues has so far been based overwhelmingly on the analysis of individual reports or small sets of representative texts. Only rarely do more than ten travelogues come into view in a single study.[57] The main reason for this is the limited capacity of a single researcher. This deficit was already noticed in the early 1980s by Michael Harbsmeier, who drew attention to the lack of serial analyses. He argued that the comparative analysis of a larger corpus of texts produced in a similar context could elicit the self-understanding of a group.[58] Similarly, Michael Maurer pointed out the lack of quantifying studies.[59]

55 Samuel P. Huntington, The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order (New York 1996).

56 E. g. Gazi Çağlar, Der Mythos vom Krieg der Zivilisationen: Der Westen gegen den Rest der Welt. Eine Replik auf Samuel P. Huntingtons "Kampf der Kulturen" (Münster 2002); Martin Riesebrodt, Die Rückkehr der Religionen. Fundamentalismus und der "Kampf der Kulturen" (Munich 2001); Cora Schmidt-Ott, Der bedrohte "Westen": Samuel P. Huntingtons "The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order" (1996), in Zeithistorische Forschungen 17 (2020), pp. 611–622; Amartya Sen, Die Identitätsfalle: Warum es keinen Krieg der Kulturen gibt (Munich 2010).

57 E. g. Almut Höfert, Turcica: Annäherung an Gesamtbetrachtung repräsentativer Reiseberichte über das Osmanische Reich bis 1600, in Ulrike Ilg (ed.), Text und Bild in Reiseberichten des 16. Jahrhunderts: Westliche Zeugnisse über Amerika und das Osmanische Reich (Venice 2008), pp. 38–94, here p. 40.

58 Harbsmeier, Reisebeschreibungen, pp. 2–8.

59 Maurer, Reiseberichte, pp. 404–410.

This could soon change, however, as the digital transformation of scholarship opens up new possibilities for deeper exploration of travelogues on the Ottoman Empire in several ways. These range from locating reports in library catalogs and making them more accessible once they are digitized, to using specialized tools for analyzing text as well as images. The improved ability to process large amounts of data, hitherto unmanageable by a single individual, is leading to the development of new kinds of questions and methods that go far beyond quantification and make it possible to overcome the limitations of qualitative analyses.[60] Comprehensive syntheses, which were previously difficult to achieve, are now within reach. However, research in this area is still in its infancy and it is not yet clear exactly where the path will lead. Interdisciplinary collaboration and working in teams with computer scientists are an indispensable prerequisite for this. Two contributions in this volume show the direction in which this can go, using two digital humanities projects as examples to illustrate the possibilities of computer-assisted analysis of travelogues.

3 Structure and contributions

The present collected volume deliberately does not follow a single paradigm but is based on the observation that research is currently characterized by a great diversity of perspectives and methods as well as by an enormous dynamism: Unknown fields of research are being discovered and new methods and categories of analysis are being developed, while established perspectives continue to lead to progress. Therefore, the main goal is on the one hand to continue this research and, on the other, to take up new approaches from the fields of communication studies, gender studies, and digital humanities, thus providing an overall impetus for further research. Due to the internationality and interdisciplinarity of the topic, many different research landscapes and disciplines were included. Among the authors are historians, art historians, linguists, librarians, Ottomanists, and anthropologists. The travelogues they analyze reflect the broad spectrum of the sources and the great diversity of travelers and travel motifs. The overwhelming number of these travelogues were written by Europeans. Four contributions, however, broaden the perspective beyond Europe by dealing with travels either within the Ottoman Empire or ones that started in Persia or China. Travel ac-

60 Concerning English travelogues about India, see, for example: Oliver Hellwig, Patterns of Exchange: Studien zu einem quantitativen Kommunikationsmodell für transkulturelle Forschungsfragen. Abschlussbericht des Projekts C10 am Exzellenzcluster "Asia and Europe" (Heidelberg 2010).

counts written by women are treated in several contributions, and gender-historical analyses form a separate section.[61]

Based on these preliminary considerations, the volume is divided into five sections: first *Close Readings,* second *Intertextuality and Intermediality,* third *Discourses,* fourth *Gendered Spaces,* and fifth *Distant Readings and Digital History.* Since the topics and approaches overlap, multiple assignments would sometimes be possible. In these cases, the editors have assigned the contributions to the section with which they have the greatest affinity.

The first section, *Close Readings,* contains five contributions that commence their analyses with the textually accurate and detailed interpretation of a single or a small number of travelogues.[62] Gerald MacLean and Donna Landry's contribution on "Comparative Perspectives on the 'Orient' and Kurdistan in Early Modern Ottoman and British Travelogues" starts with Evliya Çelebi's (1611–c. 1687) *Seyahatname* (Book of Travels) on Kurdistan, which he wrote in Cairo following the 1671 *hajj.* Evliya's portrayal of the everyday life of the Kurds, their culture, and their social and economic living conditions is then compared with accounts by selected British travelers. Particular attention is paid to Henry Blount (1602–1682), who published an account of a journey to the Levant in 1634 in which he deliberately distanced himself from the dominant pejorative portrayals of the Kurds in the accounts of other travelers. Blount was an outsider and, like Evliya, occupies a special position within the genre. This essay demonstrates how fruitful comparative analyses of travelogues can be. Whereas Evliya portrayed the Kurds in a vivid and nuanced way, showing a high degree of tolerance and openness to multiculturalism and distancing himself from religious fanaticism, most British travelers took little interest in the Kurds and did not distinguish them from other ethnic groups living in the region. And if they did, they were portrayed as barbaric, uncivilized, and followers of obscure beliefs, an image that remained prevalent until the nineteenth century and from which even the outsider Blount could only break away with reservations.

Barbara Haider-Wilson's contribution focuses on the Austrian diplomat and officer Anton Prokesch von Osten (1795–1876), who was highly regarded by his contemporaries for the quality of his travelogues. Of bourgeois origin, Prokesch von Osten had received a humanistic education, to which he owed an ex-

61 For example, Susan Bassnett, Travel Writing and Gender, in Peter Hulme and Tim Youngs (eds.), The Cambridge Companion to Travel Writing, 2nd ed. (Cambridge 2005), pp. 225–241.
62 On "close reading" as a method of text analysis, see Wolfgang Hallet, Methoden kulturwissenschaftlicher Ansätze: Close Reading and Wide Reading, in Vera Nünning, Ansgar Nünning, and Irina Bauder-Begerow (eds.), Methoden der literatur- und kulturwissenschaftlichen Textanalyse: Ansätze – Grundlagen – Modellanalysen (Stuttgart 2010), pp. 293–315, here pp. 293–294.

tensive knowledge of European languages as well as expertise in subjects such as philosophy, history, and classical literature. The analysis concentrates on the book *Reise ins heilige Land* (Journey to the Holy Land), published in 1831. The author investigates the region broadly from various perspectives, including constructions of "otherness," characteristic techniques of representation, imprints of the author's socialization, the prior knowledge available in Europe at the time, and a personal and apparently formative meeting of the diplomat with Johann Wolfgang von Goethe (1749 – 1832). The framework of the report is, as already indicated by the title, a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, which is why Prokesch von Osten paid particular attention to Jerusalem and biblical sights. The depiction of the Church of the Holy Sepulcher is of particular value. The character of the report as a travel guide is clearly evident. An important feature is Prokesch von Osten's openness to non-Christian religions and his emotional affection for the Orient, which shows why he became a "go-between."

A different approach is taken by Christine Kämpfer and Stefan Knost in their contribution on the distinguished Prussian botanist Carl Haussknecht (1838 – 1903), who traveled through the Ottoman Empire in 1865 and to the Ottoman Empire and Persia between 1866 and 1869. The journeys took place at a time of accelerated change, when both empires were attempting to draw closer to the West and connect to the globalizing world economy. Haussknecht's travel diary, which comprises more than 1,000 pages but remained unpublished, as well as other particularly revealing texts by the scholar are evaluated comparatively. Special attention is paid to his encounters with Oriental Christians, tribal societies, and state officials. Since Haussknecht did not speak the local languages and could only communicate with the population through interpreters, his accounts reveal experiences of foreignness of varying intensity. A sense of superiority and problems of understanding are evident, though he appreciated hospitality. The influence of his middle-class Protestant background is unmistakable. However, a comparison of his first and second journey shows a change in his perception of "otherness" and the extent to which ethnographic observations and interactions with local actors gained in importance.

Alexander Jost examines the travelogue of the Muslim scholar Ma Dexin (1794 – 1874), who set out on the *hajj* from China in 1841. The journey began just as the First Opium War (1839 – 1842) between Britain and the Chinese Empire under the Qing Dynasty was at its height. After completing the *hajj*, Ma Dexin traveled to Egypt and Anatolia. In 1845 he reached Istanbul. Only after more than seven years did he return home. The report, which was prepared with the utmost care, meticulously records the itinerary and travel times, and was published in Chinese in 1861 with the aim of facilitating the *hajj* for future pilgrims. For this reason, it contains information about possible travel routes at the end.

The largest space, however, is dedicated to Istanbul, whose sights the author describes in detail.

In the last article in this section, Michael Harbsmeier deals with the question of the significance of comparison in the analysis of travelogues. In terms of the historiography, he outlines three successive phases in the study of travelogues. Initially, researchers were primarily interested in the information contained in the reports about the countries and cultures visited. Then, from the 1980s onwards, under the influence of thinkers such as Michel Foucault and Edward W. Said, the perspectives of the travelers and their perceptions came into focus. Subsequently, travel narratives were viewed primarily as a source for uncovering global or transnational interconnections as well as circulations of knowledge. Harbsmeier suggests that the greatest advances in knowledge in recent years – with some exceptions such as the studies by Daniel Roche and Jürgen Osterhammel – primarily emerged from micro-historical analyses of individual reports or travelers. Digitization and translations, however, would now enable the analysis of a larger number of travelogues, possibly initiating a new phase of research. Harbsmeier sees particularly great potential in micro-historical analysis, which presupposes a meticulous examination of individual authors. Digitization, he concludes, could be helpful in placing them comparatively in a global context.

The second section, *Intertextuality and Intermediality*, deals with the dependencies of travelogues on each other and on other sources. It is introduced by the contribution of Gabriele Leschke on representations of the tomb of Christ in the Church of the Holy Sepulcher in the center of the Old City of Jerusalem in works by Otto Friedrich von der Gröben (1656 – 1728). Later a Prussian major general – better known for his key role in founding Brandenburg-Prussia's first colony in Ghana –, von der Gröben had traveled to Italy and Malta at the age of seventeen, from where he had taken part in an expedition against the Ottomans. He then undertook a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, about which he wrote a travelogue that appeared in print in 1694. Leschke compares four copperplate engravings depicting the tomb with its representations in other works and a tattoo of the nobleman. In the process, intermedial and intertextual relationships are analyzed, revealing how differently the Protestant used these representations for his self-representation.

Volker Bauer's contribution focuses on the "Renger Series," a highly successful series of books comprising more than seventy works published by the German publishing house Renger (Halle/Saale and Braunschweig) at the beginning of the eighteenth century. They addressed the political conditions in states and regions both within and outside Europe, including Turkey, Persia, the Mughal Empire, Japan, Siam, and China. The analysis concentrates on the series' intertextual and epistemic references to travelogues, since the anonymously published works were textual adoptions and compilations. The chapter shows how the knowledge contained in the travelogues was incorporated into the representations and what transformations took place in the process. A comparison of the volumes reveals a broad spectrum of intertextual references, ranging from literal quotations and dense referencing in footnotes to general references and indirect adoption. Cross-connections can also be discerned in the frontispieces. A central function of the references to travelogues was to enhance the credibility of the representation, which was increased if one could refer to personal perceptions and experiences as a source of origin.

Pavel Levashov (c. 1719 – 1820) was a Russian diplomat in Constantinople when the Russo-Turkish War (1768 – 1774) broke out and was consequently imprisoned in the Castle of the Seven Towers (*Yedikule)*. He later published his experiences in the Ottoman Empire in several writings, which form the focus of Stefaniia Demchuk's contribution. Little is known about Levashov, except that he initially served in the military and entered diplomatic service in 1752, which took him to Vienna and Regensburg, among other places. His mission to Constantinople began in 1763, and after eight years, in 1771, he returned to Russia. He recorded his experiences in an anonymous essay (Letters from Tsargrad), a diary (The Russians' Captivity and Sufferings among the Turks), and a tract (Portrayal or Report on All Invasions of Tatars and Turks of Russia and their Abuses [...] Continuing Almost Ceaselessly for 800 Years), all of which were published, with a rather lengthy time lag, between 1789 and 1792. The analysis of these texts – there are no illustrations – shows that widespread stereotypes, such as the image of the decline of the Ottoman Empire and the rise of Russia, are most evident in the preface to the diary. Here, Levashov constructed "otherness" with reference to social phenomena such as the rabble, but not in ethnic terms, and he also described the harem in detail. Demchuck pays special attention to the relationship of Levashov's writings to chronicles and travelogues of Western origin, from whose constructions of "otherness" his depictions, which are strongly based on personal experience, differ in several respects.

In the final contribution of the section, Irini Apostolou examines constructions of "otherness" in the accounts of French authors who traveled to the Orient, especially to the Ottoman Empire and Egypt, in the nineteenth century. The focus is on textiles, especially clothing. Texts and images are analyzed. The representations transferred knowledge about the Orient to Western Europe, influenced contemporary French painting, which enjoyed great popularity at the time, and are closely related to the discourse of Orientalism. These sources show that exotic clothing was considered a characteristic feature of the Orient, a view that was widespread not least because it had recurred in Western travelogues since the Renaissance. Apostolou also pays special attention to the bazaar as a center of trade in textiles, cross-dressing, and portraits in which travelers were depicted in Oriental dress. These depictions could express a sense of cultural superiority or, conversely, admiration for the Orient, but also served to form identity.

The starting point of Maria E. Dorninger's contribution, which introduces the third section on *Discourses*, showcases one of the most significant cultural practices that led to the writing of travel narratives: the pilgrimage, in this case the journey of Christian pilgrims to the Holy Land. The main motivations were the worship of God, penance, the salvation of souls, the fulfillment of a vow, and a mission on behalf of a living or deceased person. Almost always, these journeys led to Jerusalem. Dorninger concentrates on representative and particularly influential accounts from the turn of the Middle Ages to the modern period, which she analyzes in terms of the tension between "foreign – unknown – known." In doing so, she incorporates concepts of "mental maps" and "memory" as well as prior influences on the travelers from their society of origin, which often contradicted their concrete observations and experiences. Dorninger pays particular attention to comparison, which was a central technique for illustrating the relationship between home and host country, as she shows, for example, with descriptions of cities and animals. Overall, the accounts she examines illustrate how the "unknown" intermingled with "known" information and how authors integrated it into the established body of knowledge.

Anders Ingram's contribution highlights discourses on Turkish history and the *ars apodemica* by English writers who traveled to the eastern Mediterranean in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. Against the background of expanding diplomatic contacts and trade relations between England and the Ottoman Empire around 1580 and the end of the Anglo-Spanish War (1585–1604), concluding with the Peace of London, the area received more attention from travelers who published their experiences in numerous accounts read with interest by a growing public. Drawing on the Cambridge School's concept of "language," Ingram's analysis focuses on the discursive nature of travelogues and their contextualization. He pays particular attention to connections with texts on the history of the Ottoman Empire, which attracted considerable interest in Europe due to the extensive conquests in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Ingram underlines, however, that not only historical discourses, but also the *ars apodemica* rooted in humanism influenced the content of travelogues.

In his contribution on the depiction of Crimea in the accounts of Western travelers, Nikita Khrapunov deals with a region about which little knowledge circulated in Europe for a long time. He targets the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, when the peninsula was detached from the Ottoman Empire and came under Russian rule. The increasing attention paid to the region found expression in the fact that it even became a popular destination of Grand Tours. The cultural, religious, and ethnic plurality within a rich cultural heritage made Crimea seem particularly exotic and made it an attractive tourist destination. Against this background, some thirty accounts by travelers of Western origin emerged, which the author analyzes in his chapter. The travelogues made Crimea known far beyond its borders and spread both experiential knowledge and stereotypes, some of which have survived to the present day. A broad spectrum of topics is examined, ranging from geographical, climate and living conditions to diseases, religion, violence, history, and descriptions of sights such as Bakhchisarai, the former capital of the Crimean Khanate. Contextual imprints of representation are revealed. Pejorative images, for example, became less important with the change of rule. Instead, there was increased reference to the advantages of Western Russian influences, to which the peninsula owed its civilization. Overall, the reports paint a differentiated picture of European Orientalism.

The subsequent contribution by Güllü Yıldız deals with travelogues from the second half of the nineteenth century. This period was a very dynamic one for the Ottoman Empire as well as for the Persian Empire, a dynamism triggered by the expansion of contacts with the West. As a result, a new form of travelogue emerged, called *siyāḥatnāma* in Turkish and *safarnāma* in Persian. The author examines three of these works, produced in the context of the *hajj* of Persian pilgrims, in terms of narratives and constructions of “otherness.” In doing so, she focuses on text passages that report on Istanbul and shows that all three travelers portray the city as a modern metropolis with a strongly Westernized population. This is especially true of the women living in Istanbul. At the same time, however, the travel writers also refer to the Muslim identity of the metropolis, whose impressive mosques they bring to the fore. The analysis, however, also highlights more critical views of Western influences on the city that emerged among travelers from Persia towards the end of the nineteenth century.

The fourth section, *Gendered Spaces*, consists of three contributions that analyze travelogues in terms of gender. In her article, Betül İpşirli Argit focuses on one of the topics most frequently dealt with in Western travelogues: the sultan’s harem. Based on an analysis of around one hundred accounts by European travelers published between the fifteenth and early nineteenth centuries, she gives a broad overview and examines the emergence and dissemination of key narratives and how they changed over time. The accounts were always a mixture of fact, rumor, and often erotic fantasy, presented to readers against the backdrop of changing power-political and social conditions, as well as the changing image of the Turk in the course of the modern era. The author shows that in addition to patterns of representation that transcended time, such as the harem as a private space forbidden to men, there were different emphases and interpretations. In the seventeenth century, for example, supposed lesbian relationships between the harem women, as well as their intrigues and rivalries with one another, became a popular theme. In the eighteenth century, the greater number of female travel writers, who actually had access to the harem, led to more critical views of earlier, more fantastic depictions. At the same time, under the influence of the Enlightenment, the notion of Oriental despotism, of which the harem was considered a symbol, gained influence. Moreover, the representations became more differentiated. In conclusion, the author emphasizes the value of these representations for historical research, since Ottoman sources alone seem to provide an incomplete picture of the harem.

Anna Huemer analyzes constructions of Ottoman masculinities in travelogues by Habsburg diplomats who spent time in the Ottoman Empire. The diplomatic missions of imperial envoys to Constantinople were of extraordinary importance for the dissemination of knowledge about the Ottomans in Central Europe, as they represented the highest level of bilateral contact due to the delayed development of more intensive economic relations. At least in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, a large part of the travel reports to the Ottoman Empire emerged from this context. Their authors were the diplomats themselves, participants in their mission, or members of their entourage. Huemer's article focuses on the travel accounts of the nobleman Hans Ludwig von Kuefstein (1582–1656), who led a grand embassy to the Sublime Porte in the late 1620s, and Johann Georg Metzger (1623–1698), who went to Constantinople as secretary of a mission in the mid-seventeenth century. Although the sociocultural background of the two authors were fundamentally different, both used highly differentiated gender categories to substantiate the supposed civilizational inferiority of the Ottomans and to delegitimize their claims to rule.

The subject of Konrad Petrovszky's contribution is the portrayal of femininity in the writings of the Austrian diplomat and orientalist Joseph von Hammer-Purgstall (1774–1856), including his unpublished memoirs, in which the experiences of his journeys to the Ottoman Empire in 1799–1801 and 1802–1807 were incorporated. Starting from a critique of the paradigm of Orientalism, which he criticizes for narrowing the angle of analysis, Petrovszky concentrates on female life worlds, to which Hammer-Purgstall paid special attention, but which research has largely neglected so far. The focus is on female symbols and metaphors, on the significance of female acquaintances for the scholar's knowledge of language, on women as objects of erotic desire, as well as on gender roles and social morality, an entanglement of topics to which Hammer-Purgstall devoted more attention than was previously acknowledged. All in all, typical tropes of the discourse of Orientalism, such as the superiority of the West over Asia, Oriental despotism, and certain forms of sexual behavior, were to be found in these passages, but, as Petrovszky points out, this does not do justice to the actual significance of the category of gender in the scholar's writings, which was much larger and more multifaceted. Petrovszky concludes by pointing to the particularly great potential in studies of masculinities in Hammer-Purgstall's *oeuvre* as well as in travelogues in general.

The last section, *Distant Readings and Digital History*, explores the avenues offered by the digital humanities for research on travelogues.[63] The starting point is the assumption that comparison across a larger sample of reports facilitates the identification of important features of the genre. A prerequisite for this is the use of computer-assisted methods. In their contribution, Deniz T. Kilinçoğlu and Jörg Wettlaufer present an interdisciplinary research project dealing with the rise of nationalism and the transformation of identities in the Middle East during the nineteenth century. They use as a central source some 800 reports by Western European and North American authors who had travelled to the Ottoman Empire, written in English, French, and German. According to the two authors, travelogues written by eyewitnesses contain a great deal of information about everyday life in the Ottoman Empire, ethnic and religious conditions, and the thinking, emotions, and leading ideas of different social groups, making them an important source for research into growing nationalism. The methodology of digital humanities is meant to help create a larger text corpus, to distinguish fact from fiction, and to identify intertextual relations among the reports and cross-references to other sources. The authors use a mixed-method approach with a fusion of quantitative and qualitative forms of text analysis (text-mining, topic modeling, visualization of entities, hermeneutic inquiry). The aim of the project is to link the texts, illustrations, and the embedded metadata on a digital research platform and to make them available in open access.

The volume concludes with a contribution by its co-editor, Doris Gruber, in which she presents parts of the results of her work in the already mentioned digital humanities project "Travelogues: Perceptions of the Other 1500 – 1876 – A Computerized Analysis."[64] Gruber focuses on the place and time of printing of

63 On "distant reading" and "wide reading" as a method of textual analysis, see Hallet, Methoden, pp. 293 – 294.

64 Jan Rörden et al., Identifying Historical Travelogues in Large Text Corpora Using Machine Learning, in Anneli Sundqvist et al. (eds.), Sustainable Digital Communities. 15th International Conference, iConference 2020. Boras, Sweden, March 23 – 26, 2020. Proceedings (Cham 2020), pp. 801 – 815; Doris Gruber, Martin Krickl, and Jan Rörden, Searching for Travelogues: Semi-Automatized Corpus Creation in Practice, in Marius Littschwager and Julian Gärtner (eds.), Traveling, Narrating, Comparing: Travel Narratives of the Americas from the 18th to 20th Century, Göttingen [expected in 2021]; Doris Gruber, Europeans Encounter the World.

travel accounts to the Ottoman and the Persian Empires. With the aim of highlighting characteristic features, the relevant data are compared across the project's entire corpus. For the creation of the latter, the project team created machine-learning digital tools that expanded the possibilities of identifying travel reports beyond the search in metadata only and on to the comparison of full texts.[65] Gruber shows how the number of accounts about the Orient relates to the whole corpus, and which factors acquired particular formative power in the process. The argumentation reveals the changing importance of printing locations and the influence of individual publishers and their publication strategies.

65 Jan Rörden et al., Identifying Historical Travelogues.

I Close Readings

Gerald MacLean and Donna Landry

Comparative Perspectives on the “Orient” and Kurdistan in Early Modern Ottoman and British Travelogues

Introduction

If non-European perspectives on travels in the early modern “Orient” are sought, then the Ottoman traveler Evliya Çelebi (1611–c. 1687) is a crucial figure and his ten-volume *Seyahatname* (Book of Travels) an invaluable source.[1] The *Seyahatname* of Evliya Çelebi may well be “the longest and most ambitious travel account by any writer in any language,” and is a “key text for all aspects of the Ottoman Empire at the time of its greatest extension in the seventeenth century.”[2] Istanbul-born and court-educated, Evliya Çelebi authored a work that is unlike anything else in seventeenth-century Ottoman writing, an anomaly revelatory of the norm, in Carlo Ginzburg’s terms.[3] Evliya offers constructions of “otherness” according to Süleymanic principles, inflected by Sufi dervish ideals. “The well-protected domains” of the Padishah (*memalik-i mahrusa-i şahane*) are envisaged as a place of safety as well as toleration for all subjects, diversity and difference within humankind are actively valued, and lives are to be spared and bloodshed avoided whenever possible in imperial governance.[4] That is to say,

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1 Nuran Tezcan, When did Evliyâ Çelebi Die?, in Nuran Tezcan, Semih Tezcan, and Robert Dankoff (eds.), Evliyâ Çelebi: Studies and Essays Commemorating the 400th Anniversary of his Birth (Istanbul 2012), pp. 30 – 32.

2 Robert Dankoff and Sooyong Kim, Introduction, in Robert Dankoff and Sooyong Kim (eds. and trans.), An Ottoman Traveller: Selections from the Book of Travels of Evliya Çelebi (London 2010), pp. xi–xxix; p. xi.

3 Even Bernard Lewis acknowledges an exception to his incuriosity thesis in the case of “the great and ever-curious traveler Evliya Çelebi.” Bernard Lewis, The Muslim Discovery of Europe (New York 1982, London 1994), p. 81. For the seventeenth-century Ottoman intellectual context see Cemal Kafadar, Self and Others: The Diary of a Dervish in Seventeenth-Century Istanbul and First-Person Narratives in Ottoman Literature, in Studia Islamica 69 (1989), pp. 121– 150; Rhoads Murphey, Forms of Differentiation and Expression of Individuality in Ottoman Society, in Turcica 34 (2002), pp. 135 – 169.

4 On more on Evliya as “conscience of the empire” and his Sufi-inflected political observations and judgments see Donna Landry, Evliya Çelebi, Explorer on Horseback: Knowledge Gathering by a Seventeenth-Century Ottoman, in Adriana Craciun and Mary Terrall (eds.), Curious Encounters: Voyaging, Collecting, and Making Knowledge in the Long Eighteenth Century (Toronto

https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110698046-002

Sunni Islam and Ottoman legal and administrative practices provide an evaluative ground but Sufism renders that ground's borders flexible.[5] Evliya's axis of difference is also not a European one in that, for him, the "Orient" (*Şark*) begins when he enters "that inhospitable region" that he names "Kürdistan," which, as Martin Van Bruinessen explains, Evliya uses as an "ethnic" category, and "a definite geographical region" inhabited by Kurds, in distinction from contemporary Ottoman usage, where it referred to a province (*eyalet*), an administrative unit.[6] When read alongside contemporary British travelers' accounts, Evliya's investments in toleration of difference, and even active affection and hospitality, are striking. Remarkably few early British travelers to Kurdish inhabited regions even noticed the Kurds, and those who did were usually misinformed and generalizing. Evliya, by contrast, provides "a more lively description of everyday life in one of the major Kurdish emirates than we find in any other source."[7] What is especially notable is his obvious admiration for the Kurdish emir Abdal Khan Rozhiki of Bitlis (d. 1666?), and how he encourages his readers to identify with the Kurdish point of view in order to mock Ottoman authority. Neither the few early modern British travelers who ventured into Kurdistan, nor Henry Blount (1602–1682), who visited Istanbul and Cairo, appear as genuinely embracing of difference as is Evliya, though Blount styles himself as having put book-learning aside to witness Ottoman imperial governance for himself, in Baconian-empirical Enlightenment fashion.[8]

2018), pp. 43–70; Donna Landry, The Ottoman Imaginary of Evliya Çelebi: From Postcolonial to Postimperial Rifts in Time, in Barbara Buchenau, Virginia Richter, and Marijke Denger (eds.), Post-Empire Imaginaries? Anglophone Literature, History, and the Demise of Empires (Leiden 2015), pp. 127–158. See also Hakan T. Karateke, whose close analysis of Evliya's use of such terms as "bloodthirsty" (*hunhar*) reveals a critique of the abuse of power, in Evliya Çelebi's Journey from Bursa to the Dardanelles and Edirne: From the Fifth Book of the Seyahatname (Leiden 2013), pp. 7–10.

5 Evliya was probably a member of the Gülşeni, a branch of the Halvetiyye. See Robert Dankoff, An Ottoman Mentality: The World of Evliya Çelebi (Leiden et al. 2004), pp. 121–122. This was the order traditionally closest to the Ottoman sultans. Karen Barkey, Empire of Difference: The Ottomans in Comparative Perspective (Cambridge et al. 2008), p. 184.

6 Martin van Bruinessen, Kurdistan in the 16th and 17th Centuries, as Reflected in Evliya Çelebi's *Seyahatname*, in The Journal of Kurdish Studies 2 (2000), pp. 1–11, pp. 4–5. And see Martin van Bruinessen and Hendrik Boeschoten (eds.), Evliya Çelebi in Diyarbekir: The Relevant Section of the Seyahatname Edited with Translation, Commentary and Introduction (Leiden et al. 1988); Robert Dankoff (ed.), Evliya Çelebi in Bitlis: The Relevant Section of the Seyahatname Edited with Translation, Commentary and Introduction (Leiden et al. 1990).

7 Van Bruinessen, Kurdistan p. 2.

8 Henry Blount, A Voyage into the Levant: a Breife [sic] Relation of a Iourney, Lately Performed by Master H. B.[...] (London 1636); see also Donna Landry, Said Before Said, in Ziad Elmarsafy,

1 Evliya the anomaly and Ottoman "travel knowledge"

What can we learn from an exceptional, as opposed to typical, text such as Evliya's *Seyahatname?* The *Seyahatname* has become "the most frequently cited source for the Ottoman seventeenth century,"[9] the century that would prove a critical turning point as "the time of [the Ottoman Empire's] greatest extension."[10] The work offers "descriptions and appraisals of the entire spectrum of Ottoman society: elites and commoners, urban and rural populations, descriptions of key battles and important government officials, legends and tall tales. Nothing quite like it had ever been produced in Ottoman territory (or anywhere else), nor would ever be again."[11] The manuscript was composed in Cairo, where Evliya settled after making the pilgrimage to Mecca in 1671, and it was disseminated by the chief eunuch El-Hajj Beshir Agha (c.1657–1746), who, having received the original from Cairo in 1742, had it copied in Istanbul.[12] Apart from this recognition by an important Ottoman court intellectual, there is no evidence of the text's original reception because the manuscript did not come to public attention until the early nineteenth century.[13]

Evliya, therefore, conforms to Ginzburg's paradigm of the anomaly. Defending microhistory, Ginzburg argues that the traditional historiographical privileging of the typical or statistically representative should be reversed: "Actually, the argument should be turned on its head: it is precisely the exceptional nature of the Martin Guerre case that sheds some light on a normality that is difficult to

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Anna Bernard, and David Attwell (eds.), Debating Orientalism (Basingstoke et al. 2013), pp. 55–72; Gerald MacLean, The Rise of Oriental Travel: English Visitors to the Ottoman Empire, 1580–1720 (Basingstoke et al. 2004), pp. 117–176.

9 Caroline Finkel, Joseph von Hammer-Purgstall's English Translation of the First Books of Evliya Çelebi's Seyahatnâme (Book of Travels), in Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, 3rd series, 25/1 (January 2015), pp. 41–55, p. 55.

10 Dankoff, Kim, Introduction, p. xi.

11 Jane Hathaway, The Chief Eunuch of the Ottoman Harem: From African Slave to Power Broker (Cambridge et al. 2018), p. 209.

12 Hathaway concludes that "Introducing this unique work to the readership of the Ottoman central lands," as El-Hajj Beshir Agha did, "was one of the greatest contributions to Ottoman literature that any individual ever made." Hathaway, Chief Eunuch, pp. 209–210.

13 Finkel, Hammer-Purgstall's English Translation, pp. 41–42. The translation, of the first two volumes only, appeared in three parts (Book I, part i in 1832, Book I, part ii in 1846, and Book II in 1850). See also Pierre A. MacKay, The Manuscripts of the *Seyahatname* of Evliya Çelebi, Part I: the Archetype, in Der Islam 52 (1975), pp. 278–298.

document."[14] Ginzburg explains further that: "The violation of the norm contains even the norm itself, inasmuch as it is presupposed; the opposite is not true."[15] Evliya is an ideal subject for a microhistorical approach, in which the very anomalous status of his writing renders it particularly revelatory of both norms and their critique. In the absence of reception evidence apart from El-Hajj Beshir Agha's preservation and dissemination, the text's own figurings of anticipated audience responses are especially valuable. Evliya portrays himself as having had certain experiences during his extensive travels that he knows his audience are likely to find challenging to their worldview, and to which he is eager to introduce them.[16] As the leading Evliya scholar Robert Dankoff puts it, we can safely say that Evliya's "eccentricities do not necessarily contradict his typicalities."[17] Identifying strategies and tropes of representing "otherness" in the *Seyahatname* requires attending both to his "eccentricities" and his "typicalities" through the text's projection of audience expectations that are more orthodox than the author's.

Evliya's text is a repository of Ottoman "travel knowledge,"[18] aimed at the governing classes as well as tourists. His text is often playful, parodic, satirical: among the first words a traveler needs to know are curses. In Albania in 1662, for instance, in volume 6, Evliya's glossary of the Albanian language begins: "First, *pörtuni zoti* 'For God's sake!' When buying and selling they count coins thus [...]."[19] He continues with: "*aqi mebe teşin qurd* 'Bring barley or I'll split your head open.' *pörtuni zoti nuqu qâm aqi* 'For God's sake, there is no barley'," and then:

> The following are foolish expressions, but the traveller needs to know them since he might be the object of cursing or beating: *hak mut* 'Eat shit!' *tıkifşatı tâmu* 'I'll fuck your mother' [...] *tı pirişte bıhund* 'I'll fart in your nose.' *tıkifşatı bütı* 'I'll fuck your ass.' *iç qıvırdım* 'cata-

14 Carlo Ginzburg, Threads and Traces: True False Fictive, translated by Anne C. Tedeschi and John Tedeschi (Berkeley et al. 2012), p. 57.
15 Ginzburg, Threads, p. 222.
16 Rhoads Murphey's survey of seventeenth-century Ottoman constructions of individuality, of which Evliya's is the most sustained, bears witness to how "outwardly-apparent cultural diversity" was accompanied by an individual identity "characterized by a similar multi-dimensionality". Murphey, Forms of Differentiation, p. 157.
17 Dankoff, Ottoman Mentality, p. 115.
18 Ivo Kamps and Jyotsna G. Singh, Introduction, in Ivo Kamps and Jyotsna G. Singh (eds.), Travel Knowledge: European "Discoveries" in the Early Modern Period (New York et al. 2001), pp. 1–16.
19 Robert Dankoff and Robert Elsie, Evliya Çelebi in Albania and Adjacent Regions (Kosovo, Montenegro, Ohrid). The Relevant Sections of the Seyahatname Edited with Translation, Commentary and Introduction (Leiden 2000), p. 43.

> mite, pimp.’ In short, when dervishes are travelling, they should know such expressions as well, so that they can avoid trouble by not going to places where they will be abused.[20]

Evliya wittily combines travel advice with scurrility. The need for accurate reportage licenses bawdy jokes and blasphemy. His keen ear makes his travelogue still a source for historical linguists.[21] When travelling in Kurdistan in 1665 in volume 4, for example, his account includes official Ottoman, but also Diyarbekir dialects of Turkish, as well as Kurdish and Armenian and Arabic languages and dialects. This linguistic richness corresponds to the mixture of different peoples who live there, all of whom are by now (in the 1650s) accustomed to Ottoman rule via Kurdish proxies and to negotiating with official visitors from Istanbul. As Dankoff observes, exchanges often record a code-switching from local “Kurdish dialect” to “good Ottoman,” demonstrating how adept the local Kurdish governors have become at such negotiations.[22]

Evliya anticipates audience censure for his vulgarity and obscenity; he begs indulgence from readers on the grounds of pragmatic necessity. Evliya’s ethnographic attentiveness and linguistic facility represent an Ottoman openness to the multicultural. Yet Evliya goes beyond mere polite acknowledgement of difference. If there is one principle of engaging with “otherness” to be derived from the *Seyahatname*, it is to suspend judgement, and inhabit imaginatively another’s point of view. Evliya frequently cautions his audience against condemning the foreign practices he describes as “disgraceful” because, in their social context, they are “no disgrace” and should be accepted. This is a form of affirmative toleration. Evliya invites his audience to stretch their imaginations and moral codes. In volume 8 in 1670, for instance, Evliya describes how in Gjirokaster, the Albanians, who are “devoted to Ali” (i. e., Shi’a Muslims), enjoy weddings and feast days by drinking alcohol and dancing in the streets: “Lovers go hand in hand with their pretty boys and embrace them and dance about in the manner of the Christians. This is quite shameful behaviour, characteristic of the infidels, but it is their custom, so we cannot censure it (*bu dahi bir bed-sünnetdir kim âyîn-i ke[fe]redir, amma böyle göre gelmişler, bunı dahi ayblamazız*)”.[23] Dankoff observes how the very phrasing contains the refusal (*-mazız*) to attribute disgracefulness to acts that Evliya’s audience would be likely to consider disgraceful (*ayıb* or *ayıp*): “*ayblamazız.*” “’We cannot censure it’”

20 Dankoff and Elsie, Albania, pp. 43, 45.
21 Robert Dankoff, An Evliya Çelebi Glossary: Unusual, Dialectal and Foreign Words in the Seyahat-name (Cambridge, MA 1991), p. 8.
22 Dankoff, Introduction, Bitlis, p. 24.
23 Dankoff, Ottoman Mentality, pp. 72–73. See also Dankoff and Elsie, Albania, p. 85.

is literally 'we cannot say it is *ayıb*' – in other words, '*ayıb değil!*' ['No disgrace!'] No passage of the *Seyahatname* is more revealing of Evliya's attitude toward such customs."[24]

Here Evliya appears to fit Karen Barkey's description of the early Ottoman state's valuing of difference and inclusivity, its active preference for heterogeneity as a social good.[25] This aspect of state formation underpinned Süleymanic ideals of an empire not conceived in Western terms of imperium, but as "the well-protected domains" of the Padishah (*memalik-i mahrusa-i şahane*), a place of safety as well as toleration for all subjects who acknowledge the authority of the state, without being forced into conversion: such is the ideal.[26]

In this respect Evliya could be said to approach what Jacques Derrida has theorized as an ethic of unconditional hospitality.[27] We might also understand this openness of Evliya towards non-Ottoman Sunni orthodox social practices or customs as a consequence of his Sufi dervish mission to serve as a *nedim-i beni-adem* (boon companion of mankind), which sets him apart from contemporary Western travelers.[28] Britons do not seem to have embarked on their journeys with any conscious ethic of promoting the good or happiness of the others they met by traveling among them.[29] Evliya's pronouncement of "No disgrace!" implies the potential censoriousness of his audience towards foreign or infidel customs that outrage pious Islamic sensibilities – but also the possibility of an au-

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24 Robert Dankoff, Ayıp Değil! (No Disgrace!), in Journal of Turkish Literature 5 (2008), pp. 77–90, p. 82.

25 Barkey, Empire of Difference, p. 25.

26 Selim Deringil, The Well-Protected Domains: Ideology and the Legitimation of Power in the Ottoman Empire 1876–1909 (London et al. 1998, London 2011), p. 42.

27 Gerald MacLean, Hospitality in William Shakespeare and Evliya Çelebi, in Shakespeare Jahrbuch 149 (2013), pp. 117–135. See also Meyda Yeğenoğlu, Islam, Migrancy, and Hospitality in Europe (Basingstoke et al. 2012). Glossing "it is their custom, so we cannot censure it", MacLean contrasts Evliya directly with Shakespeare, for whom hospitality is always so fraught as usually to be regretted: "For Evliya, differentiation within the imperial domains follows a logic of difference shaped by inclusion and conviviality rather than mere difference." MacLean, Hospitality, pp. 134–135.

28 Dankoff, Ottoman Mentality, p. 9. Laila Hashem Abdel-Rahman El-Sayed explores Evliya's "cosmopolitan emotions" in her PhD thesis: Laila Hashem Abdel-Rahman El-Sayed, Discourses on Emotions: Communities, Styles, and Selves in Early Modern Mediterranean Travel Books: Three Case Studies (PhD thesis, University of Kent, Freie Universität Berlin 2016), pp. 234–303.

29 Exactly such an ethic of travel was suggested by the Greek Patriarch of St. Catherine's Monastery in Sinai, who praised Evliya as an "honourable" man "of peace" who desires "to investigate places, cities, and the races of men, having no evil intention in his heart to do injury to or to harm anyone". Pinelopi Stathi, A Greek Patriarchal Letter for Evliya Çelebi, in Archivum Ottomanicum 23 (2005/2006), pp. 263–268.

dience who might be persuaded to tolerate or even befriend those unlike themselves.

Evliya was a pious Muslim but no puritan or fundamentalist. In 1623 he was apprenticed to Sultan Murad IV's (1612–1640) imam, Evliya Mehmed Efendi (d. 1636), to train as a "*hafiz*" – a Qur'anic reciter.[30] Yet he is explicitly critical of Muslim fanaticism, setting himself apart through his openness to other religions, especially the strange energies and powers that attach to shamanism or the practices of magicians. In volume 8, on a campaign with Ak Mehmed Pasha (fl. 1660s) and the Crimean Tatars near the Kuban River in the winter of 1666–1667, Evliya observes a Buddhist Kalmyk shaman performing excremental magic to freeze the river so that the army can cross. All the garrison with its sheep, all the horses and carts and people, get across except the Pasha's secretary "and seven or eight narrow-minded individuals," "fanatical Dagestani Muslims: 'We refuse to cross this ice that was produced through magic,' they said"; when they attempt to drag the Pasha's secretary's cart across while praying loudly, the ice breaks up and some are drowned.[31] Rather than sympathizing with the fanatics, Evliya admires and sympathizes with the Kalmyk shaman; he explicitly refuses to allow his faith to be identified with a "fanatical" Islam, an Islam that is not receptive to alternative mystical practices, or an Islam incapable of syncretism.[32]

2 On the way to the "Orient": Kurds and Kurdistan

Evliya's openness to magic and mysticism is never more apparent than when he is in Kurdistan, which for him represents the "Orient." Kurds are "Orientals". But this ethno-linguistic difference is not construed by him as backwardness but rather as exotic Eastern "otherness," often to be admired. Evliya looks to the "Orient" as the original home of beauty and aesthetic sophistication; Khorasan, and closer to home, Kurdistan, represent the source of the best poetry and music.[33] Nothing could be further from the views of the very few early modern British travelers who ventured there.[34]

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30 Dankoff and Kim, Introduction, Ottoman Traveller, p. xi.
31 Dankoff and Kim, Ottoman Traveller, p. 273.
32 Dankoff and Kim, Ottoman Traveller, pp. 273–274.
33 Donna Landry, Evliya Çelebi (1611–c.1685) Among the Kurds, in Kurds and Kurdistan in Ottoman Period: Proceedings from 1st International Academic Conference on Kurds and Kurdistan in

The earliest British traveler to record encountering Kurds was the merchant Ralph Fitch (1550 – 1611) who, in 1591, noticed that the city of "Merdin [...] is in the countrey of the Armenians; but now, there dwell in that place a people which they call *Cordies*, or *Curdi,*" but left no further comment.[35] With the establishment of the Levant Company factory in Aleppo in the 1580s, British merchants arriving at the port of Iskenderun and bound for that city could not avoid meeting Kurds since substantial Kurdish communities had settled in northern Syria since before the crusades.[36] Most British travelers, however, failed to notice or to distinguish Kurds from the Turkmen, Arab, Jewish, or Anatolian Turkish communities. Arriving in 1599, the Levant Company chaplain William Biddulph (fl. 1599 – 1609) was unusual in noticing them, observing that: "In the Mountaines betwixt *Scanderone* and *Aleppo*, there are dwelling a certaine kind of people called at this day *Coords*, comming of the race of the ancient *Parthians*, who worship the Devill."[37] Biddulph's journey had taken him south of the Afrin valley where there was a substantial community of Yezidi Kurds.[38] Although he never again mentioned Kurds, Biddulph was the first British traveler to claim that all Kurds were Yezidis, and to repeat the accusation that Yezidis worship the devil. He subsequently failed to realize that the governor of Aleppo in 1603, Husayn Khan Canpulatoğlu (d. 1605), was Kurdish, instead believing him to be "of the house of *Sanballat*, who hindred the building of the Temple of *Jerusalem*,"[39] in the biblical account.[40]

History. A Joint Conference between Salahaddin University – Erbil (Kurdistan, Iraq) and Mardin Artuklu University – (Turkey), Conference Proceedings on CD (Erbil 2013), 7 pp.; Walter Feldman, Music of the Ottoman Court: Makam, Composition, and the Early Ottoman Instrumental Repertoire (Berlin 1996), pp. 39, 53, 225.

34 For a full account of early modern British travelers' views see Gerald MacLean, British Travellers, the Kurds, and Kurdistan: A Brief Literary History, c. 1520 – 1680, in Kurdish Studies 7/2 (October 2019), pp. 113 – 134.

35 Richard Hakluyt, The Principal Navigations: Voyages, Traffiques and Discoveries of the English Nation [1589] (8 vols., London 1910), vol. 3, p. 315.

36 Jordi Tejel, Syria's Kurds: History, Politics and Society, translated by Emily Welle and Jane Welle (London et al. 2009).

37 William Biddulph, The Travels of certaine Englishmen into Africa, Asia, Troy, Bithnia, Thracia, and to the Blacke Sea (London 1609), p. 41.

38 John Guest, The Yezidis: A Study in Survival (London 1987), pp. 53 – 54; Paul Rycaut, The History of the Turkish Empire From the Year 1623. To the Year 1677 (London 1680), p. 93.

39 Biddulph, Travels, p. 41.

40 Nehemiah 4 – 6. In addition to Nehemiah, "Sanballat is mentioned in the Elephantine Aramic papyri as Governor of Samaria." John How, Ezra-Nehemiah, in Charles Gore et al. (eds.), A New Commentary on Holy Scripture (London 1928), pp. 294 – 298, here p. 295.

Other Englishmen also journeying in 1599, but further east, disapproved of Kurdistan and the people who lived there. Anthony Sherley (1565 – 1635?) and his companions William Parry (fl. 1601) and George Manwaring (c. 1551 – 1628) travelled through Kurdish territory en route from Baghdad to the court of Shah ʿAbbās (1571 – 1629) in Qasvin. Parry called it "theevs country," and portrayed the Kurds as "addicted to thieving, not much unlike the wilde Irish."[41] Manwaring agreed, calling "Curdia [...] a very thievish and brutish country," inhabited by uncivilized people who "have no houses, but live in tents and caves [...] and remove from place to place with their tents." "They would," he continued, "come into our company sometimes forty, sometimes more or less; and, except we did look well unto them, they would filch and steal anything they could lay their hands upon."[42] Accusations of theft were already a well-established perception of the Kurds, whether the Sherley party were aware of it or not.[43] For his part, Anthony Sherley summarily dismissed the "Courdines" as the "scum of Nations," but also portrayed the Kurds as powerful enough to precipitate a fifteen-year war between the two empires of the region.[44] He recounts how during his stay at the court of Shah ʿAbbās, "ten thousand soules of *Courdins* which had abandoned their possessions under the *Turke*," applied for "some waste land [...] to inhabit in; which he had given them."[45] According to Sherley, the arrival of an Ottoman General in 1603 demanding their return so infuriated Shah ʿAbbās that, encouraged by Sherley, he declared war against the Ottomans.[46]

41 William Parry, A New and Large Discourse of the Travels of Sir Anthony Sherley (London 1601), pp. 17 – 18.

42 George Manwaring, A True Discourse of Sir Anthony Sherley's Travel into Persia, in Edward Denison Ross (ed.), Sir Anthony Sherley and his Persian Adventure, including some contemporary narratives relating thereto (London 1933), pp. 175 – 226, 196.

43 Boris James, Mamluk and Mongol Peripheral Politics: Asserting Sovereignty in the Middle East's "Kurdish Zone" (1260 – 1330), in Bruno de Nicola and Charles Melville (eds.), The Mongols' Middle East: Continuity and Transformation in Iklhanid Iran (Leiden 2016), pp. 277 – 305, here p. 281.

44 Anthony Sherley, Sir Anthony Sherley His Relation of his Travels into Persia (London 1613), p. 51.

45 Sherley, His Relation, pp. 75 – 76.

46 This episode involving a tribe of Kurdish migrants is not recorded by Eskander Beg Monši or any other contemporary chronicler, though Kurdish tribes regularly switched sides between the Ottomans and Safavids. Compare Eskander Beg's account from early 1603: "A further incident which occurred this year was the arrival at the royal camp of Soleyman Beg Mahmudi, the governor of Kosab and Qara Hesar, a provincial governor subject to the Ottoman *beglerbeg* of Van. He now transferred his allegiance to the Shah, in the customary manner of Kurdish emirs, who always give their allegiance to whichever party is in the ascendant. But the expressions of fealty he uttered did not derive from any loyalty of heart. The Shah, although he had no illusions as to

Yet for most British travelers, the Kurds remained invisible, an insignificant minority within the empires of the Turks and Persians, and therefore of little interest. Of ancient but murky origins, uncivilized and migratory, inclined to brigandage and obscure religious beliefs, the Kurds inhabited the mountainous frontier separating the Turkish and Iranian empires and sometimes caused trouble by switching allegiance. This was the image of the Kurds that, established at the turn of the seventeenth century by the very few British travelers who noticed them, would remain largely unchanged until well into the nineteenth century.

For Evliya, such generalizations required strict qualification, though he substituted generalizations of his own, such as "the Kurds are a hairy race,"[47] and Kurdish men live a long time: "when you think they have lost the power of speech, they still mount horses, bear swords, and go out hunting […] while they seem to be sixty or seventy, they are really a hundred."[48] Virility was clearly a Kurdish characteristic. Elsewhere he notes: "Never failing from sexual intercourse, they live to the age of a hundred."[49] Unlike British travelers, Evliya knew Kurds were not all migratory, living in tents and caves, and he distinguished sophisticated urbanites from uneducated rural Kurds. He also recognized that while some Kurds were Yezidi, most were not, and observed how the Kurdish populations of Diyarbekir and Bitlis "all follow the Shafi'i legal school."[50]

Being himself a court-educated Istanbullu, Evliya reveals "something of the educated urban dweller's disdain for rough and frightening rural folk" when picturing a wild region with the figurative phrase "*Kürdistan ve Türkmenistan ve sengistan*" (a land of Kurds and Turcomans and rocks).[51] Of Diyarbekir, he

the worth of professions of loyalty by Kurds, accepted Soleyman Beg's protestations at their face value (it is usually advisable for rulers to do this), loaded him with robes of honor, and raised him to the rank of khan before giving him permission to return to his own territory." Eskander Beg Monši, History of Shah 'Abbas the Great, translated by Roger Savory (2 vols., Boulder, CO 1978), vol. 2, p. 856.

47 Dankoff, Bitlis, p. 75.

48 Dankoff, Bitlis, p. 73.

49 Van Bruinessen and Boeschoten, Diyarbekir, p. 157.

50 Van Bruinessen and Boeschoten, Diyarbekir, p. 129 and note 59.

51 Van Bruinessen, Kurdistan, p. 4. And see Palmira Brummett who compares Evliya with Ogier Ghislain de Busbecq (1522–1592): "For Evliya, in his travels to the western and Christian reaches of the empire, the 'natives' were both fascinating and never quite a part of his own elite, metropolitan, Ottoman 'us'. In this regard, Evliya was like Busbecq, a cosmopolitan representative of the imperial center who cast a rather jaundiced eye on the mores of those on the outskirts of civilization." Palmira Brummett, Mapping the Ottomans: Sovereignty, Territory, and Identity in the Early Modern Mediterranean (Cambridge et al. 2015), p. 257.

wryly observes: "Because this is a land of Kurds and Turcomans, the population, in the mountains and gardens and fields, far away or close at hand, is never lacking in war and strife, combat and fight. For that reason there are innumerable surgeons here that have attained perfection in their trade."[52] Of Bitlis, he similarly notes: "This being Kurdistan, people are constantly saying *hare verre runété* [Go! Come! Sit!] and fighting with one another day and night, so practically everyone is a surgeon."[53] The ever-present threat of violence extends even to the religious orders: "All the Kurdish ulema, and even the chief muftis (sheykhülislam), still go around with daggers, since all – great and small, young and old – are brave fighters."[54] Nevertheless, in addition to the persistent "anarchy and rebellion of Kurdistan,"[55] Evliya also registered that a sophisticated urban culture was to be found among the Rohziki Kurds of Bitlis.

In early summer 1655 Evliya accompanied the Ottoman official Melek Ahmed Pasha (c. 1602–1662) who had just been appointed governor of Van. En route they visit Diyarbekir before stopping for ten days in Bitlis, ruled by Abdal Khan Rozhiki (d. 1666?), who welcomed the Ottoman delegates by throwing a lavish banquet. Yet it was not only the quantity and variety of food, but the sumptuous "golden and silver dishes and porcelain and onyx and celadon bowls" on which it was served that caused Evliya to exclaim:

> Such a bounteous and delicious banquet no latter-day sultan has given since the time of Cemshid and Iskender and Keykavus. As God is my witness, there was enough to feed the three thousand soldiers of our lord Melek Ahmed Pasha, and the three thousand retainers of the Khan, as well as the town notables who had come out to meet us, and the swarms of Kurdish vermin in the surrounding districts.[56]

For Evliya, the distinction between those Kurdish "town notables" and mountain-dwelling "Kurdish vermin" was a crucial matter of manners and civility. He considered Abdal Khan a model of the wise and civilized ruler who, just like Mehmed the Conqueror (Fatıh Mehmed II, 1432–1481), encouraged skilled artisans of all nations to migrate to his city. Evliya called him "*hezār-fen*" (master of a thousand skills),[57] whose widespread "reputation as a patron of the arts and sciences" inspired "skilled men […] from every country" to come to Bitlis and fill

52 Van Bruinessen and Boeschoten, Diyarbekir, p. 159.
53 Dankoff, Bitlis, p. 75.
54 Dankoff, Bitlis, p. 67.
55 Dankoff, Bitlis, p. 375.
56 Dankoff, Bitlis, p. 43.
57 Dankoff, Bitlis, p. 7.

the city with "skilled masters."[58] He observed how the citizens of Bitlis were exceptional for their fine clothing: "Although it is Kurdistan, nevertheless there are many notables and retainers of the Khan who wear sable furs,"[59] while in Diyarbekir the people were so wealthy that even "the lower classes wear various sorts of English woollen cloth,"[60] which were imported at great cost.

In late July, Abdal Khan defied Ottoman authority, causing Melek Ahmed Pasha to raise an army and sack Bitlis. Evliya commented: "But how much damage this town of Bitlis suffered! And how much wealth was plundered! For the Ottoman army included several thousand rough mountain Kurds who tore to pieces those precious silk carpets from Isfahan, Cairo, and Ushak, worthy of kings, and used the rags to cover the mud and dirt in their tents."[61] Not all Kurds, notably those from the mountains, understood and appreciated beauty. Having previously described the magnificent buildings, notable mosques, schools, fountains, palaces, gardens, public and private baths which he attributes to Abdal Khan's patronage and civilizing influence, Evliya was amazed at the quantities of magnificent treasure discovered inside the citadel. Besides valuable objects – carpets, tents, swords, gold and silver vessels, jewel-encrusted daggers, muskets, maces, saddles, leopard and tiger skins, precious stones – Evliya marveled at the huge number of books and works of calligraphic artistry. Some Ottoman scholars hold that Evliya was prone to exaggeration,[62] but it remains a testament to Abdal Khan's wealth, taste, and learning, that Evliya lists dozens of illustrated Qur'ans, "countless calligraphic albums" by famous masters, volumes of Persian and European drawings, numerous atlases and maps, all of which he was charged with cataloguing. All this treasure was auctioned off to pay the costs of the military operation.[63]

Beyond Abdal Khan's wealth, personal skills, sophistication, learning, and achievements in making Bitlis a model of urban culture, Evliya praised the Kurdish language, which he believed was among the earliest languages spoken after the Flood.[64] "Since this is an oriental region" [*Bu diyār cānib-i şarq*] he argued,

58 Dankoff, Bitlis, p. 107.
59 Dankoff, Bitlis, p. 77.
60 Van Bruinessen and Boeschoten, Diyarbekir, p. 161.
61 Dankoff, Bitlis, p. 321.
62 See Tülay Artan, following Michael Rogers, Arts and Architecture, in Suraiya Faroqui (ed.), The Cambridge History of Turkey: Volume 3: The Later Ottoman Empire, 1603 – 1839 (Cambridge et al. 2006), pp. 408 – 480, here p. 429.
63 Dankoff, Bitlis, pp. 281 – 321, and Armenag Sarkisian, Abdal Khan Seigneur Kurde de Bitlis au XVIIe Siècle, et ses Trésors, in Journal Asiatique 229 (1937), pp. 253 – 270.
64 Van Bruinessen, Kurdistan, pp. 5 – 6.

"hundreds of proficient and eloquent poets of accomplishment are found here […] poets of great refinement."[65] He admired the "lovable boys" [*Mahbūb*] who "speak so pleasantly and eloquently in their native dialect – for this is the Orient [*Şarq diyārı*] – that people with an amorous temperament are ravished when they hear them."[66] He provided extensive examples illustrating the distinctive qualities of the dialects of Diyarbekir and the Rohziki of Bitlis.[67] And for Evliya, this place of poetry and of beautiful boys with ravishing voices, this "Orient" was a region of magic and wonders that was being destroyed by the Ottoman state.

Although employed by Melek Ahmed Pasha, to whom he happened also to be related,[68] Evliya by no means approved of the authoritarian manner in which this officer of the central government was going about his official business. Evliya hints broadly that the war against Abdal Khan was a pretext for seizing his wealth, and that following the auction of his treasures, Melek Ahmed Pasha did not pay for "the various precious goods and stuffs and jewels which he himself had bid for and bought."[69] He clearly deplored the bloodshed, regularly pleading for the lives of captives to be spared, even "the accursed Yezidis and Khalitis and Chekvanis" who held the citadel long after Abdal Khan had fled.[70] Yet Evliya also called himself a dervish, "the kind who goes out among people, rides horses, and keeps servants. Still, I am unconcerned with the affairs of the world. A war happened, a province was plundered and ruined. I know nothing of that."[71] Despite witnessing moments when it failed, Evliya continued to believe in the universal inclusivity embedded in the codes of "Kanuni" Süleyman – the lawgiver – even after those benevolent ideals of the "well-protected domains" of the patrimonial Ottoman state had started hardening into a repressive and absolutist dynastic polity. Against these despotic tendencies, which, as historian Baki Tezcan has recently argued, precipitated the emergence of what he calls the "second Ottoman Empire" following the regicide in 1622 of Osman II (1604 – 1622),[72]

65 Van Bruinessen and Boeschoten, Diyarbekir, p. 159.
66 Van Bruinessen and Boeschoten, Diyarbekir, pp. 157 – 159.
67 Van Bruinessen and Boeschoten, Diyarbekir, pp. 173 – 177; Dankoff, Bitlis, pp. 85 – 87.
68 Robert Dankoff, Introduction: The Author and His Subject, in Robert Dankoff (ed. and trans.), The Intimate Life of an Ottoman Statesman: Melek Ahmed Pasha (1588 – 1662) As Portrayed in Evliya Çelebi's "Book of Travels" (Albany, NY 1991), pp. 1 – 20, here p. 3. Melek Ahmed Pasha was a cousin of Evliya's mother; they were Abkhazian slaves who had been presented to Ahmed I.
69 Dankoff, Bitlis, p. 321.
70 Dankoff, Bitlis, pp. 249 – 265.
71 Dankoff, Bitlis, p. 347.
72 Baki Tezcan, The Second Ottoman Empire: Political and Social Transformation in the Early Modern World (Cambridge et al. 2010), pp. 1 – 13, 214 – 216, 227 – 232.

the splendors and magnificence of Abdal Khan's court offered Evliya a living challenge to the authoritarian imperatives of Melek Ahmed Pasha's governorship.

Splendor, magnificence, and magic: these features of "Oriental" difference all presented a challenge to Istanbul and the representatives of Ottoman authority. A day or two after Evliya and Melek Ahmed Pasha first arrived in Bitlis, Abdal Khan arranged an evening of entertainments for the Ottoman visitors. Evliya recounts an episode he titled "A strange and wondrous spectacle, the science of magic."[73] He recalls how one Molla Mehemmed (fl. 1665), an emaciated magician, entered the public arena, threw down his sack and was suddenly naked. While "prancing impudently about the meydan," he declared "friends, I have no penis. Just take a look!" before proceeding to leap into the air and fly about the arena to "an astonished audience" that "was delighting at this spectacle."[74] Suddenly he "revealed a huge penis like that of Og son of Unuk. Holding this in his hand […] he started pissing, and sprayed the spectators […] They all became soaking wet […and…] exclaimed: 'We just looked at the Molla naked and saw that he had no penis. Now what is this enormous tool, and where did this damned rain of piss come from?' But those Kurds who understood what was going on just drank up this 'urine' and pronounced it 'water of life'."[75]

In this extraordinarily subtle piece of storytelling,[76] the joke is clearly directed against Melek Ahmed Pasha and his retinue of Ottoman officials, while Evliya brings his readers inside the joke where we share the point of view of "those Kurds who understood what was going on." For Evliya, the Kurds provided a perspective from which the repressive and authoritarian follies of the new order of Ottoman officialdom could be ridiculed. The implication was that respecting Kurdish differences and negotiating within a framework of relative autonomy for the Kurdish regions were the only way for the Ottomans to achieve peace.[77] And, for Evliya, that necessary recognition of Kurdish difference and relative in-

73 Dankoff, Bitlis, pp. 123–125.
74 Dankoff, Bitlis, pp. 123–125.
75 Dankoff, Bitlis, p. 125.
76 Dankoff points out in Bitlis, p. 7, note 1, that a similar tale of conjuring appears in a Persian romance of the sixteenth century in which the magician, Moqantara, asked to demonstrate his powers by King Valid of Cairo, mixes water from an urn with dust to produce an enormous black cloud which produces enough rain to fill all the streets of Cairo right up to the roofs of the buildings, except the palace from which the king and his retinue are watching: the king pleads with Moqantara, who breaks the urn causing the cloud and flooding to disappear, leaving all as it had been. See William L. Hanaway (trans.), Love and War: Adventures from the Firuz Shah Nama of Sheikh Bighami (Delmar, NY 1974), pp. 79–84.
77 Van Bruinessen, Kurdistan, p. 5.

dependence is signified by, and bound up with, an openness to "Oriental" magic, mysticism, and the mustering of energies and practices that were different from those sanctioned in Istanbul.

3 Norms and anomalies: Henry Blount and Evliya

No early modern Englishman set out to break the mold of European prejudice more explicitly than Henry Blount. We could hardly find a better example of self-positioning in terms of a self-professed "Enlightenment" sensibility, scientifically open to empirical evidence, having consciously shed acculturated prejudices. Blount explicitly states that his views are so anomalous that they "barre" his account from public consumption or even "appearing beyond my owne closet."[78] His views are so singular, in other words, that his audience will most likely be hostile to his findings, "for to a minde possest with any set doctrine, their unconformitie must needs make them seeme unsound, and extravagant, nor can they comply to a rule, by which they were not made."[79] Blount composes his travelogue primarily for himself, therefore, so as to remember what occurred, keep account of the evidence he gathered first-hand, and thereby make good on his investment in voyaging overseas, considering "how much" he "ventured" for this "experience."[80] He remains cagily modest about the extent of the worldly experience he has had, and thus what may be gathered from his adventures, qualifying that "experience" with the phrase "as little as it is."[81]

What was so anomalous about Blount's account? Why would his findings be considered "unsound" and "extravagant" in their "unconformitie" with his countrymen's opinions? Blount declared an instrumental purpose beyond the merely empirical. He stated that he voyaged to Istanbul and Cairo in order to see how the greatest modern empire worked. He decided to visit the Levant because the "Turkes [...] are the only moderne people, great in action, and whose Empire hath so suddenly invaded the World, and fixt it selfe such firme foundations as no other ever did," and so, he is "of opinion, that he who would behold these times in their greatest glory, could not finde a better *scene* then *Turky*."[82] Blount is aware of what must be a contradiction –between the incontrovertible

78 Blount, Voyage, p. 4.
79 Blount, Voyage, p. 4.
80 Blount, Voyage, p. 4.
81 Blount, Voyage, p. 4.
82 Blount, Voyage, p. 2.

fact of the Ottomans ruling a great empire, and the prevalent British view of the Ottomans as mere barbarians. Therefore, he has set himself the task of being an unbiased witness (having "an unpartiall conceit") regarding how things *are* in order to discover whether "the *Turkish* way appeare absolutely barbarous, as we are given to understand, or rather another kinde of civilitie, different from ours, but no lesse pretending."[83]

Blount found that which he sought, an alternative civility: herein lies the nature of the unorthodoxy of his account, designed to outrage English audiences. Of Ottoman mariners he reports how surprised he was by their good manners:

> The strangest thing I found among the *Turkish* Mariners, was their incredible civilitie; [...] and that not only in ordinary civility, but with so ready service, such a patience, so sweet, and gentle a way, generally through them all, as made me doubt, whether it was a dreame, or reall; if at any time I stood in their way, or encombred their ropes, they would call me with a *Ianum*, or *Benum*, termes of most affection, and that with an encline, a voyce, and gesture so respective, as assured me, their other words (which I understood not) were of the same straine.[84]

Of Ottoman manners more generally he reports:

> There is no people more courteous of *Salutation*, then the *Turkes*; in meeting upon the *high-way*, one with a *stoope*, and his *hand* upon his *breast*, bids *Salaam Aleek*, the other with like obeisance, replyes *Aleek Salaam*; and when any one comes into company, the rest salute him with a *Merabbah Sultanum*, ever sweetening their conversation, with such accent of pronunciation, and so much respective gesture, as savours of a gentle *Genius*, free from that rudenesse, whereof they are accused.[85]

Ottoman civility cannot be denied, and it is very different from either English manners or English views of the Turks. But Blount is also typical of his countrymen in having an instrumental agenda: how to rule an empire, if Britain should acquire one? For Blount the ultimate test of successful rule must lie in the great metropolis of Cairo, "clearely the greatest concourse of Mankinde in these times, and perhaps that ever was."[86] Blount reasons that "there must needs be some proportionable spirit in the Government: for such vast multitudes, and those of wits so deeply malicious, would soone breed confusion, famine, and utter des-

83 Blount, Voyage, p. 2.
84 Blount, Voyage, p. 75.
85 Blount, Voyage, p. 107.
86 Blount, Voyage, p. 3.

olation, if in the *Turkish* domination there were nothing but sottish sensualitie, as most *Christians* conceive."[87]

The spirit of civility and openness to outsiders appears to be the key. Blount approves of the speed of execution of the Ottoman legal system, which has advantages over the English system, in which lawyers commonly protract proceedings for profit, sometimes to the detriment of good causes; Ottoman justice is also refreshingly hospitable to foreigners and travelers – "honourable to *Strangers*" – such as himself.[88] Both these features bespeak a cosmopolitanism enabling to both diplomacy and trade.

Blount's account of the Ottoman polity and its seventeenth-century Ottoman upheavals – including regicide – indicates that he was paying attention; it resonates with Baki Tezcan's thesis that dynastic absolutism and feudal ties increasingly gave way to capitalist commercial pressures and the rise of new categories of official within the state bureaucracy, especially self-made men from outside the *devşirme* system, as well as contentious legal reforms.[89]

However, Blount's final judgement is that the Ottomans rule both by love – though this is "applyed to" the Turkish Muslim community only – and by fear. Having found civility, he ends his account with tyranny. Is this conclusion so very far from the accusation of Turkish "barbarous" behavior common in England?[90] Enquiring into Ottoman treatment of minorities or "Sects," Blount takes the Jews as the ultimate test case, devoting some ten pages to them (pp. 113–123), out of 126 pages, and concluding that they have failed to form a "temporall Government of their owne" both because they are "timide" and incapable of soldiering, and because "their extreme corrupt love to private interesse" and their "continuall cheating and malice among themselves" mean they lack the sense of "justice, and respect to common benefit, without which no civill societie can stand."[91] Blount's ultimate "other," then, remains "the Jews," hardly an anomalous position for a European to take up.

Evliya, by contrast, when he describes Jews, though he makes jokes about "Yids" and their "ill-omened" houses and agrees that Jews "have no stomach for a fight and are not swordsmen and horsemen," distinguishes knowledgeably amongst Jewish communities, practices, beliefs, and languages.[92]

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87 Blount, Voyage, p. 3.
88 Blount, Voyage, pp. 91–92.
89 Blount, Voyage, pp. 54–55, 64–65, 92, 95–96, 124–126; Tezcan, Second Ottoman Empire, pp. 1–13 and passim.
90 Blount, Voyage, pp. 90–91, 124.
91 Blount, Voyage, p. 123.
92 See, for example, Dankoff and Kim, Ottoman Traveller, pp. 92, 230, 250.

The "Pax Ottomanica," a concept present in much recent scholarship, "posits that the economic and social stability of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries made the Ottoman lands a relatively safe and secure environment for trade, the flourishing of arts and crafts, peaceful coexistence and settlement, particularly for groups – for example, Jews – for whom the situation in Ottoman lands compared favourably to that in other parts of the world."[93] According to the editors of *Disliking Others: Loathing, Hostility and Distrust in Premodern Ottoman Lands,* this concept has been "over-idealized" in so far as "the relative stability of Ottoman lands at the time did not preclude established or even formal antipathies among groups of people within Ottoman society."[94]

Evliya's *Seyahatname* testifies to both these tendencies: on the one hand, ideals of accommodation and inclusiveness, of affirmative toleration; on the other, failure to practice these ideals, especially when confronted by "established antipathies." Such antipathies and failures were, of course, exacerbated when dynastic and state power came under new pressures during the seventeenth century, as shown by Baki Tezcan.[95] As Ottoman society and the state were transformed during his lifetime, Evliya's stance, derived from conceptions of Süleymanic governance inflected by Sufi dervish ideals, would be largely left behind. Evliya certainly understood this fact, despite his evident hopes.

Both Evliya's *Seyahatname* and Blount's *Voyage,* in their different ways, and in their shared anomalous status, offer us imaginative resources of possible cosmopolitanisms and visions of hospitality not otherwise readily available in early modern Europe.

93 Hasan Karatepe, H. Erdem Çıpa, and Helga Anetshofer (eds.), Disliking Others: Loathing, Hostility and Distrust in Premodern Ottoman Lands (Boston 2018), p. xi.

94 Karatepe et al. (eds.), Disliking Others, p. xi.

95 From an environmental history perspective, both climatic changes leading to scarcity and rebellion (Sam White) and changes in ecological management and modes of production, in accordance with Ottoman and world economic changes (Alan Mikhail), should be taken into account alongside the political changes analyzed by Tezcan in order adequately to understand early modern Ottoman self-transformations; see Alan Mikhail, Under Osman's Tree: The Ottoman Empire, Egypt and Environmental History (Chicago et al. 2017); Sam White, The Climate of Rebellion in the Early Modern Ottoman Empire (Cambridge et al. 2011).

Barbara Haider-Wilson

"Prokesch and Goethe teach traveling like nobody else": Anton Prokesch's Travel Account of the Holy Land (1831)

In the summer of 1829, Friedrich von Gentz (1764 – 1832), a close associate of the Austrian State Chancellor Klemens Wenzel Lothar von Metternich (1773 – 1859), wrote the following lines to a thirty-three-year-old young man from Graz. The addressee, Anton Prokesch (1795 – 1876) with the military rank of captain, had been traveling across the Levant since 1824 on a mission from Vienna. Once again, he earned the recognition of the political elites as a result of his successful diplomatic assignment in the Holy Land, but Gentz requested more: "Your expedition report, however informative it may be, has left me with one major request. Without any doubt, you did not visit such interesting places as St. Jean d'Acre, Jerusalem, Alep[po], Cyprus, Rhodes, etc. without keeping a journal [...]. If you can find the time to put the journal in order, you could make a precious gift of it to me and others of your friends [...]."[1]

The biography of Anton Prokesch von Osten, who died in 1876 after a long career as a diplomat, was strongly influenced by countless (aristocratic) patrons, benefactors, and mentors, but a special call to publish his travel experiences was no longer necessary by July 1829. On reading Prokesch's diary of his travel years,[2] it immediately becomes evident that the author was aiming at an audience and seeking grandeur in his professional life. Consummate social graces and communication skills were indispensable to this goal. When Prokesch returned to the Habsburg Monarchy in the spring of 1830, he did so with a wealth of experience

1 "Ihr Expeditionsbericht, so lehrreich er auch ist, hat mir doch noch einen großen Wunsch zurückgelassen. Ohne allen Zweifel haben Sie so interessante Gegenden, wie St. Jean d'Acre, Jerusalem, Alep[po], Cypern, Rhodus u. s. f. nicht besucht, ohne ein Journal zu führen [...]. Wenn Sie Zeit finden, das Journal in Ordnung zu bringen, könnten Sie mir und andern Ihrer Freunde ein köstliches Geschenk damit machen [...]." Friedrich Gentz to Anton Prokesch, Vienna, 17 July 1829, Vienna, Österreichisches Staatsarchiv, Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv, Nachlass Prokesch-Osten (henceforth NPO), Karton 27, fols. 61r–64v, here fols. 61v–62r. This and all following translations are by this article's author. See also Daniel Bertsch, Anton Prokesch von Osten (1795 – 1876): Ein Diplomat Österreichs in Athen und an der Hohen Pforte. Beiträge zur Wahrnehmung des Orients im Europa des 19. Jahrhunderts (Munich 2005), p. 214.
2 See NPO, Karton 12.

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and the recognition of his emperor. From then on, he was accompanied by his reputation as seaman, traveler, scholar, soldier, and negotiator.[3]

Why is it worthwhile to look at the travel account *Reise ins heilige Land* (Journey to the Holy Land) and at its author Anton Prokesch von Osten in the context of this volume? First, we can proceed from exceptional sources due to the preservation of his estate and compare his published work with diaries and letters. Second, when Prokesch set off for the Holy Land his personality had already been formed by the state of knowledge acquired over several years of journeying.[4] Third, there are good reasons for considering this travelogue about the Holy Land among all the Austrian Orient travelogues of the nineteenth century. The European interest in Palestine reached a zenith after the 1840s as a result of a blend of new technological developments, political events, and historical mentalities. Group travels became more and more popular, culminating in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries with the so-called peoples' pilgrimages (*Volkswallfahrten*, very well-organized groups of 500 participants). This trend had a strong effect on the literary genre of travelogues, which boomed in the nineteenth century. In this context, Prokesch's travel books benefited from their early date of publication at a time when norms and standards were still being set in the genre, and the book market and the reading public were not yet saturated with travel reports about the Orient.

It is significant that the connections between Europe and the Holy Land had never been cancelled completely. Europeans had visited the Holy Land since the fourth century and there had always been a rich travel literature with a focus on religious concerns, mostly simple itineraries or practical travel guides for visiting the Holy Sites. There was less attention paid to the characteristics of the Oriental landscapes and foreign cultures than in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, though.[5] Anton Prokesch was convinced that European civilization had

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3 See Ernst Münch (ed.), Julius Schneller's hinterlassene Werke, vol. 1: Julius Schneller's Lebensumriß und vertraute Briefe mit seiner Gattin und seinen Freunden (Leipzig, Stuttgart 1834), pp. 152–153. Anton Prokesch von Osten was one of the few commoners to be elevated to the status of count in the course of their lives in the Habsburg Monarchy. As early as 1830, he was awarded the Order of Leopold and elevated into the nobility with the title of knight (*Ritter*) "von Osten."

4 Prokesch had discarded "die Brillen [...], wodurch Europa den Orient sieht" (the spectacles with which Europe sees the Orient). Prokesch to Julius Schneller, Golf von Salonnich, 20 August 1828, NPO, Karton 3.

5 See Muhammad as-Sayyid Omar, Anton Prokesch-Osten: Ein österreichischer Diplomat im Orient (Frankfurt am Main et al. 1993), p. 110. Regarding earlier German pilgrim reports see e.g., Reinhold Röhricht and Heinrich Meisner (eds.), Deutsche Pilgerreisen nach dem Heiligen Lande (Berlin 1880).

been in decline for centuries. Therefore, Roman and Greek authors were in general more important to him than his early modern predecessors.

When the title of the present volume poses the question: "On the Way to the '(Un)known'?", this question must be asked with reference to the Holy Land in particular, as for many Europeans it was the land of the Bible and the setting for the Christian history of salvation. Many mental maps were associated with this region over the centuries: "Here, even the unknown was somehow familiar."[6] Viewed as the home of Christians, in the nineteenth century it was referred to with far fewer exotic elements than other regions.

1 The author and his travel experiences

Anton Prokesch's biography reads like a coming-of-age novel.[7] Born to a bourgeois family in 1795, from the age of eleven he attended the *Akademisches Gymnasium* and the *Lyceum* in Graz (Styria, Austria), where the historian and philosopher Julius Franz Schneller (1777–1833) taught world history and the history of the Holy Roman Empire. Schneller, a proponent of the Enlightenment, became a paternal model in Prokesch's youth, which was privately clouded by the deaths of both his parents and coincided with the Napoleonic Wars. In 1815, Schneller, who undertook journeys to Paris, London, Venice, and Belgrade, eventually even married his protégé's stepmother Gabriele (1789–1849).

The young Prokesch was inquisitive and talented. He learnt the classics, Latin and Greek, and then English and French (later also Italian). In addition, he took a keen interest in history, philosophy, physics, and higher mathematics. However, the central focus of grammar school education at the time was on reading the classical authors. Prokesch was an avid reader even at a young age. His preference was for works by poets, but also travel accounts, and he familiarized himself with German, French, and English literature in particular. In this respect, reading circles played a major role in his life. Schneller's reading society, consisting of gifted students, the sons of middle-class families in Graz, and aristocrats, was the first one Prokesch participated in. While garrisoned in Mainz, Prokesch himself founded a reading group. Later in Vienna, another one became established in the house of the Schwarzenberg family, where many important works of contemporary literature were discussed. It was also in the Schwarzenbergs'

6 Yehoshua Ben-Arieh, The Rediscovery of the Holy Land in the Nineteenth Century, 2nd ed. (Jerusalem 1983), p. 12.

7 For Prokesch's biography, including his meeting with Goethe see Bertsch, Anton Prokesch von Osten, pp. 22–40.

house that Prokesch met Friedrich von Gentz and Prince Klemens Wenzel Metternich, two of his many mentors.[8]

Schneller's influence notwithstanding, Prokesch opted professionally for joining the Austrian Imperial Army. This was the reason why he was put under the command of Field Marshal Prince Karl Schwarzenberg (1771–1820), the victorious commander-in-chief against Napoleon. Schwarzenberg's family was subsequently to become a kind of "second home" to Prokesch. When, shortly prior to his death, Prince Schwarzenberg was taking homeopathic treatment in Leipzig, he instructed Prokesch and Count Johann Paar (1780–1839) to visit the famous Johann Wolfgang von Goethe (1749–1832) and wish him well on the occasion of his seventy-first birthday.[9] After the unannounced meeting on 25 August 1820, which lasted deep into the night, Prokesch noted in his diary: "Embraced by him! Splendid day!"[10] The diversity of the topics discussed was in keeping with Goethe's formidable personality. Beyond the difference in age, what linked Prokesch and Goethe was the fact that they were both interested in foreign cultures, that traveling had a profound impact on their lives, and that they met the challenges of editing travel journals. At the time he talked to Prokesch, it had only been a few years since Goethe had first published his *Italienische Reise* (Italian Journey) in 1816/17, although under a different title.[11]

Prokesch's meritorious biographer Daniel Bertsch surmises that his meeting with the German universal genius had a greater impact on Prokesch than he was initially aware of. This judgment is closely associated with another work by Goethe, whose image of the Orient was characterized by high esteem for Islamic poetry and religion. For Goethe, the Orient and classical antiquity were on a par. The young Prokesch, in turn, was enthusiastic about classical antiquity and

8 See Omar, Anton Prokesch-Osten, pp. 13, 15–16, 21, 35; Bertsch, Anton Prokesch von Osten, p. 27.

9 Schwarzenberg's circle had made Goethe's acquaintance in Karlsbad in 1818. See August Sauer (ed.), Goethe und Österreich: Briefe mit Erläuterungen, vol. 1 (Weimar 1902), pp. LXXXI–LXXXVIII, 139–147.

10 "Von ihm umarmt! Herrlicher Tag!" Tagebuch von 1820 und 21, NPO, Karton 12. Prokesch corrected the date of the entry from 24 to 25 August. See also Johann Wolfgang Goethe, Tagebücher, vol. 7, 1/2: 1819–1820, edited by Edith Zehm, Sebastian Mangold, and Ariane Ludwig (Stuttgart, Weimar 2014), pp. 211–212/1220–1222. On 27 August, Goethe's son took Prokesch to Goethe's garden in Weimar and showed him his father's personal album. From it, Prokesch also noted the name of Johann Gottfried Seume (1763–1810), the author of the *Spaziergang nach Syrakus im Jahre 1802* (Walk to Syracuse in the Year 1802), a travel book in a new style. The same day, they also visited the house and the widow of Goethe's friend Friedrich Schiller (1759–1805).

11 "Aus meinem Leben. Zweiter Abteilung Erster und Zweiter Teil." See Johann Wolfgang Goethe, Italienische Reise, edited by Herbert von Einem, 13th ed. (Munich 2016).

open to further inspiration, but without suspending his judgment towards authorities. Thus, it is possible that the private reading from his *West-oestlicher Divan* (West-Eastern Diwan) the admired man held on his visitors' request affected the way Prokesch dealt with the intellectual and material world of the eastern Mediterranean.[12] In 1836, in the home of Prokesch, now Austrian envoy to Athens, Prince Hermann Pückler-Muskau (1785–1871) was reminded of Goethe's household "by the tasteful arrangement of classical fragments".[13]

The first edition of Goethe's *West-oestlicher Divan* had been published in 1819. It is well-known that this late poetic work was inspired by the oeuvre of the Persian poet Hafez (c. 1315/25–1390). However, it is less well-known that Goethe also called the collection of poetry *Reise*. He considered himself a traveler "who inquisitively and with astonishment explores the manners and customs of the Orient, who views what is alien with the object of learning from it and thereby learning to know himself better."[14] In 1773, Goethe had already familiarized himself with Arab and Persian culture for the project of his *Mahomet* drama. Together with the Old Testament, which he read as poetry, as he did the Qur'an, this world was a single cultural sphere for him.

Although Goethe set great store by the *West-oestlicher Divan* within his oeuvre, the young Prokesch did not really warm to it. But Goethe prophesized to his discussion partner: "When you are twenty years older, you will judge differently."[15] By and large, the poet's forecast was correct. A few years later, it was Prokesch who portrayed the Orient in multifaceted literary forms, drawing on experiences he had gained himself and with a different view of cultural "otherness."[16] Prokesch was to spend more than thirty-five years of his life in the Orient and not least through his publications he made a significant contribution to expanding knowledge about it in the Habsburg Monarchy. The foundations for his evolution

12 See Bertsch, Anton Prokesch von Osten, pp. 24–26.

13 "[D]urch die geschmackvolle Disposition antiker Fragmente". Cited after Omar, Anton Prokesch-Osten, p. 59.

14 "[…] der neugierig und staunend Sitten und Gebräuche des Orients erkundet, der das Fremde erschaut, um daraus zu lernen und – um sich selbst besser zu erkennen." Rüdiger Safranski, Goethe: Kunstwerk des Lebens. Biographie, 3rd ed. (Frankfurt am Main 2019), pp. 561 (quotation), 546.

15 "Wenn Sie zwanzig Jahre älter sein werden, werden Sie anders urtheilen." Bertsch, Anton Prokesch von Osten, p. 25. In 1819, Prokesch had already passed a negative sentence on Goethe's *Divan*. See Omar, Anton Prokesch-Osten, p. 34.

16 See Daniel Bertsch, Anton Prokesch von Osten und der Islam, in Karl Peitler and Elisabeth Trinkl (eds.), Anton Prokesch von Osten: Sammler, Gelehrter und Vermittler zwischen den Kulturen. Akten des Internationalen Symposiums Graz, 20.–22. Oktober 2016 (Graz 2019), pp. 94–103, here p. 94.

into a preeminent cultural arbitrator and bridge-builder were laid at an early age through his travel experiences and his special sensitivity towards different cultures and people. In 1823, Prokesch was relocated to Trieste, at the time part of the Austrian Empire, where he was transferred to the navy. The following year, he was granted authorization to use any vessel of the Imperial Navy, his duties still being unclear. Through the mediation of Franz Xaver Freiherr von Ottenfels-Gschwind (1778 – 1851), the Austrian internuncio in Constantinople from 1822 to 1832, soon his mission became to report to the Court War Council (finally to Metternich directly) about the course of the Greek War of Independence. The starting point for all his fact-finding missions and trips was the port of Smyrna.

Prokesch usually held his conversations with his informants in French, Italian, modern Greek, and English. He was not a graduate of the famed Oriental Academy in Vienna and did not command the local languages.[17] Nevertheless, even during his traveling years, which his son viewed as years of diplomatic apprenticeship, he had envisaged Constantinople as a long-term professional goal.[18] Ultimately, he had to bide his time until the Crimean War. But then his tenure in Constantinople (1856 – 1872) outlasted five foreign ministers.

In Vienna, Prokesch's reports, including those concerning Egypt, aroused attention and admiration. Friedrich von Gentz gushed with superlatives: "Prokesch is a diamond of the purest water, one of the rare geniuses that shoot up, abruptly, almost without intermediary steps, to the highest degree of usefulness. What this man has become in two years seems to me like a miracle. The Prince and I gape at each other in astonishment whenever we read his reports and letters. Even quiet Ottenfels can hardly find the words to describe him."[19] The value of Prokesch's reports finally resulted in the length of his sojourn in the Levant being extended to five and a half years; Prokesch himself had initially reckoned on only one year. And although Prokesch, under Schneller's influence, had

17 See Daniel Bertsch, Anton Prokesch von Osten und Griechenland: Vom Kriegsberichterstatter des griechischen Freiheitskampfes zum ersten österreichischen Gesandten in Athen, in H.-D. Blume and C. Lienau (eds.), Der fremde und der eigene Blick: Reisen und Reisende in Griechenland (Münster 2006), pp. 61 – 101, here p. 77; Omar, Anton Prokesch-Osten, pp. 277 – 278.

18 See [Anton Graf Prokesch-Osten] (ed.), Aus dem Nachlasse des Grafen Prokesch-Osten: Briefwechsel mit Herrn von Gentz und Fürsten Metternich, vol. 1 (Vienna 1881), p. X; Bertsch, Anton Prokesch von Osten, p. 222.

19 "Prokesch ist ein Diamant vom ersten Wasser, eines der seltenen Genies, die sich plötzlich, fast ohne Zwischenstufen, zum höchsten Grade der Brauchbarkeit erheben. Was aus diesem Mensch in zwei Jahren geworden ist, erscheint mir wie ein Wunder. Der Fürst und ich staunen einander an, so oft wir seine Berichte und Briefe lesen. Selbst der ruhige Ottenfels findet kaum Worte mehr, um von ihm zu sprechen." NPO, Karton 27. See also Omar, Anton Prokesch-Osten, p. 43.

evolved into anything but a religious zealot, he wanted to seize the opportunity to travel across the Levant for a prolonged period, "so as to see perhaps the holiest places in the world."[20]

In the initial years of his stay in the Orient, homesickness had not been alien to Prokesch, but from the very outset he was fascinated by what was "different" about the Orient. Life was perhaps more pleasant on the streets of Paris and London, he thought, "but educated Europe [...] has too much family likeness. By contrast, the Orient [...] is so very different, in matters both large and small, from the people and states I have otherwise seen that it is highly attractive to observe the development of humankind on the other side of the street."[21] These lines reveal a salient motif in the perception of the Orient up to the mid-nineteenth century. Unlike other regions of the world, the Orient was viewed as a different culture or civilization and hence as a culture parallel to the West.[22]

During his journey through the Levant, Prokesch always adhered to the principle of linking his activity as an informant and war reporter to Vienna to literary, historical, and cartographical work.[23] Originally, Prokesch nurtured the plan of publishing his travel experiences in ten volumes with the preliminary title *Tagebuch meiner Reisen* (Journal of my travels).[24] However, a conflict arose with the Viennese publisher Carl Armbruster (1797–1840) concerning the publication of *Erinnerungen aus Aegypten und Kleinasien* (Memoirs from Egypt and Asia Minor) and the original editorial project failed. Instead, he published three

20 "[...] um die vielleicht heiligsten Stellen der Welt zu sehen." Venice, on 19 June 1824, in Ernst Münch (ed.), Julius Schneller's hinterlassene Werke, vol. 2: Briefwechsel zwischen Julius Schneller und seinem Pflegsohne Prokesch (Leipzig, Stuttgart 1834), pp. 76–79, here 77 (quotation), 76.

21 "[A]ber das gebildete Europa [...] hat doch gar zu große Familien-Aehnlichkeit. Der Orient dagegen [...] ist so sehr, im Großen wie im Kleinen, von Völkern und Staaten, die ich sonst gesehen, abweichend, daß es höchst anziehend wird, der Entwicklung des Menschengeschlechtes auf dieser andern Straße beobachtend zu folgen." Constantinople, 21 Feb. 1826, in Münch (ed.), Julius Schneller's hinterlassene Werke, vol. 2, pp. 117–121, here p. 117.

22 See Andrea Polaschegg, Die Regeln der Imagination: Faszinationsgeschichte des deutschen Orientalismus zwischen 1770 und 1850, in Charis Goer and Michael Hofmann (eds.), Der Deutschen Morgenland: Bilder des Orients in der deutschen Literatur und Kultur von 1770 bis 1850 (Munich 2008), pp. 13–36, here p. 19.

23 See Daniel Bertsch, "Seit ich ein Fremdling in das Zelt Des Beduinen trat, Begreif' ich endlich, was die Welt an Werth und Wahrheit hat!" Der österreichische Diplomat Anton Prokesch von Osten (1795–1876) und das Heilige Land, in Sabine Rogge (ed.), Zypern und der Vordere Orient im 19. Jahrhundert: Die Levante im Fokus von Politik und Wissenschaft der europäischen Staaten. Symposium, Münster 27.–28. Oktober 2006 (Münster 2009), pp. 43–62, here p. 55.

24 The sequence being: Egypt (two volumes), Volume 3: Nubia, Volume 4: Asia Minor, Volume 5: Syria and Palestine, Volume 6: Constantinople, Thracia, Macedonia, Volume 7: Islands, Volumes 8 to 10: Greece.

monographs, one of which was divided into three parts. For *Das Land zwischen den Katarakten des Nil* (The country between the Nile cataracts) and *Reise ins heilige Land*,[25] which will be analyzed here, Prokesch moved to Carl Gerold (1783 – 1854), one of the leading publishers in the Habsburg Monarchy.[26] Gerold had close contacts to German companies, including Cotta in Stuttgart, the most important publisher of contemporary German literature. Carl Gerold's publishing program was strongly marked by the natural sciences and the development of science and technology in general.[27]

Das Land zwischen den Katarakten des Nil and *Reise ins heilige Land* both appeared with the original preliminary title and, like the third volume of the *Erinnerungen aus Aegypten und Kleinasien*, were published in 1831. In Gerold's bookshop on the Stephansplatz in Vienna, *Reise ins heilige Land* could be purchased for 45 kr. C.M.[28] In biographical entries on Prokesch in encyclopedias, his travel works are always referred to as classics of the genre.[29] Amongst other things, his publications made him one of the early authors within the literary genre of "travel diaries" in the nineteenth century. This century provided a new framework: To start with, there were technical inventions which forced changing travel patterns and led to increasing processes of globalization. In addition, there were channels for a much wider diffusion of literary works. At the dawn of the professionalization of the sciences, Prokesch communicated the research he had conducted in the fields of topography, numismatics, epigraphy, archaeology, art, and culture in the form of depictions and observations.[30]

Prokesch's *Reise ins heilige Land* is based on a two-week and a half stay from 13 April to 1 May 1829. This means that his sojourn in Palestine took place only a few years prior to Egyptian rule. The Egyptians were the ones to make conditions

25 A[nton] Prokesch Ritter von Osten, Reise ins heilige Land. Im Jahr 1829 (Vienna 1831).
26 See Bertsch, Anton Prokesch von Osten, pp. 164 – 168.
27 See Ingrid Jeschke, Der Verlag Carl Gerold's Sohn: Seine Bedeutung für die österreichische Literatur der ersten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts (PhD thesis, University of Vienna 1990), pp. 54 – 58. For the famous Johann Friedrich Cotta (1764 – 1832) and his heirs see Reinhard Wittmann, Geschichte des deutschen Buchhandels, 4th ed. (Munich 2019), pp. 150, 239 – 240.
28 See Wiener Zeitung, Allgemeines Intelligenzblatt, 6 December 1832, p. 616.
29 See e. g., Karl Vocelka, Prokesch von Osten, Anton Gf., accessed 4 April 2022, <https://www.biographien.ac.at/oebl/oebl_P/Prokesch-Osten_Anton_1795_1876.xml;internal&action=hilite.action&Parameter=anton%20prokesch>.
30 See Gerhard Seewann, Prokesch von Osten, Anton Graf, accessed 4 April 2022, <https://www.biolex.ios-regensburg.de/BioLexViewview.php?ID=1560>.

for travelers much easier.[31] *Reise ins heilige Land* belongs to two popular genres of the nineteenth century: the genre of travel reports, more specifically travel accounts about the Orient, and the text corpus of the so-called Palestine literature. The latter included articles, periodicals, and all varieties of books dealing with the topic of Palestine and regarded as beneficial to understanding it.[32] Growing academic interest, but also the increase in pilgrims' literature, contributed a great deal to the boom in this text corpus. However, *Reise ins heilige Land* aimed at a more elitist audience. On returning from the Levant, Prokesch was highly in demand as a knowledge broker in aristocratic and bourgeois circles in Vienna. Here, he could also disseminate his travel books; he presented Princess Melanie Metternich (1805–1854), for instance, with a copy of his *Reise ins heilige Land*.[33] With his mind still in the Orient, he adroitly drew attention to himself by making gifts of coveted souvenirs from the Holy Land.[34] Thus, it came to pass that the later Emperor Franz Joseph (1830–1916) was baptized with water from the Jordan that Prokesch had taken with him.[35]

2 The travelogue

On his journey, Prokesch was everywhere in search of the relics of classical antiquity.[36] At the same time, his travel account of the Holy Land refers to the Christian motif of pilgrimage. The very use of the term "Holy Land" in the title indicates that the author takes a particular stance. It is certainly no coincidence that Prokesch coordinated his diplomatic mission with the opportunity to spend Easter, the most popular season for pilgrimages, in Jerusalem.[37] The

31 In his travelogue, in which he mentions Muhammad Ali of Egypt (1769–1849) in two passages, Prokesch himself spoke of a land in a permanent state of war. See Prokesch, Reise, pp. 127, 128, 147.

32 See Markus Kirchhoff, Text zu Land: Palästina im wissenschaftlichen Diskurs 1865–1920 (Göttingen 2005), p. 13.

33 See Prokesch an Gentz, 29 March [1831], in [Prokesch-Osten] (ed.), Aus dem Nachlasse, vol. 1, pp. 422–423.

34 For the purchase of devotional objects in Bethlehem see Prokesch, Reise, p. 118; Verzeichniß, NPO, Karton 2.

35 For Prokesch's meeting with Archduchess Sophie (1805–1872) on 10 May 1830 see Mein Tagebuch 1828–1830, fol. 368, NPO, Karton 12; Omar, Anton Prokesch-Osten, p. 53.

36 A few times, the Crusades of the Middle Ages are also mentioned in the context of dating the remains of buildings. See Prokesch, Reise, first on p. 30.

37 However, Prokesch did not omit to mention that Muslims celebrated holy feasts in Jerusalem at the same time. See Prokesch, Reise, p. 74.

cover names “A. Prokesch Ritter von Osten, Austrian major” as being the author. The very fact that the work is prefaced with a psalm from the Old Testament shows that Europeans travelled with the Bible in their hands. The first sentence, “The surface of the Earth is an open book”, is hardly suitable for producing tension, but highly typical of the age. The paragraph ends with an explanation of what made up the fascination of the Holy Land for Prokesch. For him, it was one of those pages of the book of the earth that grip “the eyes in admiration, in astonishment and awe” and whose “ancient text eternally breaks through the overlay of later centuries.”[38]

Reise ins heilige Land is a continuous account in report form, without any subdivisions into chapters. Whenever a narrative perspective is taken, it is “we,” “I,” “you,” or “one.”[39] The 148 printed pages correspond to pages 197 to 248 in Prokesch’s diary.[40] The inhomogeneous structure of the text sometimes even creates the impression of stylistic inconsistency. Different textual building blocks were put together, usually without transitional sentences and always aiming at different purposes.[41] A few years after the meeting described above and shortly prior to his departure to the Levant, Prokesch had given Goethe a copy of his recently published *Denkwürdigkeiten aus dem Leben des Feldmarschalls Fürsten Carl zu Schwarzenberg* (Memorable moments from the life of Field Marshal Prince Carl zu Schwarzenberg, 1823). The verdict the Renaissance man pronounced on the first monographic work penned by Prokesch can easily be transferred to the structure and hence the literary quality of *Reise ins heilige Land:* “the good author,” in Goethe’s words, “lacks a certain higher aesthetic education, which gives one the ability to make a unified whole out of existing parts.”[42]

Anton Prokesch was very well-read and certainly a man with literary ambitions. Since his early youth, for instance, he had tried his hand at poetry. Poems have survived from his traveling years in the Orient,[43] and from Jerusalem, letters have been preserved to Julius Schneller and Princess Maria Anna Schwarzenberg

38 “Die Oberfläche der Erde ist ein aufgeschlagenes Buch. […] den Blick in Bewunderung, in Staunen und Ehrfurcht, und ihr uralter Text bricht unvergänglich durch die Überlage der späteren Jahrhunderte.” Prokesch, Reise, p. 5.
39 See Omar, Anton Prokesch-Osten, p. 280.
40 Mein Tagebuch 1828 – 1830, NPO, Karton 12.
41 See Veronika Bernard, Österreicher im Orient: Eine Bestandsaufnahme österreichischer Reiseliteratur im 19. Jahrhundert (Wien 1996), pp. 8 – 9.
42 “[…] dem guten Verfasser fehlt […] eine gewisse höhere ästhetische Bildung, wodurch man in den Stand gesetzt wird, aus vorliegenden Theilen ein Ganzes zu schließen und abzurunden.” Cited after Omar, Anton Prokesch-Osten, p. 33.
43 For Prokesch’s poetry from the Holy Land see Bertsch, Anton Prokesch von Osten, pp. 294, 296 – 297.

(1768 – 1848). In general, his letters display great vividness.[44] In keeping with the genre, in *Reise ins heilige Land* he adhered quite strictly to the non-literary field, confining his literary claims to the individual use of picturesque verbs or operating with colors (a reference to Romanticism) in the course of describing landscapes (e. g., grey for the environs of Jerusalem[45]). Although Prokesch was not a professional writer, in view of the prescribed character of linguistic and stylistic creativity at his time, literary activity was regarded as something that could be acquired. The outcome consisted of texts that sometimes endeavored to be literary, but at the same time had scholarly claims, ultimately turning out to be of a documentary nature.[46] It is not least due to the ensuing limitation of subjectivity and emotionality that the later Orientalist horror at the real state of reality in the Holy Land plays no role in Prokesch's work. Since the author of *Reise ins heilige Land* sought extra precision in his landscape descriptions, the image of the whole becomes blurred through its very accuracy and detail.[47] But we owe to Prokesch's gift of observation one of the best portrayals of conditions in the Church of the Holy Sepulcher, the most famous sacred site in Christianity.[48]

There is no travel account about the Holy Land that does not focus on Jerusalem. In Prokesch's account of the history of Jerusalem,[49] it becomes clear where his interests lay. One hundred and nine lines cover the time from Jerusalem's first mention in the Bible up to the Crusades, whilst only eleven lines are devoted to the modern period. But, all the same, as in the descriptions of other cities, there are up-to-date population figures: according to this information, a total of 21,000 inhabitants included 8,000 Muslims, 3,000 Greek Orthodox, 5,000 Jews, 4,000 Armenians, and about 1,000 Catholics and Maronites. On seeing the Holy City for the first time, Prokesch used a comparably subdued emotional expression, only to word a stronger reaction a few pages later: "You cannot stand on this spot, which, in historical terms, is the mother of one of the

44 See NPO, Karton 3 and 6. See also Schneller to Rotteck, Freiburg, 18 September 1829, in Münch (ed.), Julius Schneller's hinterlassene Werke, vol. 1, pp. 384 – 385, here p. 385. Alexander von Warsberg also appreciated Prokesch's letters more than his other literary products. See A[lexander] W[arsberg], Graf Prokesch-Osten. I., in Beilage zur Allgemeinen Zeitung, 17 December 1876, pp. 5385 – 5387, here p. 5386.

45 See Omar, Anton Prokesch-Osten, pp. 281, 289. For the environs of Jerusalem see Prokesch, Reise, p. 44. In Prokesch's description, green strips run through the otherwise grey color of the landscape. See also pp. 81 – 82.

46 See Bernard, Österreicher im Orient, pp. 2, 7 – 9.

47 See Omar, Anton Prokesch-Osten, p. 288.

48 See Prokesch, Reise, pp. 51 – 54.

49 See Prokesch, Reise, pp. 44 – 49. In this section (p. 45), Prokesch refers to a work of his own, i. e., the second volume of his *Erinnerungen aus Aegypten und Kleinasien*.

greatest world transformations, without the mind being overwhelmed by the most profound earnestness, clothing it in the hues of the landscape itself."[50]

Muhammad as-Sayyid Omar has analyzed the extent to which Prokesch edited the diary entries for publication. Whereas the relatively frequent abridgements in the diary were all resolved in the published version, in some passages amendments can be discerned in terms of diction and style, but only few intrusions as regards content.[51] Prokesch describes what he experiences and sees. The descriptive passages and meticulous historical digressions may both seem at least long-winded to readers today. At the very beginning of the book, in the name of scholarship, Prokesch discusses on more than five pages the different names of his destination (from "Holy Land", via "The Land of Israel" to "Palestine").[52] Up to the period of the British mandate, there was no political entity called Palestine, but after 1516/17 all of it was part of the Ottoman Empire.[53] That Palestine belonged to the Ottoman Empire is mentioned as little by Prokesch as by the vast majority of his fellow travel writers in the nineteenth century.[54] Because of what he saw, he comments at one point: "The sultan is only nominally master of this land."[55]

Ultimately, the text should be examined from several perspectives. First, it is a travel account of the format and size of a paperback that has the very clear claim to be used as a tourist guide.[56] The real or only imaginary traveler is provided with all kinds of useful information. We find, for instance, references to the *Casae Novae* of the Franciscans as the only accommodation available to travelers then. Prokesch also gives indications of time and distances between places and

50 "Man kann nicht auf dieser Stelle stehen, die, geschichtlich betrachtet, die Mutter einer der größten Weltumwandlungen ist, ohne daß tiefer Ernst das Gemüth überkomme und es in die Farbe der Landschaft selbst kleide." Prokesch, Reise, pp. 42, 44, also 122.

51 See Omar, Anton Prokesch-Osten, pp. 255 – 261.

52 See Prokesch, Reise, pp. 5 – 10.

53 However, the relationship between Europe and the Ottoman Empire experienced a fundamental change around 1800. See Jürgen Osterhammel, Die Entzauberung Asiens: Europa und die asiatischen Reiche im 18. Jahrhundert, 2nd ed. (Munich 2010). Not feared anymore, the latter was seen by many as being in a weak (international) position. In contrast to the prevailing opinion, Anton Prokesch von Osten was convinced until his death of the importance of the existence of the Ottoman Empire and its inner strengths.

54 The monograph by Barbara Haider-Wilson, *Österreichs friedlicher Kreuzzug 1839 – 1917: Das Heilige Land in Außenpolitik, Gesellschaft und Mentalitäten der Habsburgermonarchie* (Vienna 2021), discusses, amongst other sources, more than 100 travelogues from the nineteenth century.

55 "Der Sultan ist nur dem Namen nach Herr in diesem Lande." Prokesch, Reise, p. 142.

56 See Ernst Czerny's appraisal of Prokesch's travelogues about Egypt: Ernst Czerny, Anton Prokesch von Osten und sein Beitrag zur frühen Ägyptologie, in Peitler and Trinkl, Anton Prokesch von Osten, pp. 154 – 177, here p. 159.

warnings when there is no water in a region. That such an approach can also involve risks for reception is shown by Julius Schneller's criticism of the first volume of *Erinnerungen aus Aegypten und Kleinasien:* "The book is informative, accurate, useful for any traveler, as practicable on the Nile as a signpost on the Rhine from Mainz to Bingen. What you wanted to do, you have achieved perfectly. But readers do not want a signpost for Egypt; they want either sublime reflections or profound emotions."[57]

In *Reise ins heilige Land*, the demand for "sublime reflection" is ensured by the second main strand of the narrative, as it was extremely important to the author to provide scholarly contributions towards researching the Holy Land. This implied, above all, identifying and visiting as many biblical locations as possible. In this context, Prokesch wrote some Arabic village names according to the acoustic impression made by the pronunciation of local informants.[58] He ranked among the pioneers of surveying the Holy Land by pacing along and around buildings etc., with a major physical effort, and recording the measurements. He was constantly on the lookout for inscriptions, and even his interest in numismatics can be glimpsed in *Reise ins heilige Land*.

However, at no time can a book about Palestine dispense with the dimension of religion. For the journey to Jerusalem, a caravan came together, consisting of Catholics, Greek Orthodox believers, Armenians, and Muslims, which caused Prokesch to exclaim in astonishment: "all united in a pilgrimage to one and the same spot, the Holy Sepulcher!"[59] In Jerusalem, too, Prokesch experienced the peaceful coexistence between Muslims and Christians, whilst he did not shy away from pillorying the envy and hatred between the Christian confessions, especially in the Church of the Holy Sepulcher. His view of the arbitrating role of the Ottoman administration on this confrontational soil could only be a positive one: in his narrative, hatred and envy are contrasted with composure and dignity.[60] Nevertheless, he was one of the first to inform the interested public in the

57 "Das Buch ist lehrreich, genau, brauchbar für jeden Reisenden, auf dem Nile so anwendbar, wie man auf dem Rheine einen Wegweiser von Mainz bis Bingen hat. Was Sie wollten, haben Sie vollkommen geleistet. Aber die Lesewelt will bei Aegypten nicht einen Wegweiser; sie will entweder eine hohe Betrachtung oder eine tiefe Empfindung." Freiburg, 22 September 1829, in Münch (ed.), Julius Schneller's hinterlassene Werke, vol. 2, pp. 350–355, here p. 351.

58 See Omar, Anton Prokesch-Osten, p. 115.

59 "[…] alle zur Pilgerschaft nach der einen und selben Stelle, dem heiligen Grabe, vereiniget!" Prokesch, Reise, pp. 39–40. See also p. 35. On the Jordan, too, he watched Christians, Muslims, and Jews bathing with the same devotion (p. 138).

60 See Prokesch, Reise, pp. 52–53, also 64, 122. Unlike many of his successors, Prokesch did not write in disgust about the Greek and Armenian fire ceremony in the Church of the Holy Sepulcher, but saw it as being the "Reste uralter, längst verschwundener Religionen" (vestiges of an-

Habsburg Monarchy about the financial difficulties of the Franciscans in the Holy Land[61] – for a long time the only representatives of Catholicism there. What is also well known is his depiction of the awarding of the Order of the Holy Sepulcher by the head of the Franciscan Custody in the Holy Land, which was disrupted by the loud clattering of horses' hooves. Prokesch had the text of the award certificate published in his travel book.[62] But the few drawings from his diary, produced by Prokesch himself for want of an artist,[63] were not included in the published version.

If we wish to understand Prokesch's stance towards religion,[64] we must look at his first formative teacher, Julius Schneller, by birth and upbringing a Catholic. Schneller retained an appreciation of the spirit of Christianity and an attachment to the Catholic faith. But along the lines of the Enlightenment, he particularly esteemed the ethical values of Christianity and therefore the basic doctrines common to all the confessions. In short, Schneller was quite indifferent to doctrinal differences among various confessions.[65]

In his *Reise ins heilige Land*, Schneller's stepson constantly quotes the Bible, but also occasionally refers to the Qur'an and the Talmud, and that is what forms his approach. Just how much he admired the Qur'an can be gathered, for instance, from a diary entry of 11 June 1829: "On this journey, I again read the whole Quran, to my great satisfaction. How little we know about this admirable book back home [...]!"[66] Prokesch was open-minded about the cultural value of the Qur'an, in which he also saw a reader in the manners and customs of the Arabs. In his mindset, all religions had their justifications, yielding significant values for the functioning of social coexistence.[67] Due to its genesis, the language of the Qur'an and the geographical location of the Holy Sites, in the history of its reception Islam had an Arab origin, but was simultaneously perceived

cient, long bygone religions). Prokesch, Reise, p. 58. See also Bernard, Österreicher im Orient, p. 68.

61 Prokesch, Reise, pp. 113 (regarding the monastery and church in Bethlehem), 123. See also Prokesch to Princess Nani Schwarzenberg, Jerusalem, 22 April 1829, NPO, Karton 6.

62 Prokesch, Reise, pp. 102–109. See award certificate, NPO, Karton 16.

63 See Bertsch, Anton Prokesch von Osten und Griechenland, p. 97.

64 See Bertsch, Anton Prokesch von Osten, pp. 536–598.

65 See Andreas Posch, Julius Schneller, ein Grazer Historiker zwischen Aufklärung und Liberalismus, in Zeitschrift des Historischen Vereines für Steiermark 48 (1957), pp. 3–21, here 7–8.

66 "Während dieser Reise auch den ganzen Koran wieder gelesen und zwar zu großer Befriedigung. Wie wenig kennt man dieses achtungswerthe Buch bei uns [...]!" Mein Tagebuch 1828–1830, fols. 287–288, NPO, Karton 12.

67 See Bertsch, Anton Prokesch von Osten und der Islam, pp. 95–96.

as being even more the religion of "the Turks."[68] This also worked the other way round in the sense that in his *Reise ins heilige Land* Prokesch frequently employed "Turkish" as a synonym for "Muslim." Whereas he regarded the centuries "when religion occupied the hearts and minds of Christians in all freshness"[69] as long bygone, he thought Muslims by no means lax in matters of religion,[70] something that he appreciated.

The numerous references to earlier authors should be placed in the context of Prokesch's claim to scholarship, representing not least a demonstration of his erudition. Authors of travel accounts of the Orient always linked their own impressions to earlier authors by way of comparison.[71] Among the authors of classical antiquity, Omar identified seven Greek writers (including Herodotus [c. 485 – 424 BCE], Manetho [third century BCE ?], Pausanias [c. 115 – 180], Polybios [c. 200 – 120 BCE], and Strabo [c. 63 BCE – 23 CE]), and four Roman ones (Eusebios of Caesarea [c. 260 – 339], Flavius Josephus [c. 37/38 – 100], Pliny the Elder [23/24 – 79], and the church father St. Jerome [c. 347 – 420]), all of whom Prokesch mentions or quotes in his *Reise ins heilige Land*. But Prokesch also used some works by medieval authors (including the Arab writers al-Idrisi [c. 1100 – 1166] and Abu'l-Fida [1273 – 1331]) and modern writers (including the English traveler Henry Maundrell [1665 – 1701] and the Dutch theologian and Orientalist Hadrian Relandus [1676 – 1718], who never left the Netherlands). As regards the nineteenth century, names such as François-René de Chateaubriand (1768 – 1848) or James Silk Buckingham (1786 – 1855) show the pioneering role of the French and the English in the genre of travel literature regarding Palestine at that juncture and reflect its international interconnectivity.[72]

In many accounts of travels to the Holy Land in the nineteenth century, concern with the knowledge corpus of the Western world takes up more space than engaging with the locals in the Holy Land. This was also true to some degree of Prokesch's travelogue. However, the people in the Holy Land are not absent from the narrative, but come to our attention as representatives of the Ottoman admin-

68 See Andrea Polaschegg, Der andere Orientalismus: Regeln deutsch-morgenländischer Imagination im 19. Jahrhundert (Berlin, New York 2005), p. 88.
69 "[W]o die Religion in voller Frische Herz und Einbildung der Christen beschäftigte […]." Prokesch, Reise, p. 67, see also p. 73.
70 See Prokesch, Reise, p. 26.
71 See Bernard, Österreicher im Orient, p. 137.
72 See Omar, Anton Prokesch-Osten, pp. 110 – 113. For general remarks see Bernard, Österreicher im Orient, pp. 137 – 141, 222 – 231.

istration, as European Franciscan monks,[73] and as the elders and inhabitants of Bedouin villages. Whereas Prokesch stresses the (much more frequent) friendly reception on the part of the population in his account,[74] he prefers to leave the occasional hostile reception, with stones thrown by women as well as by men, without any comment.[75] In *Reise ins heilige Land*, the "other" is seen in the people and their architecture, in the landscape and nature. Against the backdrop of his critical stance of his own civilization, the author is usually fascinated by cultural "otherness,"[76] recording his observations in the awareness of a constitutive link between the Orient and the Occident.

On page 10, we find a succinct explanation for Prokesch's mission to the Holy Land,[77] which was to become one of the final stages on his journey: the suppression by the Pasha of Acre, Abdallah (b. 1801), of Christians and Jews, who were under the protection of the Austrian emperor as a result of capitulation treaties from earlier centuries.[78] He had even compelled the Austrian Vice Consul Antonio Catafago (d. 1841) to flee to Nazareth together with his family[79] and had the Austrian flag torn down from the consulate building. It was to take until the 1840s, which marked a significant turning point in the European presence in the Holy Land, for an Imperial-Royal (vice) consulate to be established in Jerusalem (1849). The fact that the pasha of the town of Acre, which is steeped in history,[80]

73 In Nazareth Monastery, which he describes as being spacious and like a fortress, Prokesch met a father superior from Moravia. At that time, Nazareth asserted itself in a kind of autonomy from the Pasha of Acre. See Prokesch, Reise, p. 131.

74 Depicting the friendly reception in a Bedouin village, the headmen of which offered Prokesch and his fellow travelers the mosque as overnight accommodation: "Wir wurden weder durch Neugierde, noch Mißtrauen, noch durch Zudringlichkeit geplagt." (We were inconvenienced neither by curiosity, nor suspicion, nor intrusiveness). Prokesch, Reise, p. 26. See also pp. 41, 112, 123, 126, 137, 139 – 140.

75 See Prokesch, Reise, pp. 36, 74, also 82. The depiction of the hazards of the sea voyage is in striking contrast to this reticence (pp. 11 – 14).

76 See Bertsch, Anton Prokesch von Osten, pp. 71 – 132.

77 For Prokesch's special mission to the Holy Land see also Bertsch, Seit ich ein Fremdling, pp. 46 – 54; Bertsch, Anton Prokesch von Osten, pp. 197 – 213.

78 The best-known were the treaties of Karlowitz (1699), Passarowitz (1718), Belgrade (1739), and Sistov (1791). See Barbara Haider-Wilson, Das Kultusprotektorat der Habsburgermonarchie im Osmanischen Reich: Zu seinen Rechtsgrundlagen und seiner Instrumentalisierung im 19. Jahrhundert (unter besonderer Berücksichtigung Jerusalems), in Marlene Kurz et al. (eds.), Das Osmanische Reich und die Habsburgermonarchie. Akten des internationalen Kongresses zum 150-jährigen Bestehen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung Wien, 22.–25. September 2004 (Vienna 2005), pp. 121 – 147.

79 See Prokesch, Reise, p. 132. Prokesch met Catafago in Nazareth (pp. 129 – 130).

80 For Prokesch's military appraisal of the fortress there see Prokesch, Reise, p. 145.

was initially reluctant to receive Prokesch provided the latter with the opportunity to travel through the region on horseback.[81] At the end of the book and in keeping with the diary entries, the meeting with Abdallah is finally depicted.[82] Prokesch's reflections on his original expectations in the context of experiencing this personal encounter are characteristic: "I expected to see a sinister man, from whose eyes the blood stains could never be washed away […]. Sitting on the divan […], I found an amiable man, not more than thirty-three years old […]."[83] The amiable man handed Prokesch a bunch of roses. Against the backdrop of his experiences on the journey and with his distinctive tact, the Austrian negotiator managed to present all his demands to the Pasha of Acre and have them met.

At that time, as Prokesch explained, he had already formed an understanding of diplomatic negotiations in the Orient:

> In the Orient, all business is contingent on form, and even the most difficult deal will succeed if the form is not breached. Suspicion of Europeans is too strong for them easily to achieve their goals through written negotiations; but in an oral meeting and by adhering to the customary calm, serenity, and consideration a deal cannot be made more easily with anyone than an oriental, since, with very few exceptions, the foundations of his character are based on truthfulness.[84]

This passage already reveals everything that was to make up the future diplomat Prokesch von Osten. It is by no means devoid of stereotypes, but in the case of Prokesch these testify to his fundamentally positive stance towards the "other," be it the Orient *per se*, the people there, or a specific personality. Two additional components should also be mentioned in this context. Prokesch was one of those people whose image of the Orient was formed from criticism of their

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81 See Prokesch, Reise, pp. 21–23. See writ of protection for Prokesch from the Pasha of Acre, NPO, Karton 16.

82 Prokesch, Reise, pp. 142–144.

83 "Ich erwartete einen finsteren Mann zu sehen, aus dessen Augen die Flecken des Blutes nicht wegzutilgen wären […]. Ich fand auf dem Divan sitzend […] einen freundlichen Mann, nicht über drei und dreißig Jahr[!] alt […]." Prokesch, Reise, p. 143.

84 "So sehr hängt im Orient jedes Geschäft an der Form, und auch das schwierigste gelingt, wenn diese nicht verletzt wird. Das Mißtrauen in die Europäer ist zu groß, als daß diese durch schriftliche Unterhandlung leicht zum Ziele kommen; aber im mündlichen Zusammenseyn, in Beobachtung der landesüblichen Ruhe, Heiterkeit und Schonung ist mit Niemanden leichter ein Geschäft glücklich zu Ende zu bringen, als mit dem Morgenländer, da, mit sehr seltener Ausnahme, die Grundlage seines Charakters die Wahrhaftigkeit ist." Prokesch, Reise, p. 144.

own civilization.[85] Moreover, he set forth as a philhellene, to return as a friend of "the Turks."[86] With a solemn farewell and Prokesch's departure for Cyprus,[87] the book analyzed here has an open ending, so to speak.

In November 1831, there appeared a generous review in the periodical journal *Wiener Zeitschrift für Kunst, Literatur, Theater und Mode*, in which Prokesch himself had published since 1824.[88] It justifiably stressed the sections concerning Jerusalem, and, unsurprisingly, the reviewer hoped for further publications of Prokesch's diary. In the light of public interest in the geography of the Bible, the work could be certain of broad attention. The European (scholarly) reception repeatedly referred to the rather slender scope of *Reise ins heilige Land*, which was translated into Czech in 1836 and into Danish in 1839. As the issue of the authenticity of the sacred sites was moving more and more into focus, in Protestantism especially, the new geographical information was also appreciated by Palestine scholars such as the Swiss Titus Tobler (1806–1877) or the American Edward Robinson (1794–1863). Prokesch's travelogue was indeed readily employed for private journeys and, in keeping with the genre, had a long-term impact. Jacques Mislin (1807–1878), for instance, one of the best-informed travelers who made the journey from the Habsburg Monarchy to the Holy Land in the 1840s and 1850s, referred to Prokesch in his work. However, despite his aim for accuracy, Prokesch had made errors concerning locations, which were corrected by later authors such as Joseph Salzbacher (1790–1867).

The discourse within the growing body of travel literature on the Orient in the course of the nineteenth century is characterized by intertextual references and quotations. This approach indicates not only the great interest in and the circulation of the texts, but also demonstrates the contemporary understanding of a static Orient.[89] In such an interpretation, descriptions by earlier travelers retained their validity.[90] Nevertheless, at his post in Athens Prokesch called on the Graz-born Maria Schuber (1799–1881) to use her pilgrimage of 1847/48 to

85 See Bernard, Österreicher im Orient, pp. 45, 50.
86 See Bertsch, Anton Prokesch von Osten, pp. 79–88.
87 See Prokesch, Reise, pp. 147–148.
88 For the reception of *Reise ins heilige Land* see Bertsch, Anton Prokesch von Osten, pp. 213–220; Bertsch, Seit ich ein Fremdling, pp. 54–58. See also NPO, Karton 3.
89 When Prokesch is having a meal with a few Maronite priests in Bethlehem, he comments: "Es war mir als säße ich mit Abraham zu Tische." (It felt as if I were sitting at the table with Abraham). Prokesch, Reise, p. 117.
90 See Caroline Herfert, Orient im Rampenlicht: Die Inszenierung des Anderen in Wien um 1900 (Berlin 2018), p. 51.

write her own travel report: "to express her observations and views frankly and regardless of other travel descriptions, be they his own".[91]

3 A yearning for the Orient

None other than Alexander von Humboldt (1769–1859) described Prokesch as "a perfect explorer, if ever there was one".[92] The Orientalist Jakob Philipp Fallmerayer (1790–1861) expressed the opinion that Prokesch's travel accounts constituted "a model of reliable accuracy and comprehensive brevity".[93] The travel writer Alexander von Warsberg (1836–1889), whom Prokesch met decades later in life, added a further aspect in his detailed obituary for Prokesch: "[…] they teach us how to view the Orient. Whoever does not do it the way these books show, casting his eyes everywhere, keeping them open and receptive to everything, should stay at home […]. […] Prokesch and Goethe teach traveling like nobody else."[94] Warsberg, almost a son to the old Prokesch, reported that Prokesch was unfamiliar with fatigue or exhaustion, always traveling with the best map and binoculars[95] within reach. Nothing escaped his eyes, and in the evenings "the first thing he did […] was to set down in detail in pen and ink in his diary or in letters to friends the key words he had noted underway in pencil."[96]

91 "Beobachtungen und Meinungen unumwunden ohne Rücksichten auf andere Reisebeschreibungen auszusprechen und sei es auch die seinige". Maria Schuber, Meine Pilgerreise über Rom, Griechenland und Egypten durch die Wüste nach Jerusalem und zurück. vom [!] 4. October 1847 bis 25. September 1848 (Graz 1850), pp. V, 371 (quotation).

92 "[E]inen vollendeten Forschungsreisenden, wenn es je einen gegeben hat". Cited after Omar, Anton Prokesch-Osten, p. 61.

93 "[Ein] Muster zuverlässiger Genauigkeit und allessagender Kürze". A[lexander] W[arsberg], Graf Prokesch-Osten. II., in Beilage zur Allgemeinen Zeitung, 20 December 1876, pp. 5429–5431, here p. 5430.

94 "[…] man lernt durch sie[,] wie man den Orient zu sehen hat. Wer es dort nicht so macht[,] wie diese Bücher weisen, so überall das Auge hingerichtet, so es für alles offen und empfänglich haltend, der bleibe zu Haus […]. […] Prokesch und Goethe lehren wie kein anderer das Reisen." W[arsberg], Graf Prokesch-Osten. II., pp. 5430–5431.

95 See e.g., Prokesch, Reise, p. 77.

96 "[W]ar es sein erstes […], die mit dem Bleistift unterwegs festgehaltenen Schlagwörter mit der Feder und der Tinte in dem Tagebuch oder in Briefen an Freunde breiter auszuführen". W[arsberg], Graf Prokesch-Osten. II., p. 5431. For the friendship between Prokesch and Warsberg see Bertsch, Anton Prokesch von Osten, pp. 437–447. For the influence of Prokesch's views on Warsberg see Bernard, Österreicher im Orient, p. 115.

Prokesch and Goethe did not meet again after August 1820 but had an intensive exchange then. Despite a life rich in meetings, the younger man never forgot this specific one.[97] He read the poet's works again and again. In their travelogues, we can follow how both men, the great writer and the future diplomat, at different times underwent the essential experience of any genuine traveler: the enrichment of one's own personality. However, the experience of "otherness," which always serves as a mirror to the "self," ultimately estranged Prokesch from his original home in the Habsburg Monarchy. With a pessimistic view of history and ensuing doubts concerning Western civilization,[98] throughout his life he was remote from the feeling of supremacy usually displayed in European perspectives on the Ottoman Empire, especially in the later nineteenth century.[99] As early as 1825, he had written in a letter: "The European thinks he alone gives laws to the world, and his standards of value and happiness are the only valid ones."[100]

When the celebrated Goethe died on 22 March 1832, Anton Prokesch von Osten was on a second diplomatic mission to the Papal State, as he had been during the publication of his *Reise ins heilige Land*. On 5 April, he noted in his diary: "He is said to have died on the 22nd! Can such an intellect have been extinguished?"[101] For Prokesch, the Orient was and remained that space, or rather that "constructed geo-civilizational entity"[102] that was never to let him go: "On

97 See Omar, Anton Prokesch-Osten, p. 34; also Münch (ed.), Julius Schneller's hinterlassene Werke, vol. 2, passim. In view of Prokesch's diverse interests, his first biographer, Anton Berger, saw himself induced to make a comparison with Goethe: "Prokesch hatte gleich Goethe das Verlangen, stets ins Ganze zu arbeiten, stets auf die großen Zusammenhänge zu achten, und so das Einzelne im Großen wiederzufinden." (Like Goethe, Prokesch had the desire to work towards the whole, always to heed the overall context and thus to re-discover the detail in the whole). Anton Berger, Prokesch-Osten. Ein Leben aus Altösterreich (1795 – 1876) (Graz, Vienna, Leipzig 1921), p. 23.

98 See Friedrich Engel-Janosi, Die Jugendzeit des Grafen Prokesch von Osten (Innsbruck 1938), p. 168.

99 For a description of the generation to which Prokesch belonged see Osterhammel, Die Entzauberung Asiens, pp. 377 – 378.

100 "Der Europäer glaubt, er allein gebe der Welt Gesetze und sein Maßstab des Werthes wie des Glückes sey der allein richtige." Prokesch to Princess Carl zu Schwarzenberg, Nauplia, 15 October 1825, NPO, Karton 2.

101 "Am 22. soll er gestorben sein! Kann ein solcher Geist denn ausgeloschen seyn?" Tagebuch 1831 – 1833, fol. 225, NPO, Karton 12.

102 Almut Höfert and Armando Salvatore, Beyond the Clash of Civilisations: Transcultural Politics between Europe and Islam, in Almut Höfert and Armando Salvatore (eds.), Between Europe and Islam: Shaping Modernity in a Transcultural Space (Brussels et al. 2000), pp. 13 – 35, here p. 34.

20 January of the year 1830, Prokesch landed in Trieste. He was freezing to the bone on returning home. He never really warmed to it again. He had become an alien, at home abroad. His heart was with the Orient and its peoples, and any love, any faith that is acquired is more eagerly nourished than the one you are only born with."[103]

The analysis of travelogues over the centuries shows that the Holy Land had a special place in this relationship beyond state borders and continents. When one is familiar with the specific features of the Holy Land in this genre, on the one hand the diversity of the counter-concept of the Orient shows up. This result thwarts nineteenth-century Orientalism. On the other hand, the fact that there was a distinct Habsburg Orientalism was only revealed long after Edward Said.[104] The traveler, author, and diplomat Prokesch-Osten was one of its prominent actors.

103 "Am 20[.] Januar des Jahrs 1830 landete Prokesch in Triest. Es fror ihn beim Wiederbetreten der Heimath. Ganz warm ist ihm dort nie wieder geworden. Er war ihr fremd, der Fremde heimisch geworden. Sein Herz hing am Orient und seinen Völkern, und jede Liebe, jeden Glauben[,] den man sich erworben, hegt man eifriger als den nur mitgebornen." A[lexander] W[arsberg], Graf Prokesch-Osten. III., in Beilage zur Allgemeinen Zeitung, 22 December 1876, pp. 5465–5468, here p. 5465.

104 See Johannes Feichtinger, Komplexer k.u.k. Orientalismus: Akteure, Institutionen, Diskurse im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert, in Robert Born and Sarah Lemmen (eds.), Orientalismen in Ostmitteleuropa: Diskurse, Akteure und Disziplinen vom 19. Jahrhundert bis zum Zweiten Weltkrieg (Bielefeld 2014), pp. 31–63; Johannes Feichtinger, Nach Said. Der k. u. k. Orientalismus, seine Akteure, Praktiken und Diskurse, in Clemens Ruthner and Tamara Scheer (eds.), Bosnien-Herzegowina und Österreich-Ungarn, 1878–1918: Annäherungen an eine Kolonie (Tübingen 2018), pp. 307–324. With good reason, as early as 1996, Veronika Bernard already looked for the specific features of Austrian travel literature on the Orient: Bernard, Österreicher im Orient.

Christine Kämpfer and Stefan Knost

A Reluctant Observer Between Two Empires? The Travels of the Botanist Carl Haussknecht to the Ottoman Empire and Qajar Persia (1865 and 1866 – 1869)

The regions of West Asia and North Africa, making up the so-called "Orient" (as a mid-nineteenth century traveler would have called it), have ever since been a destination for European travelers from various backgrounds.[1] Those who traveled the region in this period witnessed the West Asian empires in a period of transition and their travelogues provide us with valuable information on the region's path to modernity. A particularly interesting decade was the 1860s, a period marked by major developments in the policies of the two main regional powers – the Ottoman Empire and Qajar Persia. To counter the intensifying European domination, the two empires engaged in several reforms aiming at developing a stronger, more centralized state structure. At the same time, both empires accelerated integration into the globalized world economy, with some regions being better integrated through modern means of transport and a developing export-oriented cash crop economy, and others remaining peripheral.[2]

It was in exactly this decade that a young German botanist named Carl Haussknecht (1838 – 1903) (Fig. 1) set out on a botanical expedition leading him through both the Ottoman Empire and Qajar Persia. On his way he observed the empires' endeavors to negotiate their place in the newly globalized world system, and he might have been reminded of the situation in his homeland, with the German lands also being well on the road towards modernization and nation-statehood. Being a scientist, Haussknecht proved to be a rather unusual type of traveler, crossing the boundaries of disciplines – not just collecting plants but also impressions and snapshots of the places he found himself in. In these foreign countries Haussknecht negotiated his own identity, and the strategies he applied are particularly reflected in his encounters with "otherness,"

1 The present text was written within the framework of the project "The travels of the botanist Carl Haussknecht (1838 – 1903) into the Ottoman Empire and Persia (1865 and 1866 – 1869): The commented digital edition of his diaries", funded by the German Research Foundation (DFG), grant number 318862275.

2 James L. Gelvin, The Modern Middle East: A History (New York et al. 2005), pp. 69 – 71.

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which this article will discuss, drawing from the text corpus of his unpublished travel diaries.

Introduction – Carl Haussknecht and his travel diaries in context

Carl Heinrich Haussknecht was born on 30 November 1838 in the remote village of Bennungen in Prussian Saxony, into an upper-middle-class Protestant family.[3] Prussia at that time was one of many kingdoms, duchies, and city-states that constituted the territory of present-day Germany. After completing his education, young Haussknecht trained as a pharmacist and set off to Switzerland as a journeyman. There he made a rare botanical discovery, namely he found a plant in an area where it had not been recorded before,[4] which put him in contact with other famous botanists of his time. In November 1863, the Swiss botanist Edmond Boissier (1810 – 1885) contacted Haussknecht offering to sponsor botanical expeditions to West Asia. Boissier at that time was working on his massive plant encyclopedia *Flora Orientalis* and wanted Haussknecht to collect plants that would enrich the work. Haussknecht accepted the offer but first finished his degree in pharmacy at the University of Breslau (Wrocław). In 1864 he returned to Weimar, completing his travel arrangements before setting off on his first journey to the Ottoman Empire in February 1865. The itinerary led him to areas that today belong to northern Syria and southeastern Turkey, before returning to Geneva in December 1865 and determining the collected plant material. Again, he set out in November 1866 to the Ottoman Empire, continuing to Persia and returning to Germany in March 1869 via Baku and Tiflis.

3 The biography of Haussknecht is already well covered by previous publications, in particular: Friedrich Karl Meyer, Carl HAUSSKNECHT, ein Leben für die Botanik, in Haussknechtia 5 (1990), pp. 5 – 20; Frank H. Hellwig, Carl Haussknecht (1838 – 1903): Forschungsreisender und Gründer des Herbariums Haussknecht, in Ingrid Kästner and Jürgen Kiefer (eds.), Botanische Gärten und botanische Forschungsreisen: Beiträge der Tagung vom 7. bis 9. Mai 2010 an der Akademie gemeinnütziger Wissenschaften zu Erfurt (Aachen 2011), pp. 393 – 412; Frank Hellwig, Carl Haussknecht: Ein biographischer Überblick, in Kristin Victor (ed.), Carl Haussknecht: Ein Leben für die Botanik. Festband anlässlich der Ausstellung zum 175. Geburtstag des Botanikers Carl Haussknecht "Durchs Wilde Kurdistan … Carl Haussknechts Forschungsreisen in den Orient" in der Thüringer Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Jena vom 30.11.2013 bis 1.3.2014 (Jena 2013), pp. 10 – 13.

4 He identified a plant of the umbellifers family, named *Trochiscanthe* in French (*Radblüte* in Gerrman). See e.g. Siegmund Seybold et al., Der große Zander. Enzyklopädie der Pflanzennamen, vol. 2: Arten und Sorten (Stuttgart 2008), p. 1795.

After his return, Haussknecht first worked as a pharmacist in Weimar but he soon dedicated his professional life completely to botany, worked as a private scholar, and received the honorary title of professor. In 1873, the Persian monarch Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh (1831–1896) decorated him with the Imperial Order of the Lion and the Sun during his visit to Germany, an honor for foreigners who had rendered distinguished services to the Persian Empire. Finally, on 18 October 1896, Haussknecht inaugurated his own herbarium in Weimar, which quickly developed into a renowned research center for Oriental botany. After his death on 7 July 1903, his family converted the *Herbarium Haussknecht* into a foundation, and in 1949 it was transferred to the University of Jena.[5]

During his first expedition, Haussknecht collected thousands of plant specimens: in total more than 400 new species have been described based on Haussknecht's findings.[6] The non-botanical material Haussknecht provides us with is also rich. His travel diaries alone comprise around 1,000 pages neatly written in *Kurrent* (a cursive German handwriting), complemented by notebooks and other material. He also collected *cartes de visite* and carried a friendship book (*album amicorum*) with him in which travel acquaintances would write lines as a keepsake.[7] Furthermore, he collected a wide variety of items, including, for example, coins, snails, and archaeological finds. Special items among the latter are two clay bricks with cuneiform writing and a clay copy of the *Ganjnama inscription* by Xerxes I (486–465 BCE), taken by Haussknecht himself during his stay in Hamadān.[8]

Haussknecht prepared himself meticulously for his journey, including reading contemporary travelogues as well as works on archaeology and geography, among them Carl Ritter's (1779–1859) monumental *Erdkunde*[9] (Geography),

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5 Hellwig, Carl Haussknecht, pp. 10–13; Hans-Joachim Zündorf, Das Herbarium Haussknecht in Vergangenheit und Gegenwart, in Victor (ed.), Carl Haussknecht, pp. 74–81.

6 Frank Hellwig and Kristin Victor, The Botanist Carl Haussknecht (1838–1903) in the Ottoman Empire and Persia (1865 and 1866–1869): A Biographical Sketch and Itinerary of His Expeditions, in Ines Aščerić-Todd et al. (eds.), Travellers in Ottoman Lands: The Botanical Legacy (Oxford 2018), pp. 147–157, here p. 154.

7 A separate study of Haussknecht's *cartes de visite* in the larger context of nineteenth-century social image practices was done by Matthias Gründig, Der Schah in der Schachtel: Soziale Bildpraktiken im Zeitalter der Carte de visite (Marburg 2016).

8 Hellwig and Victor, The Botanist Carl Haussknecht, p. 153.

9 Carl Ritter, Die Erdkunde im Verhältniß zur Natur und zur Geschichte des Menschen, oder allgemeine vergleichende Geographie als sichere Grundlage des Studiums und Unterrichts in physicalischen und historischen Wissenschaften (1st ed. in 2 vols., Berlin 1817–1818, 2nd substantially enlarged and revised ed. in 19 vols., Berlin 1822–1859), vol. 11 treating upper Mesopotamia was

Fig. 1: Ernst Queck, *Photograph of Carl H. Haussknecht* (Weimar 1892).
Source: © Herbarium Haussknecht, Friedrich-Schiller-Universität Jena.

from which he noted down extracts of the areas he planned to visit in his itinerary.[10] In addition, Haussknecht also got in touch with botanists who had traveled to the region before and who could provide him with useful information. Among these were Theodor Kotschy (1813–1866), who worked in Vienna and

probably part of Haussknecht's luggage on his first journey, because he occasionally mentions having consulted it (for example on 21 March 1865).

10 Elisabeth Müller and Kristin Victor, Reisevorbereitungen, in Victor, Carl Haussknecht, pp. 24–25, here p. 24.

had been to the Ottoman Empire and Persia, and Carl Heinrich Koch (1809–1879), who had traveled across Anatolia and Transcaucasia. The latter advised him in a letter from 1864 that he should introduce himself as a doctor, a *ḥakīm*, looking for medicinal plants on the orders of his sultan, both explanatory categories local people were acquainted with. On his advice, Haussknecht also compiled lists of Turkish vocabulary, but he never set out to study an "Oriental" language seriously.[11]

We should also note here that the nineteenth century was the peak of travel literature, mainly resulting from two overlapping trends: the aftermath of the so-called "Grand Tour" and exploration outside of Europe. The purpose of the Grand Tour was to round the education of young men; it was both an ideological exercise and social ritual, leading them to the centers of European culture.[12] The era of exploration goes hand in hand with imperialistic ideas; as a result, travel writing was increasingly identified with the interests of European powers and their wish to influence and dominate the non-European world.[13] This travel trend quickly became institutionalized by scientific societies, the most famous being the Royal Geographic Society that heavily promoted travel. In this effort to imperialize science for the benefit of overseas expansion, travelogues played a crucial role and returning explorers were expected to publish their scientific report to their sponsor society, preferably in the form of a book.[14]

Haussknecht, however, against earlier plans, decided not to publish his travel diaries. In these, we do encounter discourses that are characteristic of travelogues from that period, but the differentness of Haussknecht's travel notes outweighs the similarities with his contemporaries. His undertaking is unusual since, on Boissier's orders, he did not embark on one of the pre-established itineraries along the caravan routes of West Asia that previous travelers had relied on. What sets his travel notes apart from contemporary travelogues is that they cover both urban and rural areas, depicting not only different geographical but also social landscapes. As a matter of fact, Haussknecht met a variety of people from all backgrounds of the local population. His inability to communicate directly with locals increased his feeling of foreignness, of alterity. Thus, we notice that in his conception of foreignness and closeness, social class becomes the decisive factor of identity. Class equals here Pierre Bourdieu's definition of "class

11 Hellwig and Victor, The Botanist Carl Haussknecht, pp. 149–154.
12 James Buzard, The Grand Tour and After (1660–1840), in Peter Hulme (ed.), The Cambridge Companion to Travel Writing (Cambridge 2002), pp. 37–52, here p. 38.
13 Roy Bridges, Exploration and Travel Outside Europe (1720–1914), in Hulme (ed.), The Cambridge Companion, pp. 53–69, here p. 53.
14 Bridges, Exploration and Travel, pp. 53, 60–62.

on paper," what denotes "a set of agents who occupy similar positions and who, being placed in similar conditions and submitted to similar types of conditioning, have every chance of having similar dispositions and interests, and thus of producing similar practices and adopting similar stances."[15] Class inequalities have their roots in the hierarchically differentiated nature of taste and preferences, a process that happens below the levels of language and consciousness.[16] Based on his privileged social affiliation, Haussknecht confronts this feeling with a special mindset and various strategies, which we want to show by highlighting his encounters with three major groups that he came across throughout his journeys.

The first group is composed of several communities of "Oriental Christians", as Christianity is a category Haussknecht knows, that he himself belongs and relates to. The second group of people we would like to focus on comprises the tribes, since they constitute the most "exotic" group for a European traveler and offer an excellent opportunity for ethnographic observation. The last group we have selected includes government officials and people representing the monarchy, because they represent the most privileged group of society and the agents of the modernizing state. Furthermore, the strategies Haussknecht applies might shed a light on his self-perception. The question of whether he identified himself first as "German," or as "Saxon," "Prussian." or "European" remains open, one that his writings and his encounters with "others" might enlighten.

1 The reluctant observer – otherness and closeness

Haussknecht was only twenty-six years old when he set out on his first journey. Although he had certainly traveled in Europe a lot more than most people his age at that time, venturing into the Ottoman Empire and Persia was yet another dimension, where he could no longer rely on his linguistic and cultural skills (like in Switzerland), and had to bridge the gap between preconceived expectations (nurtured from his reading of travel books and correspondence with other travelers) and the "reality" he was exposed to. His first encounter with the "Orient," when his ship called at the port in Izmir (Smyrna) on 15 February 1865, shows him hesitating: "Smyrna offered a beautiful sight from the ship; the

15 Pierre Bourdieu, Language and Symbolic Power (Cambridge 1991), p. 231.
16 Pierre Bourdieu, La distinction, critique sociale du jugement (Oxford 1984), p. 467.

mountains covered with fresh greenery and the cemetery at the right of the city planted with slender cypresses, the slender minarets etc. gave it a picturesque appearance."[17]

Despite these encouraging words, once he set foot on land he did not venture straight into this new strange world, but instead went to the bookshop of "Brother Janson," and, together with "Friend Kuhn" – freemasons like Haussknecht himself – spent the rainy day in the coffeehouses drinking "beer from Vienna."[18] The evening was reserved for a performance of the opera *Norma*[19] by a touring Italian company. Haussknecht is very critical of the quality of the performance, comparing it with the opera house in his hometown Weimar.

Haussknecht's curiosity was not broad enough to pass the invisible border between the Frankish quarter and the old town of Izmir (Smyrna) with its uncomfortable "narrow alleys": "The narrow alleys are stifling for us Europeans, so that one spontaneously directs one's steps into the open outside the city."[20] He keeps this careful and distant attitude for some time, as his diaries show for the rest of the journey towards Aleppo.

17 "Smyrna [Izmir] bot einen sehr schönen Anblick vom Schiff aus dar, die mit frischem Grün bedeckten Berge, rechts von der Stadt der mit schlanken Cypressen bepflanzte Gottesacker, die schlanken Minarets etc. geben ihr ein malerisches Ansehen." Carl Haussknecht, Tagebuch_1_01_007 (15 February 1865), in Frank H. Hellwig et al. (eds.), Digitale Edition der Reisetagebücher Carl Haussknechts (1838–1903): Osmanisches Reich und Persien (since 2017), accessed 4 April 2022, <http://haussknecht.thulb.uni-jena.de>. All translations from the travel diaries are the authors'. For a better readability, we omitted line numbers and editorial comments from the citations. In the German citations, names of places and persons are kept in the form Haussknecht wrote them down, with correct spelling, and contemporary place names added in brackets. The English translations use the current English or contemporary place names.

18 It seems that beer from Vienna was a well-known brand by Haussknecht's time. This fact is linked to innovation in beer brewing during the nineteenth century, particularly the "lager beer" with a better taste that could be stored longer. This facilitated its transport over longer distances. The brewery of Anton Dreher (1810–1863) in Klein-Schwechat near Vienna was particularly successful in this regard. From 1840 onwards he founded a number of breweries all over the Habsburg Empire. One brewery in Trieste allowed the export to the Mediterranean region and beyond. See Christian M. Springer, Wolfgang Ladenbauer, and Alfred Paleczny, Wiener Bier-Geschichte (Vienna et al. 2017), pp. 25–26, 187–198.

19 The opera *Norma* by Vincenzo Bellini (1801–1835) was premiered on 26 December 1831 at Milan's La Scala. The melodrama in two acts takes place in Gaul around 50 BCE. See Norma von Vincenzo Bellini, in opernführer. the virtual opera house, accessed 4 April 2022, <https://opera-guide.ch/operas/norma/>.

20 "Die engen Straßen haben etwas sehr beengendes für uns Europäer, unwillkührlich lenkt man seine Schritte nach dem Freien außerhalb der Stadt." Carl Haussknecht, Tagebuch_1_01_008 (15 February 1865), accessed 4 April 2022.

Haussknecht was now traveling in societies that, unlike his native central German lands, were marked by a high degree of social plurality: the people he encountered spoke different languages and considered themselves as belonging to different ethnicities, following different religions and sects, leading a sedentary or nomadic life, or were strangers like himself. Haussknecht was thus perceived by the different people he encountered with different degrees of "strangeness."

The Ottoman Empire and Persia had developed strategies to accommodate "strangers" into their system. Part of this was a particular legal status (*musta'min*) that provided a "stranger" with a certain security (*amān*) to travel and engage in business and other activities in the country. These procedures included the issuing of documents, such as a *farmān*[21] or a *buyuruldu*.[22] The two empires fostered an image of being "welcoming, open" spaces that considered cultural pluralism an important feature.

2 Popular religion and practices?

2.1 "Oriental" Christianity – Greek-Orthodox baptism in Diyarbakır

Haussknecht was of Protestant Prussian denomination and he was a child of his time. He was also deeply influenced by his social background, belonging to a bourgeois family of large landowners, and his modern secular education. However, Prussian society was shaped by a strong Protestant-Calvinist ethos. The pietism that accompanied it emphasized a lifestyle characterized by thriftiness, self-control, conscientiousness, seriousness, professionalism, and diligence, and thus corresponded to bourgeois virtues.[23] Thus, Haussknecht displays an unfavorable, often arrogant, attitude to what he perceived as superstition, ignorance, lack of education, or irrational behavior in general. One "target" of this criticism was the Christian communities living in the Ottoman Empire and Persia. The

21 A *farmān* is an edict or order issued by the Ottoman sultan bearing his cypher (*tughra*). U. Heyd, Farmān, ii. – Ottoman Empire, in Encyclopaedia of Islam, 2nd edition (Leiden et al. 2012), accessed 4 April 2022, <https://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/farman-COM_0213#d14272449e1086>.

22 A *buyuruldu* (Turkish for: "it has been ordered") was a document issued by provincial authorities. In Haussknecht's case, it was a kind of travel permit.

23 Hans J. Hillerbrand, Staatliche Tugendlehre und Theologische Ethik im Preußen des 19. Jahrhunderts, in Zeitschrift für Religions- und Geistesgeschichte 53/1 (2001), pp. 1–17, here p. 10.

most numerous were the Armenian and Orthodox ones, with their respective "Uniate" Catholic branches. Protestant missionaries were active in the cities of Eastern Anatolia, and by the time of Haussknecht's visit they had established flourishing parishes among the local Armenians.

Most of Haussknecht's contacts among local Christians were with these two communities. During his visit in Diyarbakır on his first trip, he had the occasion to attend a Greek-Orthodox baptism. He does not explain the circumstances of his presence, but since other foreigners were present as well, his hosts probably belonged to the merchant milieu. We may suppose that most Greek-Orthodox in Diyarbakır at that time belonged to Arab families with links to Aleppo. This is how he describes the occasion:

> Here I had occasion to attend a Greek-Orthodox baptism. [...] The baptism happened in the house, all the family gathered in a big room; [...] Godmothers were two Italian ladies, one of them Madame Cooper. Finally, the priest appeared, a little old man with a long grey beard, in a garment whose original color was not recognizable because of the dirt. [...] after he had prepared himself with several rakis, [...] [h]e took an old greasy prayer book, from which he read aloud in Arabic, but so fast that even those speaking Arabic did not understand a word. He also addressed a lot of questions to the two non-Arabic speaking ladies, after each question he did blow[24] on each of the godfathers from both sides, likewise he did blow on the four corners of the room, to drive out the devil. [...] Everyone present received two candles, but I gave them to my neighbor, it was too boring for me. [...] [W]hen he took the child and dropped it three times into the basin, I thought the child would drown, which in fact not infrequently happens it seems. [...] Then, he continued to read aloud for some time, during the pauses two choristers sang screaming, all the time swinging incense burners, so that the whole room was full of smoke. Hereupon everything was packed again, he took off his fool's dress and sat comfortably with the others in the courtyard, where they drank coffee and raki. The whole scene was funny, and I could not hide my laughter.[25]

24 It is uncertain, if he did only blow air, or if this remark alludes to the use of incense in the ceremony.

25 "Hier hatte ich auch Gelegenheit, einer griechisch-orthodoxen Taufe beizuwohnen. [...] Die Taufe geschah im Hause. In einem großen Zimmer versammelten sich alle Angehörigen; [...] Pathen waren 2 Italienerinnen, die eine Mad. Cooper. Endlich erschien der Priester, ein alter kleiner Mann mit langen grauen Barte, in einem Gewande, dessen ursprüngliche Farbe vor Schmutz nicht mehr zu erkennen war. Er war gefolgt von einem Diener, der ein großes Paquet auf der Schulter trug; nachdem er sich erst mit einigen Raki's zum Werke vorbereitet hatte, [...] [e]r nahm dann ein altes schmiriges Gebetbuch, aus dem er lange Zeit in arabischer Sprache vorlas, aber so rasch, daß selbst die arabisch redenden kein Wort verstanden. Auch richtete er eine Menge Fragen an die beiden nicht arabisch redenden Damen, worauf er nach jeder Frage jede der Pathen von beiden Seiten anblies; ebenso blies er auch die 4 Gegenden des Zimmers an, um den Teufel auszutreiben. [...] Jeder der Anwesenden erhielt 2 brennende Wachslichter in die Hand, ich gab sie aber meinem Nachbar, es war mir zu langweilig. [...] [A]ls er das nackte Kind nahm und 3mal im Kessel untertauchte; so daß ich glaubte, das Kind müsse ertrinken, Despite his display of superiority vis-à-vis the spectacle he attended, his observations are characterized by a lack of understanding of the particular ritual and the relation between the priest and the community, mainly due to the absence of communication. Haussknecht probably did not inquire about the spectacle. This distanced attitude was characteristic of the first months of his first journey, as we have already mentioned. However, he does not treat all local Christians alike. The efforts of the American missionaries receive positive comments, since "these missions are the first cornerstone towards civilization of the completely neglected people."[26]

2.2 "Oriental" Christianity – Armenian wedding in Isfahan

Haussknecht's itinerary in Persia relied heavily on the transportation system of the mounted couriers (*chāpār*s) and, while on the road, he spent most nights in relay stations (*chāpār-khānah*s) and caravansaries. Iṣfahān was the only city on his route in which he took up quarters in a Catholic monastery in Julfā, the Christian quarter south of the Zāyandah Rūd river. It was here that he had the opportunity to join an Armenian wedding, which seems to have been rather traumatizing, concluding his grotesque description in his diary entry of 22 February 1868:

> Various musicians on drums, whistles, and cither [*santūr*][27] made such an infernal noise that my ears hurt, while the wild screaming of the drunken men did not make a very good impression, drinking and making noise was all. Finally, a tall person wrapped in white cloth came in dancing with a rack, then lay down on the floor while others lay over her in the most immoral way. The women were all very quiet in the other half of the room. [...] On their heads they had wrapped colored cloths that also covered the neck. Almost everyone had the white cloth in front of their mouths. A lot of sweets and roasted salted peas were presented, and finally a big bowl of henna mash to color the nails. Shooting and fireworks in the yard. Around midnight we set off for the groom's

was wirklich auch nicht selten vorkommen soll. [...] Er las dann noch eine Zeit lang; zwischen den Pausen 2 Chorknaben schreiend sangen, die die ganze Zeit über Räuchergefäße schwangen, so daß das ganze Zimmer von Rauch erfüllt war. Hierauf wurde alles wieder eingepackt, er zog seine Narrenkleider wieder aus und setzte sich dann mit den Andern ganz gemüthlich in den Hof, wo sie Kaffe und Raki tranken. Diese ganze Scene war natürlich zum Lachen, was ich mir auch nicht verbergen konnte." Carl Haussknecht, Tagebuch_1_04_055/56 (early November 1865), accessed 4 April 2022.

26 Carl Haussknecht, Tagebuch_1_02_004 (25 March 1865), accessed 4 April 2022.

27 The *santūr* is a trapezoidal instrument that is strung with seventy-two strings. These are struck with two thin wooden hammers called *miżrab*, which are held with three fingers of each hand.

> house, where it was the same as in the other house, only here the men were predominant, therefore much more noise, despite the presence of the two Armenian priests. I soon got bored with this, so I left around 2 o'clock, but the others stayed until daybreak, when the ceremony took place. It goes on like this for three nights. What a difference between civilized and barbaric peoples![28]

Wedding ceremonies belong to the most indigenous rites of a society and they offer a precious source for cultural observations, but Haussknecht is just disgusted and backs off. In this situation, in which he is unable to communicate and therefore participate, he succumbs to the taste of his class, and that is incompatible which what he observes. As a reaction, Haussknecht devaluates the ceremony, like the one before in Diyarbakır, and takes over the role of the reluctant observer. The unrestrained behavior of the guests and the groom becomes a quality that creates a split between him and the others, whom he regards as a homogenous mass. The episode illustrates how deeply Haussknecht identifies with the values of his class and how this mindset prevents him from communication with the locals.

2.3 Popular religion and practices – the Islamic side

This perception of religion is not only reserved for Christians, but also for the – very infrequent we have to say – descriptions of Muslim rituals. Here we should take into consideration that before his travels he did not have any firsthand experience of the Muslim religion. What he might have known certainly stemmed

28 "Verschiedene Musikanten auf Trommeln, Pfeifen und Schlagcither machten einen solchen Höllenlärm, daß mir die Ohren weh thaten, dabei das wüste Geschrei der betrunknen Männer machen keinen vortheilhaften Eindruck, Trinken und Lärmmachen war alles. Endlich kam eine hohe in weißes Tuch eingehüllte Person mit einem Gestell tanzend herein, legte sich dann auf den Boden, während andre sich darüber legten in der unsittlichsten Weise. Die Frauen verhielten sich alle sehr ruhig, in der andern Hälfte des Zimmers. [...] Auf dem Kopf hatten sie farbige Tücher geschlungen, die den Hals zugleich einwickelten. Das weiße Tuch hatten fast alle vor dem Munde. Eine Menge Süßigkeiten und gebrannte Salz-Erbsen wurden präsentirt, endlich auch eine große Schüssel voll Hennabrei zum Färben der Nägel. Schießen und Feuerwerk im Hofe. Gegen Mitternacht brachen wir zum Hause des Bräutigams auf, wo es ebenso zuging, wie im andern Hause, nur waren hier die Männer überwigend, daher noch viel mehr Lärm, trotz der Gegenwart der 2 armenischen Priester. [...] Mir wurde diese Sache bald langweillig und zog mich daher gegen 2 Uhr zurück, doch die andern blieben bis zum Tagesanbruch, wann die Ceremonie statt fand. So geht es 3 Nächte hindurch. Welch Unterschied zwischen civilisirten und barbarischen Völkern!" Carl Haussknecht, Tagebuch_2_07_014/015 (22 February 1868), accessed 3 April 2022.

from other travelogues that he consulted to prepare for his trip. One aspect, however, of performed Islamic religion, was often addressed in travelogues: Sufism. This form of Islamic mysticism, particularly the institutionalized versions of Dervish orders, attracted foreign observers. This might be the reason why Haussknecht relates in detail a ceremony that he observed in Viranşehir, situated halfway between the cities of Şanlıurfa and Mardin:

> A dervish from Bagdad on pilgrimage to Mecca, who introduced himself as an important sheikh, sang the whole evening religious hymns to Muhammad, and when he almost could not sing anymore, he suddenly jumped up, grabbed his scourging instrument (a sharp one-foot long iron with a big iron button and attached chains) and made a gesture as if thrusting it deep into the stomach, whereupon he fell down with a big howl and a dull sound, and – he wanted to make us believe – he rolled on the ground in pain and then suffered an apparent fit, uttering 'Allah' duly from time to time. Soon he recovered and smoked his chibouk contentedly.[29]

What he describes is a ritual called *ḍarb al-shīsh* in Arabic, the penetration of the body with sharp instruments (Fig. 2), until today widely performed in Syria and neighboring countries, mostly in rural settings, often by communities associated with the Rifāʾiyya dervish order. Here again, Haussknecht is a reluctant observer, interested enough to document his observations, but lacking curiosity or attention to detail.

3 Tribes

3.1 Bedouin hospitality

Haussknecht does turn into an involved observer on occasion, for example when he comes into contact with tribes, particularly Bedouins, but also Kurdish tribes in the Ottoman Empire. He describes their hospitality, manners, etc., rather pos-

29 "Ein auf der Pilgerfahrt nach Mekka begriffner Derwisch von Bagdad, der sich aber für einen großen Schech ausgab, sang fast den ganzen Abend religiöse Lieder von Muhammed, und als er fast nicht mehr konnte, sprang er plötzlich in großer Aufregung auf, ergriff sein Geisel-instrument (ein spitzes, fußlanges Eisen mit großen Eisenknopf, an dem Ketten hingen) und machte die Gebarde, als stieß er sich dasselbe tief in den Bauch, worauf er mit großen Geheul und dumpfen Tönen niederstürzte und sich, wie er wollte glauben machen, vor Schmerz auf dem Boden wälzte und dann in eine Schein Ohnmacht verfiel, von Zeit zu Zeit dumpfe Töne Allah ausstoßend. Bald kam er aber wieder zu sich und rauchte ganz gemüthlich seine Tschibuk." Carl Haussknecht, Tagebuch_2_01_090 (29 March 1867), accessed 4 April 2022.

Fig. 2: Dervish *shīsh* (pike), Aleppo, probably early twentieth century.
Source: Photograph and © Stefan Knost, 2020 (Rahden, Germany).

itively. In addition, and this illustrates again the importance of reciprocity, he is treated with great respect. Despite the general rules of Bedouin hospitality, to which Haussknecht refers in the diary, this treatment is due to his special status as a *ḥakīm*. Interestingly, this contrasts with most of his descriptions of small villages, where he often spends the night and complains of dirt, vermin, and inhospitality.

We may also identify a certain fascination with the strange and unfamiliar tribal "lifestyle" of the nomadic societies he encounters, as shown in the following passage:

> The Beni Said Arabs, who have been here for a long time, had pitched their black tents around the large ruins. Manbij. We ride through the ruins and arrive finally at the big tent of Sheikh Damur ibn Fachal el Chalil [Shaykh Damūr ibn Fakhr al-Khalīl], […]. Arriving at the tent, the Sheikh came out straightaway and addressed to me his '*marḥaba*' and '*tafaḍḍal,'* cushions and mattress were prepared for me, so I had to sit down immediately, because the Arabs consider it important that someone sits down to rest at once. Immediately a huge fire fumed […] a negro roasted coffee in front of us, pounded it in a big wooden mortar with a coarse wooden club. When the water boiled, he did put a quantity of coffee into it, let it boil several times then rest, whereupon he poured the coffee into a second pot, boiled again and added fresh coffee, he repeated that several times with a third pot, that the coffee prepared in this way is not weak (*Blümchenkaffee*) is easy to guess. The main persons were now assembled in a circle around us, I lay down on a mattress with silk cushions at my back and the sides, next to me Shaykh Damūr, a strong tall man of c. forty-eight years, black beard and brown complexion, wearing the ordinary Arab dress, with a red *ʿabāʾ* over that. […] All were wearing the keffiyes, you did not see the fez. An old Arab told stories from the old Manbij, and when I replied to the Sheikh that I really like it here, he replied proudly: 'Yes, I surely believe so, that is Manbij.' His son had not even traveled as far as Bab.[30]

30 "Rings um die große Trümmerstätte hatten die Beni Said-Araber [Banī Saʿīd] ihre schwarzen Zelte aufgeschlagen, die hier seit langer Zeit schon ihren Aufenthalt haben. Membidsch [Manbij]. Wir durchreiten die Trümmer und kommen endlich zum großen Zelte des Schech Damur ibn Fachal el Chalil [Shaykh Damūr ibn Fakhr al-Khalīl], […]. Vor dem Zelte angelangt, kam der Schech sogleich heraus und rief mir sein Merhawa [*marḥaba*, Arabic for: "welcome"] und dfatal [*tafaḍḍal*, Arabic for: "please, come in, sit down"] entgegen, Kissen und Matratze waren gleich für mich zurecht gelegt, und so mußte ich gleich Platz nehmen, denn die Araber halten viel darauf, daß man sich gleich niederlasse zum Ausruhen. Augenblicklich dampfte ein mächtiges Feuer […] vor uns auf; ein Neger röstete gleich Kaffee vor unsern Augen, stampfte ihn dann in einem großen hölzernen Mörser mit grober Holzkeule. Als das Wasser kochte, schüttete er eine Portion Kaffee hinein, ließ es einige Male aufkochen und dann absetzen, worauf er den Kaffee in eine 2te Kanne goß, aufkochte und wieder frischen Kaffee zufügte, dis wiederholte er noch einmal mit einer 3ten Kanne; daß der Kaffee auf diese Art kein Blümchenkaffee zum Vorschein kam, ist leicht zu errathen. Bald waren die Hauptpersonen im Kreise um uns versammelt; ich lag auf einer Matratze mit seidnen Rücken- und Seitenpolstern, neben mir Schech Damur, ein großer

3.2 The Lurs in Persia

Due to the *chāpār* system, Haussknecht's contact with locals decreased when traveling in Persia. In Qalʿah-yi Galbūr, close to Tasūj in the Zāgrus Mountains, he pays an official visit to the governor, Sulṭān Uvays Mīrzā (1839 – 1892)[31], who then invites the German *ḥakīm* to join him and his entourage on a hunting trip. A local leader of the Lurs accompanies the group and it is here that Haussknecht spends time with a tribe, but still his description of the tribe is rather short and unromantic, as this representative diary entry from 21 July 1868 shows:

> The Lurs are brave and intrepid warriors; they go to war naked, without shoes, only with a cloth wrapped around their loins, the shotgun hanging over their backs, the wooden powder horn hanging from the leather belt. In the previous year, when Qashqāʾī people had arrived in the Kūh Kīlūya territory, 1,000 Lurs chased away 8,000 Qashqāʾī'. At the back they never cut their hair, which usually curls down; their beards black, usually curly; every fourteen days they wash their hair with sour milk.[32]

He continues describing the Lurs' wedding traditions, but in a rather unemotional and respectful manner. Again, he is unable to communicate with the locals, at least not without his translator, but he does not fall back into disgust, as previously in Julfā. The reason for this might be due to two factors: first, as tribes they constitute a group outside of his hierarchical class perception, and second, the tribes are not a group he is meeting for the first time, therefore he has lost his initial fascination for them. Hence, in the different stages of "otherness," the

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starker Mann von ca. 48 Jahren, schwarzer Bart und braune Gesichtsfarbe; er trug die gewöhnliche arabische Kleidung, mit einem rothen Abbas [probably an *abā*, a traditional cloak] darüber. [...] Alle trugen die Keffiyes, den Fez sah man gar nicht. Ein alter Araber erzählte Geschichten von dem alten Membidsch, und als ich dem Schech erwiederte, daß es mir hier sehr gut gefiele, erwiederte er stolz: 'Ja, das glaube ich wohl, das ist auch Membidsch.' Sein Sohn war noch nicht einmal nach Bab [al-Bāb] gekommen." Carl Haussknecht, Tagebuch_2_01_048 (12 March 1867), accessed 4 April 2022. (The city of al-Bāb is located about 50 km to the southwest of Manbij, authors' note).

31 Sulṭān Uvays Mīrzā Iḥtishām al-Dawlah was appointed to the governorship of Fārs in 1887 before he had been vice-governor of Kurdistan and Hamadān. Karīm Sulaymānī, Alqāb-i rijāl-i dawra-yi Qājāriyya [Titles of Men in the Qajar Period] (Tehran 2000), p. 26.

32 "Die Luren sind tüchtige unerschrockne Krieger; sie gehen in den Krieg ganz nackt, ohne Schuhe, nur um die Lenden ein Tuch geschlagen, die Flinte über dem Rücken, das hölzerne Pulverhorn am Ledergürtel herabhängend. Im vorigen Jahre, als Gaschgai in das Gebiet des Kuh Gelu gekommen waren, jagten 1000 Luren gegen 8000 Gaschgai fort. Nach hinten beschneiden sie nie ihre Haare, die meist gelockt herabhängen; ihre Bärte schwarz, meist kraus; alle 14 Tage waschen sie die Haare mit Sauermilch." Carl Haussknecht, Tagebuch_2_09_026 (21 July 1868), accessed 4 April 2022.

tribes constitute a middle group: as the feeling of alterity decreases, Haussknecht's attitude towards becomes them less judgmental.

4 Government officials

4.1 Ottoman bureaucrats

Haussknecht's first experience with Ottoman bureaucrats took place in Aleppo, where he stayed a few days into his first trip in March 1865 trying to plan his further journeys towards the east and northeast. He observed signs of "modernity" such as European dress, education, language skills, and efficient administration, when meeting the Ottoman governor of Aleppo Süreyya Pasha (d. 1879), who had reorganized the province of Aleppo and pacified the Syrian steppe around the city of Dayr al-Zūr on the Euphrates river:

> Visit to the Pasha accompanied by the Prussian Consul Raphael de Picciotto […] He received us in a friendly manner. When we entered he got up from his chair, Picciotto introduced me, I took a seat, pipe and coffee were served. He was all in European clothes, except the red fez. Friendly appearance, big full black beard. Conversation in Arabic language, although he speaks French, but does not like speaking it. He had already been informed of our visit; I presented my Firman to him; when I made my wish to go to Deïr known to him, he was very pleased, especially when I complimented him, that it was he who made the formerly impassable roads there safer and how much everyone should be grateful to him.[33]

Not only in the important urban centers, but also in smaller cities, or on the road, he encounters Ottoman officials that receive very positive comments:

> [T]he big black tent of Colonel Islama from Şanlıurfa, who recruits soldiers, is located in a pasture outside the place. He takes fifty men from here; […] [u]nder the tent sat the entire

33 "Besuch beim Pascha in Begleitung des preußischen Consuls Raph. de Piciotto [Raphael de Picciotto] […] Er empfing uns sehr freundlich. Bei unserm Eintritt stand er von seinem Stuhle auf, ich wurde von Piciotto vorgestellt, ich nahm eben Platz, Pfeife und Kaffee wurden gleich servirt. Er war ganz in europäischer Kleidung, nur das rothe Fes. Freundliches Äußere, großer voller schwarzer Bart. Unterhaltung in arabischer Sprache, obgleich er französisch spricht, thut es aber nicht gern. Er war von unsrem Besuch schon unterrichtet; ich präsentirte ihm meinen Firman; Als ich ihm den Wunsch zu erkennen gab, nach Deïr [Dayr al-Zūr] zu gehen, war er sehr erfreut, namtlich als ich ihm Elogen machte, daß er es sei, der die früher nicht passirbaren Wege dahin sicher gemacht habe und wie sehr ihm daher Alle dankbar sein müßten." Carl Haussknecht, Tagebuch_1_01_023 (13 March 1865), accessed 4 April 2022.

> Turkish imperial authorities, who got up respectfully and urged me to sit down next to them. He had a black translator with him, who was fluent in French and med. doc. at the same time. My Bujuruldu and Firman were then read aloud and the sultan's monogram kissed.[34]

The "closeness" Haussknecht already articulates in the description of the first meeting with Colonel Islama again proves his esteem for the reformist Ottoman officials. The general conscription into the Ottoman army that he observed in Nizip had only been introduced a few years earlier. "I made some visits in the afternoon: [...] to the Turk Absa, where I wrote a letter to Nizib to Colonel Islama so he should not take a man from Belkıs as a soldier[.]"[35] There is no further information in the diary about the man on whose behalf Haussknecht intervenes. It is probably the person who offered him hospitality when he stayed overnight in that village during his first trip. He might have felt obliged to show gratitude and so he decided to help him. Interestingly, he assumed his role as a privileged foreigner traveling with an imperial *farmān* rather early in his trip, certainly encouraged by his social position at home. Writing this letter represented an important effort. Did he ask someone to translate it into Turkish? Did he write it in French, because he knew that Colonel Islama had a French-speaking translator? The short note in his diary does not reveal any of this.

But on the second journey, when calling at customs in Birecik on the Euphrates a few kilometers east of Nizip, he met this man again: "At the customs a man pats me on the shoulder and greets me with joy; it was an old acquaintance from Nizib, whose son I had saved from the military."[36] This second meeting gives us some insight into his interaction with "ordinary" local people that are usually not given much attention in his diary. In this case, he is far more than

34 "[...] [A]uf einem Weideplatze vor dem Orte befand sich das große schwarze Zelt des Colonel Islama von Orfa [Şanlıurfa], der Soldatenrecrutierung abhielt; er nahm 50 Männer von hier; [...] [u]nter dem Zelte saßen die ganzen türkischen Hof Behörden, die bei meinem Ankommen ehrerbietig aufstanden und mit Bujurun [*buyurun*, Turkish for: "please"] mich zum Sitzen [anbei ihnen?] nöthigten. Er hatte einen schwarzen Dollmetscher mit, der sehr [geläufig?] französisch war und Dr. med. dazu. Mein Bujuruldu und Firman wurde dann laut vorgelesen und der Sultannamenszug [*tughra*] geküsst." Carl Haussknecht, Tagebuch_1_01_048 (30 April 1865), accessed 4 April 2022.

35 "Nachmittag machte ich einige Besuche: [...] bei dem Türken Absa, bei dem ich einen Brief schrieb nach Nisib [Nizip] an Colonel Islama, damit er einen Mann von Balkys [Belkıs] nicht zum Soldat nehmen sollte[.]" Carl Haussknecht, Tagebuch_1_01_056 (3 May 1865), accessed 4 April 2022.

36 "Bei der Duane klopft mich ein Mann auf die Schulter und begrüßt mich ganz freudig; es war ein alter Bekannter von Nisib [Nizip], dessen Sohn ich vom Militär errettet hatte." Carl Haussknecht, Tagebuch_2_01_055 (15 May 1867), accessed 4 April 2022.

the "reluctant observer" that only displays vague curiosity, alongside arrogance and superiority, towards the people he encounters. It also reveals his interaction with the officer, Colonel Islama, that lasted longer than their encounter and was obviously important enough to create a privileged relationship that enabled Haussknecht to ask for the aforementioned favor.

Within the group of Ottoman bureaucrats and officers, he encountered people towards whom he certainly felt even more familiar. At the beginning of his second journey he stopped in Beirut and stayed a few days in that cosmopolitan port city. There, he met the renegade Omar Pasha, alias Baron Albert von Gersdorff, who in 1865, around the time of Haussknecht's first stay in Aleppo, participated in the pacification of the Dayr al-Zūr region. Omar Pascha was married to Doris Mordtmann (1841–after 1913), the daughter of Andreas David Mordtmann (1811–1879), who stayed for most his life in Constantinople and was, among other positions, consul of the German Hanseatic cities:[37] "I made the acquaintance of Omar Beg from Courland, named Baron von Schröder, married to a daughter of Mordtmann from Constantinople, but living here as Turk; he was at the time of Süreyya Pasha of Aleppo in Deir to subdue the Arab tribes. He is a tall man the Arabs could have respect for."[38] This brief contact with Omar Pascha, despite everything, did not seem to be very close, since he obviously was mistaken about the pasha's correct German name. But he does notice his body stature that earned him the nickname *al-Ṭawīl* (Arabic for "the tall"). Omar Pascha was involved in one of the key projects of the modernizing Ottoman state – extending the "boundaries of the state" into tribal-controlled territories.

4.2 Officials in Persia

As before in the Ottoman Empire, in Persia Haussknecht was also dependent on recommendations from government officials, which enabled him to travel

37 Tobias Völker, Vom Johanneum an die Hohe Pforte: Das Leben und Wirken des Hamburger Orientalisten und Diplomaten Andreas David Mordtmann d. Ä., in Yavuz Köse (ed.), Osmanen in Hamburg: Eine Beziehungsgeschichte zur Zeit des Ersten Weltkriegs (Hamburg 2016), pp. 25–44, here p. 42.

38 "Ich machte Bekanntschaft von Omar Beg, ein Kurländer namens Baron von Schröder, mit einer Tochter Mordtmanns aus Konstantinopel verheirathet, aber hier türkisch lebend; er war zur Zeit Sureja Pascha's von Aleppo in Deir zur Unterwerfung der Araberstämme. Er ist ein großer Mann, vor dem die Araber wohl Respect haben konnten." Carl Haussknecht, Tagebuch_2_01_014 (18 December 1866), accessed 4 April 2022.

smoothly. These dignitaries include governors, who were often members of the royal family, as well as local dignitaries (*kad-khudā*s) and tribal leaders. As before in the Ottoman part of the diaries, his descriptions of the meetings are plain and unemotional, but he was always fully aware of his status and expected appropriate treatment. His appreciation of a person depended heavily on their grade of Westernization; as a result, he perceived the local *kad-khudā*s as simple-minded, whereas he felt comfortable with the Qajar officials who had received a higher education and often had knowledge of French or English. Haussknecht himself was a freemason and although he knew that the Persian definition of freemasonry did not necessarily correspond to the European one, he felt a connection to these individuals.

A special feature of his stay in Persia was that he had the unique opportunity to meet a ruler in person. Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh had heard of the German *ḥakīm* through his French court physician, Dr. Joseph Désiré Tholozan (1820 – 1897)[39], and they arranged a meeting at the shah's hunting castle in Dawshan Tapah, north of Tehran, which Haussknecht recounts in his diary entry of 29 October 1868:

> Immediately he asked in Persian about how many years and where I had travelled, how I had found his country, whereupon I told him about the Lurs and Bakhtiari, not forgetting to give the best praise for Owais Mirsa [Iḥtishām al-Dawlah]; 'so he rules well?', 'Excellently, your Royal Highness.' He was mainly interested in the two lakes of Malamir [Īzza], of which he knew nothing, as he knew nothing of the whole country. I showed him my map, which interested him very much, especially when I was talking about the breakthrough of the Rang mountain [Rang Kūh], whereupon he immediately broke out in French: combien coute? [French for: 'How much does it cost?'], to which I gave him the answer: if the work were to be done in its entirety and the bill were done appropriately, we would be able to do it for 70,000 ducats, whereas here 220,000 ducats were demanded. After a quarter of an hour had passed in this manner and, evening approached, he suddenly left and got into the carriage to return to Yauschantepe [Dawshan Tapah] […].[40]

39 Joseph Désiré Tholozan (1820 – 1897) was appointed as private physician to Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh in 1860 following the Austrian physician Dr. Jacob Polak (1818 – 1891). Tholozan stayed forty years in Persia during which he popularized Western medicine and initiated major reforms in public health services. Shireen Mahdavi, Shahs, Doctors, Diplomats and Missionaries in 19th Century Iran, in British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies 32/2 (2005), pp. 169 – 191, here p. 176.
40 "Sogleich frug er auf persisch: wieviel Jahre und wo ich überall umhergereist sei, wie ich sein Land gefunden habe, worauf ich ihm von den Luren und Bachtiaren erzählte, auch nicht vergaß, über Owais Mirsa das beste Lob auszusprechen; 'also er regirt gut', Vortrefflich, Königliche Majestät. Hauptsächlich interessirten ihn die 2 Seen von Malamir, von denen er, wie überhaupt vom ganzen dortigen Lande, nichts wußte. Ich zeigte ihm dann meine Karte, die ihn lebhaft intressirte, namtlich auch als ich über die Durchbrechung des Kuh rengk sprach, worauf er sogleich auf französisch schnell hervorbrach: combien coute? worauf ich ihm die Antwort gab: wenn die

This episode is remarkable because it is the first time in Persia that Haussknecht meets someone from the local hierarchy whose higher status he acknowledges. Before this, Haussknecht often used the discourse of the Oriental despot ruling his country by nepotism, but after discussing the shah's rule with foreign officials who knew the monarch personally, he changes his mind and acknowledges his endeavors to modernize the country. Now, when meeting the monarch in person, he finds himself faced with a representative of a higher class and quickly falls back into the natural behavior of his social class, where feeling of "alterity" loses its relevance.

Conclusions

Observing or interacting? Reluctant or engaging? A traveler cannot fairly be reduced to the status of observer only. Although Haussknecht's observations naturally occupy the largest part of his travel accounts, his engagement with locals can often only be deduced from minor hints in the written text. The example from Belkıs, where he saved his host's son from the military, shows that in some cases Haussknecht even changed the fate of his interlocutors and left an imprint on the society he visited. However, a traveler can change as well. At the beginning of his first trip, we observe his origins – a young Prussian Protestant of upper social status – dictating his stance. Hesitating, he initially behaved like a tourist, searched for contacts with people he was familiar with: Germans, other foreigners, missionaries. Among the locals, he related positively to the modern bureaucrats and people of the elite class, such as the governor of Aleppo, with whom he shared European dress and a good education, and – quite mundanely – the use of "chairs" in his office.

Haussknecht's class affiliation and class awareness influenced his perception of closeness and otherness. Ottoman reformist bureaucrats and the Qajar elite share not only this affiliation, but the same ideals of modernity and education. Haussknecht's lack of understanding and communication led to his perception of alterity and "otherness," for example when attending Oriental Christian and Sufi rituals.

Arbeit in Gänze zu thun wäre und man die Rechnung gut macht, so würden wir es mit 70 000 Dukaten thun können, während man hier 220 000 Dukaten verlangte. Nach dem so ¼ Stunde vergangen war und der Abend herankam, ging er plötzlich weg und stieg in den Wagen, um nach Yauschantepe zurückzukehren [...]." Carl Haussknecht, Tagebuch_2_09_140/141 (29 October 1868), accessed 4 April 2022.

With time, particularly when comparing his first and second journeys, we observe Haussknecht's agenda changing: the early emphasis on describing architecture, archeological sites, or landscapes makes room for ethnographic observations and an interactive role with his interlocutors, culminating in Persia in contact with the ruling elite that shall remain important after his return to Europe.

Haussknecht experienced the "cultural pluralism" of local societies in his contact with Ottoman authorities, in villages where he enjoyed hospitality, or when being honored with a special reception in a Bedouin tent. However, in certain situations, his "strangeness" (being a European foreigner who was asking questions about village names, drawing maps, etc.) induced suspicions that could mostly, but not entirely, be cleared by his constructed identity – a doctor searching for medicinal plants.

One question remains, and further research on Haussknecht and his travel diaries might answer it, about the degree to which Haussknecht's own identity is reflected in his descriptions of "otherness," and to what extent this identity evolves in contact with the "Orient."

Alexander Jost

The Ottoman Empire through the Eyes of a Chinese Pilgrim: Ma Dexin's *Hajj* Travelogue in its Historical Context

The area between the Black and the Red Seas, between the Tigris and the Nile – during the early modern period largely the realm of the Ottoman Empire and to Europeans the "Orient" – has been a hub for trade, travel, and exchange since antiquity. The importance of Jerusalem and Mecca as places of religious and cosmological "orientation" for Jews, Christians, and Muslims at the junction of the three old continents added further to this phenomenon and rendered individual long-distance travel from all directions a historical constant to be traced through centuries with countless surviving travelogues bearing witness.

As a matter of fact, with the technical practicability of travel and the number and status of members related by religion to the "Orient," the number of individual travels varied greatly, leaving us with many more *hajj* travelogues from the Balkans or from the Levant in the early modern period than, for instance, from western Africa or China. This difference in number, however, cannot be directly translated into the importance attached to returning travelers in their respective home countries. Joseph Fletcher Jr. even states that "the more secluded and remote a Muslim community was from the main centers of Islamic cultural life in the Middle East, the more susceptible it was to those centers' most recent trends."[1] In the case of early modern China's Muslim communities, the seclusion Fletcher refers to was only interrupted by a very small number of pilgrims reestablishing connections and providing information often after decades or even centuries of silence.

This paper introduces the *Chaojin tuji* 朝覲途記 (*hajj* travelogue) by the Chinese Muslim Ma Dexin 馬德新 (1794–1874) as the earliest published Chinese eyewitness account of a travel through the Ottoman Empire and as pioneering incentive and guide for encouraging Chinese Muslims to perform the *hajj* and thus participate in a world of increasingly connected ideas, practices, and iden-

Note: This article contains an abridged outline of preliminary research results in preparation of a complete annotated translation of Ma Dexin's "*Hajj* travelogue", to be published later.

1 Joseph F. Fletcher, The Naqshbandiyya in northwest China, edited by Jonathan N. Lipman, in Joseph F. Fletcher, Studies on Chinese and Islamic Inner Asia, edited by Beatrice Forbes Manz (Aldershot 1995), pp. 1–46.

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tities. To demonstrate the historical importance of this account, I first present a detailed overview of earlier – religious and secular – Chinese accounts of the Middle East, set within the context of the development of Islam in China. This is followed by an analysis of the travelogue itself, focusing on its key contents and ways of description as well as on the manner of communicating travel experiences in the different areas of the Ottoman Empire and the Indian Ocean visited by the author.[2]

1 Earlier Chinese accounts of the Middle East

The list of Chinese travelers to the Middle East before the nineteenth century is relatively short: it starts in 138 BC, when the military official Zhang Qian 張騫 (d. 114 BCE) was sent on a diplomatic mission to the far west in order to organize an alliance against the Xiongnu 匈奴 and reached the realm of the Parthian Empire (Anxi 安西), probably near Balkh in present-day Afghanistan.[3] Gan Ying 甘英, who was dispatched in 97 CE with the aim of reaching Rome, may have travelled farther, to the shores of a so-called "Western Sea," a term referring to the Caspian Sea, the Persian Gulf, the Black Sea, or even the Mediterranean. Both envoys appear to have delivered reports upon their return, which, clearly in an abridged form, found their ways into official historiography.[4]

The famous Buddhist monk Xuanzang 玄奘 (602–664), the first Chinese traveler to the West to leave a personal account of his own, only passed an outpost of the Sassanian Empire at the Hindukush on the way to India. More than one hundred years later, a certain Du Huan 杜環 (around 751) was the first to actually arrive at what had by then already become heartlands of the Islamic world and to deliver a detailed report of his journey. Du had been captured by the Abbasid army after the Battle of Talas in 751 and brought to Kūfa. In the following ten years, he had the opportunity to travel widely in the Middle East, probably

2 For a religious perspective on the text see Kristian Petersen, The Multiple Meanings of Pilgrimage in Sino-Islamic Thought, in Jonathan N. Lipman (ed.), Islamic Thought in China (Cambridge 2016), pp. 81–104.

3 Michael Loewe, Zhang Qian 張騫, in A Biographical Dictionary of the Qin, Former Han, and Xin Periods (220 BC–AD 24) (Leiden 2000), pp. 687–689.

4 For a translation and discussion of the passages related to Gan Ying see John Hill, 3 September 2003, The Western Regions according to the Hou Hanshu, The Xiyu juan ("Chapter on the Western Regions") from Hou Hanshu 88, accessed 4 April 2022, <https://depts.washington.edu/silkroad/texts/hhshu/hou_han_shu.html. Zhang>. Qian's record was included in the *Shiji*. See Loewe, Zhang Qian.

even as far as North Africa, before eventually returning to China. His uncle Du You 杜佑 (735 – 812) included his detailed report into the *Tongdian* 通典 (Comprehensive institutions), an encyclopedic work he published in 801.[5]

During the Song Period (960 – 1279), Middle Eastern traders, many of which had first arrived by land and sea routes under the preceding Tang Dynasty (618 – 907), established themselves in great numbers especially in flourishing port cities like Quanzhou and Guangzhou in southwest China. Chinese accounts show that during this time knowledge about their countries of origins increased enormously, but they were based on resident Arab and Persian merchants as their main source, not on eyewitness reports by Chinese travelers.[6]

The successive Mongol Yuan Dynasty (1279 – 1368) made China part of an empire encompassing large parts of the Middle East as well and thus intensifying connections through land and sea routes alike. Chinese craftsmen settled in Tabrīz and other cities of the Ilkhanate,[7] so-called *ortogh* merchants from West Asia managed the financial administration of China for the Mongols,[8] and resident traders in the port cities of Fujiian and Guangdong enjoyed far-reaching privileges.[9] In this setting, Wang Dayuan 汪大淵 (1311 – 1350) compiled his *Daoyi zhilüe* 島夷志略 (Brief description of the foreign island peoples)[10], a detailed account of the maritime world between China and East Africa, intended to become part of a new local *Gazetteer of Quanzhou*, then a major port for China's long-distance trade. Although the author claims to have visited all the places he

5 Hyunhee Park, Mapping the Chinese and Islamic Worlds: Cross-Cultural Exchange in Pre-Modern Asia (Cambridge 2012), pp. 20 – 21; Du You 杜佑, Tongdian 通典 (Comprehensive institutions) (5 vols., Beijing 1988), vol. 193. For a detailed analysis of the section about Western countries in Du You's *Tongdian* see Li Jinxiu 李锦绣, Yu Taishan 余太山, "Tongdian" Xiyu wenxian yaozhu 《通典》西域文献要注 (Main annotations on the accounts about western regions in the Tongdian) (Shanghai 2009).

6 See e. g. Zhao Rugua 赵汝适 (1170 – 1228), Zhufan zhi jiaoshi 諸蕃志校释 (Description of the foreign lands, with annotations and footnotes), edited by Yang Bowen 楊博文 (Beijing 1996); Friedrich F. Hirth and W. W. Rockhill, Chau Ju-Kua: His work on the Chinese and Arab trade in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries entitled Chu-fan-chi (Description of foreign peoples) (Saint Petersburg 1911). More generally see John Chaffee, The Muslim Merchants of Premodern China: The History of a Maritime Asian Trade Diaspora, 750 – 1400 (Cambridge 2018), pp. 76 – 123.

7 Morris Rossabi, Tabriz and Yuan China, in Ralph Kauz (ed.), Aspects of the Maritime Silk Road: From the Persian Gulf to the East China Sea (Wiesbaden 2010), pp. 97 – 107, p. 105.

8 Elisabeth Endicott-West, Merchant Associations in Yüan China: The Ortoγ, in Asia Major, third series 2/2 (19), pp. 127 – 154.

9 Chaffee, Muslim Merchants, pp. 124 – 161.

10 Wang Dayuan汪大淵 (1311 – 1350), Daoyi zhilüe島夷誌略校釋 (A shortened account of the non-Chinese island peoples, with annotations and footnotes), edited by Su Jiqing 蘇繼廎 (Beijing 1981).

describes in person, there may be doubts because his descriptions of Southeast Asia are much more precise than those of places farther away.[11]

Building on the experiences and connections of the Yuan period, the Yongle 永樂 Emperor (1360 – 1424, r. 1402 – 1424) of the Ming Dynasty (1368 – 1644) dispatched the famous eunuch Zheng He 鄭和 (1371 – 1433/35) with an enormous number of ships to Southeast Asia and the Indian Ocean with parts of his fleet reaching the Persian Gulf, the Red Sea, and the Swahili coast. Zheng He himself, like Ma Dexin, was a Chinese Muslim from Yunnan province and as such may have been deemed especially suited to represent the dynasty in the Middle East.[12] The bulk of state documents written in the context of these expeditions seems to have been destroyed soon after the end of the expeditions in 1433,[13] but two remarkable individual reports survive. Most detailed is the *Yingya shenglan* 瀛涯勝覽 (Overall survey of the Ocean's shores) by Ma Huan 馬歡 (1380 – 1460), a Chinese Muslim from Zhejiang who accompanied three of the seven journeys, most likely as a translator for Arabic, and who was sent as one of seven envoys to Aden and Mecca on the last journey in 1431.[14] His description is the oldest surviving Chinese eyewitness report of the holy sites of Islam.[15] Less is known about Fei Xin 費信 (1385 – 1436), another member of Zheng He's crew who may have joined as many as four voyages.[16] His *Xingcha shenglan* 星槎勝覽 (Overall survey of the star raft) contains unique though shorter descriptions of different places around the Arabian peninsula such as Hormuz, Aden, and Mecca as well. Ma's and Fei's works are highly descriptive and omit the narration of the authors' individual experiences entirely. Already six years before

11 Roderich Ptak, Glosses on Wang Dayuan's Daoyi zhilüe, in Claudine Salmon (ed.), Récits de voyages des Asiatiques: Genres, mentalités, conception de l'espace (Paris 1996), pp. 127 – 145.
12 On the Islamic belief of Zheng He see e.g. Ralph Kauz, Zheng He und der Islam in Fujian: Das Bild Zheng Hes als gläubiger Muslim in der neueren Chinesischen Geschichtsschreibung, in Claudine Salmon and Roderich Ptak, Zheng He: Images & Perceptions / Bilder & Wahrnehmungen (Wiesbaden 2005), pp. 75 – 90. For further discussion of Zheng He and Mecca see Roderich Ptak, Zheng He in Mekka: Anmerkungen zum Zheng He in Mecca: Anmerkungen zum Sanbao taijian xiyang ji tongsu yanyi, in Salmon and Ptak, Zheng He, pp. 91 – 112.
13 J. J. L. Duyvendak, The True Dates of the Chinese Maritime Expeditions in the Early Fifteenth Century, in T'oung Pao 34/5 (1939), pp. 395 – 396.
14 On these envoys see Alexander Jost, He Did not Kiss the Earth between his Hands: Arabic Sources on the Arrivals of the Zheng He Fleet in Aden and Mecca (1419 – 1432), in Angela Schottenhammer (ed.), Early Global Interconnectivity across the Indian Ocean World, vol. 1 (London 2019), pp. 85 – 89.
15 Ma Huan. Ying-yai Sheng-lan, The Overall Survey of the Ocean's Shores (1433), translated by J. V. G. Mills (London 1970).
16 Paul Pelliot, Les grands voyages maritimes chinois au début du XV[e] siècle, in T'oung Pao 30/3 – 5 (1933), pp. 264 – 268.

Zheng He had embarked on his first maritime mission, the Yongle Emperor had sent Chen Cheng 陳誠 (1365 – 1457) onto the first of three diplomatic missions to the Timurid Empire.[17] Chen reached Herat in present-day Afghanistan and upon his return compiled a report with the title *Xiyu fanguo zhi* 西域番國志 (Record of the barbarian countries in the western regions).[18] The information conveyed by these three texts remained state of the art for centuries to come and was included in the encyclopedic as well as belletristic literature of the late Ming period, when China had already largely secluded itself from the wider maritime world.[19]

With the Ming sea ban (*haijin* 海禁), the political disintegration of the Central Asian Silk Road routes at the end of Timurid rule and the upcoming dominance of European powers in the Indian Ocean after Vasco da Gama's (1469 – 1524) voyage of 1497, the opportunities for direct travel by Chinese to the Middle East diminished. Maritime networks of Chinese Muslim merchants became dysfunctional and many Muslim families moved to the hinterlands, some entirely giving up their Muslim identities.[20] Consequently, despite scattered pieces of information about individual Chinese Muslim pilgrims to Mecca such as Hu Dengzhou 胡登洲 (1522 – 1597)[21], no actual travelogue has come down from the period of close to three centuries after Zheng He's last voyage in 1433 – the very epoch during which European ships brought all larger land masses in regular contact

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17 On diplomatic exchanges between the Ming and Timurid empires see Ralph Kauz, Politik und Handel zwischen Ming und Timuriden: China, Iran und Zentralasien im Spätmittelalter (Wiesbaden 2005).

18 Morris Rossabi, A Translation of Ch'en Ch'eng's Hsi-Yü Fan-Kuo Chih, in Ming Studies 17 (1983), pp. 49 – 59.

19 For further literary perceptions of Zheng He and Mecca see e. g. Ptak, Zheng He in Mecca. For encyclopedic works see e. g. Wang Qi 王圻 (1530 – 1615), Sancai tuhui 三才圖會 (Illustrations of the Three Powers), chapter 13, Dili 地理 (Geography), p. 14a. See also Klaus Sonnendecker, Huang Xingzeng 黃省曾: Verzeichnis der Akteneinträge zu Audienzen und Tributen vom Westlichen Meer (Xiyang chaogong dianlu 西洋朝貢典錄), Annotierte Übersetzung (PhD thesis, Freie Universität Berlin 2007), pp. 180 – 189.

20 Oded Abt, Muslim Memories of Yuan-Ming Transition in Southeast China, in Francesca Fiaschetti and Julia Schneider (eds.), Political Strategies of Identity Building in Non-Han Empires in China (Wiesbaden 2014), p. 152; John Chaffee, Muslim Merchants and Quanzhou in the Late Yuan-Early Ming: Conjectures on the Ending of the Medieval Muslim Trade Diaspora, in Angela Schottenhammer (ed.), The East Asian "Mediterranean": Maritime Crossroads of Culture, Commerce, and Human Migration (Wiesbaden 2008), pp. 115 – 132.

21 Zvi Ben-Dor Benite, The Dao of Muhammad: A Cultural History of Muslims in Late Imperial China (Cambridge 2005), p. 40; Zhao Can 赵灿, Jingxue xi chuan pu 经学系传谱 (Genealogy of the Transmission and Lineage of Classical Learning) (Xining 1989). Upon his return, Hu established a new method of teaching Islamic religion, the "scripture hall education" (*jingtang jiaoyu* 經堂教育).

with each other, eventually giving rise to the phenomenon of globalization. It was thus already a very different world from which the two Gansu Muslims Ma Laichi 馬來遲 (1681–1766) and Ma Mingxin 馬明心 (1719–1781) returned in 1734[22] and 1761[23] respectively. Both had set out for reasons of religious zeal to perform the *hajj* to Mecca and to study with Naqshbandiyya Sufi Shaykhs in different places of the Middle East, both had introduced their newly acquired ideas to communities in China and both had developed enormous religious charisma being venerated like saints already during their lifetimes. As to their journeys, no records from their own hands remain but their stories have been integrated after a certain period of oral transmission and with some religious adornment into hagiographic literature in Arabic.[24] Though Ma Laichi and Ma Mingxin had a large impact in bringing Islamic practice especially in Northwest China much closer to the current trends of the Middle East, their endeavors remained singular events and pilgrimage to Mecca and Medina or study in Cairo or Damascus remained just as far out of reach for China's Muslims as it had for centuries before. What Sufi tradition recorded about their itineraries was unclear, often contradictory, and gave greater inspiration to venerate than to imitate their deeds.

2 Ma Dexin and his *hajj travelogue*

At the height of the First Opium War, Ma Dexin, a Muslim from Dali in western Yunnan, departed on a pilgrimage journey from which he would only return

22 Jonathan Lipman, Familiar Strangers: A History of Muslims in Northwest China (Seattle 2011), p. 67. Fletcher dates Ma Laichi's return to China as early as 1705. See Lipman, Naqshbandiyya, p. 16.

23 Lipman, Familiar Strangers, p. 88.

24 For Ma Laichi see Ma Tong, 马通, Zhongguo Yisilan jiaopai yu menhuan zhidu shilüe 中国伊斯兰教派与门宦史略 (A Brief History of Islamic Factions and Sufi Irders in China) (Yinchuan 1983), pp. 225–226, including a narration of the oral transmission of Ma Laichi's journey. For Ma Mingxin, the story of his journey to Mecca and his studies in Yemen was related in greater detail in an Arabic manuscript in private ownership, which is commonly referred to as (Kitāb al-) Rashaḥāt after its first word. It is only available to the scholarly world in a publication adapted by its owner and translated into modern Chinese. See Guanli Ye 関裏爺, Aibu Ailaman Abudu Gadi 'er 艾佈艾拉曼 阿卜杜 嘎底兒 (Abū l-Amān ʿAbdalqādir), and Zhang Chengzhi 張承志 (eds.), Rashaḥāt / Reshiha'er 熱什什哈爾 (Percolations), translated by Yang Wanbao 楊万 and Ma Xuekai 馬學凱 (Beijing 1993). For the hagiography of Ma Mingxin in the Kitāb al-Jahrī see Florian Sobieroj, The Chinese Sufi Wiqāyatullāh Ma Mingxin and the Construction of his Sanctity in Kitāb al-Jahrī, in Asiatische Studien – Études Asiatiques 70/1 (2016), pp. 133–169.

seven and a half years later. Upon his return he wrote down his experience in an Arabic manuscript, which is now lost but was translated into Chinese and published as a woodblock print by his disciple Ma Anli 馬安禮 (d. 1899) in 1861, still during Ma Dexin's lifetime, with the title *Chaojin tuji* 朝覲途記 (*Hajj* travelogue).[25] It can thus be seen as the first travelogue of a Chinese returning from the Middle East, which has been written by the traveler himself. Other than the preceding examples describing pilgrimage journeys, the text is written with the greatest precision. For all events on the journey exact dates are given according to the Chinese and the Islamic lunar calendar, implying that the author must have kept a journal throughout his voyage, which he could later base his work on. In addition to Ma Anli's Chinese rendering, all foreign names are also printed in their Arabic original or respectively in their closest transcription based on Arabic script. From this practice alone, it can be seen that this text was not a hagiography compiled to add to the charismatic aura of the returning pilgrim but rather a guidebook telling the reader what route he might choose and what might await him when he attempts to go on the journey himself.[26] For this purpose, Ma largely withdraws his own subjective feelings and experiences from the narrative allowing every individual reader considering the pilgrimage as an option for himself as well, to place himself into the picture.

It is furthermore remarkable that although Ma's journey clearly had religious motives and was clearly written for a religious readership, he does not confine himself to religious subjects but mentions numerous other impressions he gained at the side of his travel route as well. The text serves therefore as an early example of an upcoming genre of travelogue as often recorded by Chinese traveling to Europe, Japan, or America during the late Qing or Republican periods. The Ottoman Middle East, however, is not to be counted as a routine target region for this genre.

25 The woodblocks of this 1861 edition are preserved in the library of the Nancheng Mosque 南城清真寺藏书楼 in Kunming; a facsimile version has been republished in Wu Haiying 吴海鹰 (ed.), Huizu diancang quanshu 回族典藏全书 (Complete Collection of Hui literature) (235 vols., Lanzhou 2008), vol. 223, pp. 195 – 244. Generally, this facsimile version is the one cited. There is an older annotated version by Na Guochang 纳国昌, Chaojin tuji 朝觐途纪 (*Hajj* travelogue) (Yinchuan 1988).

26 This argumentation is presented in greater detail by Kristian Petersen in his study Multiple Meanings. He contrasts Ma Dexin's writings with the works of two earlier eminent Muslim scholars, Wang Daiyu 王岱輿 (1590 – 1658) and Liu Zhi 劉智 (1662 – 1730), demonstrating how in Chinese Islamic thought the role of pilgrimage developed from a purely theoretic idea, for which practicable alternatives or excuses had to be found, to a very real obligation for every financially and physically able believer as in other parts of the Islamic world.

After his return to China, when ethnoreligious tensions in Yunnan developed into what is remembered as the "Panthay Rebellion" and under the lead of Du Wenxiu 杜文秀 (1823–1872), western Yunnan was ruled for eighteen years in the style of an Islamic Sultanate under the name "State pacifying the South" (*Pingnan guo* 平南國),[27] Ma first assumed a role as religious leader and "generalissimo" (*da yuanshuai* 大元帥), building on the enormous prestige he gained among his brethren in faith after returning from the *hajj*.[28] After several years, however, Ma Dexin turned away from Du Wenxiu, reconciliated with the Qing government and in 1862 even temporarily assumed the post of Governor-General of Yunnan and Guizhou before he retreated from active political life concentrating on religious leadership and writing while still maintaining enormous influence and being known to all under the name "old father" (*lao baba* 老爸爸).[29] In 1886, when a detachment of the French Mekong expedition led by Ernest Doudart de Lagrée (1823–1868) and, after the latter's death, by Francis Garnier (1839–1873), proceeded into the territory of the Sultanate in western Yunnan, he received them at his residence in Kunming and, after a longer conversation centered on topics related to astronomy, issued a letter of recommendation for their free passage to Dali.[30] As a consequence, two publications issued in the aftermath of this expedition contain information about Ma Dexin, his life, and especially his pilgrimage journey, which were obtained during the meeting in Kunming.[31] According to Émile Rocher (1846–1924), another member of the expedition, his own diary ("*son propre journal*") was presented to them by Ma, which should likely be either the manuscript or the then newly printed edition of the *Chaojin tuji*.[32]

3 The way to Mecca

The precision with which Ma Dexin recorded dates and places of his journey allows a detailed reconstruction of his itinerary. He took off on 7 December 1841 with a horse caravan of a merchant named Ma Yuande 馬元德 from Feng-

27 For the Panthay Rebellion see David G. Atwill, The Chinese Sultanate (Palo Alto 2005).
28 Émile Rocher, La province chinoise du Yün-nan, 2 vols. (Paris 1879–1880), vol. 2 (1880), p. 48.
29 Rocher, Province, vol. 2, p. 46.
30 Francis Garnier and Ernest Doudart de Lagrée, Voyage d'exploration en Indo-Chine effectué pendant les années 1866, 1867 et 1868 par une commission française … (Paris 1873).
31 Garnier, de Lagrée, Voyage; Rocher, Province.
32 Rocher, Province, vol. 1, p. VIII.

chengzhuang豐成莊, a village in close vicinity of his own hometown of Xiaguan 下关 at the south end of Lake Erhai 洱海in Dali 大理. They first followed what is today called the *chama gudao* 茶馬古道 (the old tea-and-horse road) south towards Pu'er普洱.[33] After twenty-three days they crossed the Sino-Burmese border and arrived at the town of Lashio on 14 February 1842. Here Ma parted ways with the caravan and walked on foot along narrow paths[34] onward to the capital of the Ava Kingdom, which before the annexation by the British ruled over most of northern and central Myanmar.[35] As in many important places he reached later, Ma gives a short overview of size, predominant communities, and schools of thought (*madhāhib)* among the local Muslim population and indicates which languages are spoken – helpful information to potential fellow pilgrims seeking support on the spot. Having stayed for eighteen days, he embarked on a ship loaded with copper purchased from Chinese merchants which took him along the Irrawaddy river to the Sea port of Rangoon within another seventeen days.

After a forced stay of five months, due to unfavorable winds and currents of the monsoon, a time he spent in the house of a certain Mawla Hāshīm, a hospitable man from Surat, he embarked on the HMS *Carnatic*[36] to continue his journey to Calcutta where he arrived on 8 October (Fig. 1 shows a sketch of the identically constructed HMS *Cornwallis* and Fig. 2 the surviving original Figurehead of HMS *Carnatic*). Having spent another almost three months in Calcutta and getting to know its Muslim and non-Muslim religious communities, Ma Dexin boarded another ship with the name *Shāh Sulaimān* owned by a certain Farhān, which took him all the way to al-Mukha through Sri Lanka, the Malabar Coast, Socotra, and Aden. After a stopover of more than ten days, he went on by ship to Hodeidah and finally to Jeddah, where he arrived on 17 May 1843.

33 Obviously in contrast to his return route, Ma Dexin chose this way, because the route through the Pearl River and Guangdong was affected by the First Opium War during the time. Since January 1841, the entrance of the Pearl River was blocked by the British and warfare extended further along the coasts of Southern and Central China.

34 It took him eight days to walk 280 kilometers with an average of thirty-five kilometers per day. Ma Dexin, Chaojin tuji, p. 202.

35 Since the palaces in the town of Ava itself had been completely destroyed by an earthquake and the capital had been moved to neighboring Amarapura, it is likely that Ma Dexin in fact stayed there. For further information on this earthquake and its circumstances see e.g. the related compilation: Some Documents of Tharrawaddy's Reign: 1837–1846, Part I, in School of Oriental and Asian Studies (SOAS) Bulletin of Burma Research, vol. 1, no. 2 (Autumn 2003), pp. 48–59.

36 The HMS *Carnatic*, launched in 1823 at Portsmouth, was a third-rate ship of the Line of the British Royal Navy. See Brian Lavery, The Ship of the Line – Volume 1: The Development of the Battlefleet 1650–1850 (London 2003), p. 191.

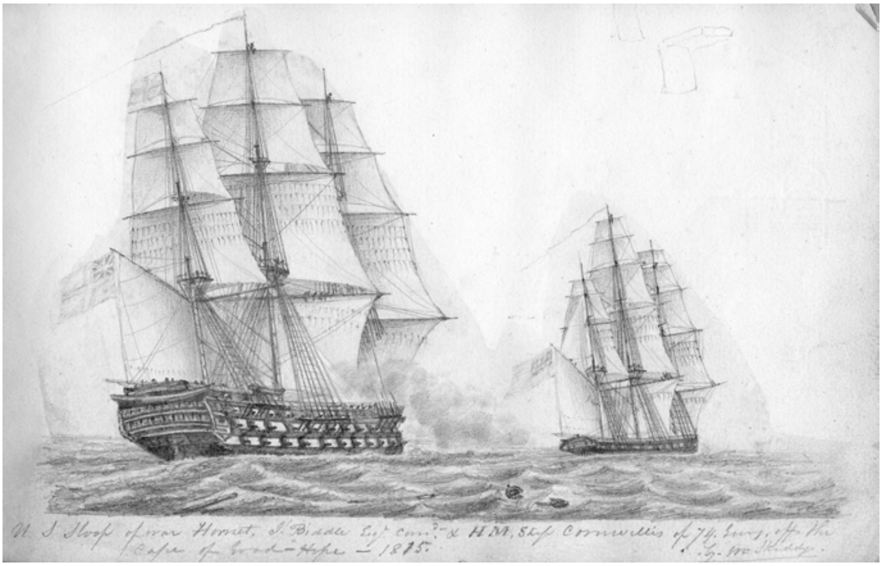

Fig. 1: William T. Skiddy, Hand sketch of HMS *Cornwallis* off the Cape of Good Hope on 27. April 1813. Source: © William T. Skiddy Collection (Coll. 304), Mystic Seaport Museum, Mystic CT.

Since Ma reached Mecca on 30 May 1843 but the pilgrimage month *Ḏū al-Ḥijjah* was not to start before 23 December that same year, he had to stay in Mecca for almost seven months until he could perform the *hajj*.

Ma Dexin's account of his pilgrimage itself and the related sites is brief yet still detailed in terms of external description. He largely omits personal sentiments thus leaving space for his readers and future pilgrims to project their own individual *hajj* experiences.[37] In his later works he returned to the inner aspects of his pilgrimage, for example in his *Mingde jing* 明德經 (Scripture of bright virtue), which contains a chapter entitled "Hajj" (*chaojin* 朝覲) as well.[38] A schematic depiction of the *Masjid al-Ḥarām* is included in the printed version (Fig. 3).

37 Ma Dexin's visit to Mecca and his *hajj* is described in greater detail by Petersen in Multiple Meanings, pp. 96–98.

38 For the treatment of the *hajj* in the *Mingde jing* see Petersen, Multiple Meanings, pp. 93–96.

Fig. 2: Unknown artist, Figurehead of HMS *Carnatic* (1823).
Source: © National Museum of the Royal Navy in Portsmouth.

4 Through the Ottoman Empire

After completing his *hajj* – the key objective of Ma Dexin's travels – he did not yet return to China but embarked on a journey through different parts of the Ottoman Empire. He had visited Medina for ten days in March 1844 and set off from Jeddah to cross the Red Sea only in September 1844 so that he had altogether spent more than fourteen months around the holiest sites of Islam. After a cruise of eighteen to twenty days, he arrived at the Egyptian port of Qoseir and after another three days and nights on camelback along the river Nile, near Qenah. He spent the *ʿĪd*

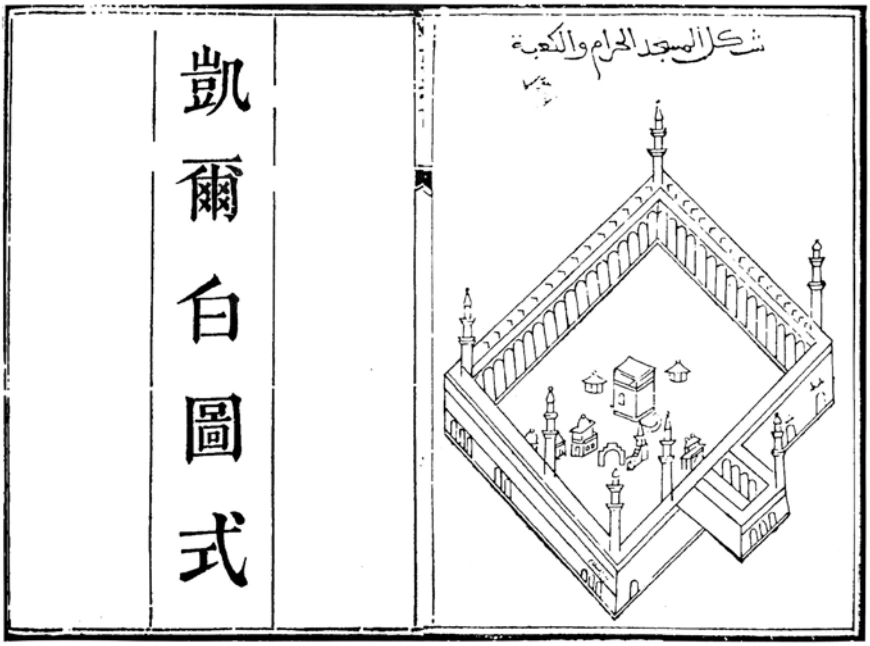

Fig. 3: Depiction of the *Masjid al-Ḥarām*. Source: After Ma Dexin, *Chaojin tuji*, Wu Haiying 吴海鹰(ed.), Huizu diancang quanshu 回族典藏全书 (Complete collection of Hui literature) (235 vols., Lanzhou 2008), vol. 223, pp. 210 – 211.

al-Fiṭr at the end of the fasting month Ramadan on a ship down the Nile near Beni Suef and reached Cairo on 18 October 1844.

During this first visit to the capital of Egypt, Ma stayed only for twenty-eight days, enough time to notice its great number of Muslims and mosques as well as the outstanding importance of Al-Azhar University, before he continued his journey on the Nile and, supposedly, down the Mahmoudiyah Canal to Alexandria. Interestingly, he noted that in Alexandria Turkish and Arabic were spoken likewise, indicating that he may have been in frequent contact with the Ottoman elites of Muhammad Ali's regime. He describes the sultan as a "greatly wise and brave" ruler practicing a "beneficial governance" (*da zhi, da yong, shan zhili* 大智大勇善治理)[39]. In Alexandria, he also took notice of the importance of the city in Hellenistic antiquity mentioning Galen (129 – 210) and Ptolemy (90 – 168). After nine days he left Egypt again by ship.

39 Ma Dexin, Chaojin tuji, p. 215.

His journey went on across the eastern Mediterranean to Bodrum where he had to stay in quarantine for fifteen days, due to a cholera epidemic he would have to face again later. When passing the Dardanelles, currents and wind were against him, so that he had to change ships twice until he could finally reach Istanbul on a steamer (*huochuan* 火船) from Lapseki on 9 February 1845. He must have been greatly impressed by the capital of the Ottoman Empire because of all the places he visited on his journey – including Mecca – he gives most space to its description.

For the next seven months, Ma Dexin lived in the – then as now – busy Mahmutpaşa Bazaar neighborhood at the *Yarım han*, a typical pilgrim's guesthouse[40] in the west of the city. Only two days after his arrival, he met a certain Arif Bey, an official of the sultan, as he observed,[41] another indication that he was in contact with leading circles of the empire already before he reached the capital and that the court took notice of his presence. Arif Bey proved well-informed about the state of affairs in China, knowing that major flooding had occurred there, because he had received the latest information from correspondence with the British in Guangzhou. Ma had another impressive experience when he attended the celebration of the wedding of Adile Sultan (1826 – 1899), sister of Sultan Abdulmejid I (1823 – 1861), with the later Grand Vizier Mehmed Ali Pasha (1813 – 1861). He witnessed the ascent of the Italian aeronaut Antonio Comaschi (c. 1820 – 1860) with a hot air balloon.[42] The level of detail in his description ex-

40 Elfine Sibgatullina, Tatarca Hacnamelerdeki İstanbul (Istanbul in in Tatar *hajj* Travelogues), in Erol Ülgen and Emin Özbaş (eds.), Uluslararası Türk Edebiyatında İstanbul Sempozyumu Bildirileri (3 – 5 Nisan 2008, İstanbul) (Proceedings of the Symposium on International Turkish Literature, Istanbul, 3 – 5 April 2008) (Istanbul 2009), pp. 933 – 938, here p. 935.

41 It is difficult to ascertain the identity of this official. His name is given in Chinese as A'erlefu Baikai 阿爾勒甫拜凱 without Arabic transcription. It is possible that it was Ārif Hikmet Bey (1786 – 1859), a learned scholar of Islam and famed poet who had filled official positions in Egypt, Medina, and Jerusalem in the 1810s and 1820s. In 1845 he was present as governmental advisor in different roles related to the Tanzimat reform process. One year later, he was pronounced Shaykh al-Islām. Ārif Hikmet Bey might have been interested in getting to know an educated visitor from as far away as China and might also have been informed about events around the world. It seems, however, somewhat odd that such a relatively high-ranking official would come to visit Ma Dexin rather than receiving him in his own premises and that he had nothing more memorable to exchange with him than the recent news about a flood. See Tahsin Yazici, Ḥekmat Bey, in Ehsan Yarshater and Ahmad Ashraf (eds.), Encyclopaedia Iranica (currently 16 vols., London, New York since 1985), vol. 12/2 (2004), p. 150.

42 Comaschi stayed in Istanbul for more than one year and altogether performed three balloon ascents with the support of Sultan Abdulmejid I. The last one, for which he took off on 22 June 1845 from the Haydarpaşa field in Üsküdar on the Asian side of the Bosphorus, was part of the wedding celebrations. The ascent did not go smoothly and the balloon was driven far away to the ceeds the one of all other anecdotes, with or without a religious context, in the *Chaojin tuji:*

> I saw countless curious and interesting things, I also saw a flying boat (*feichuan* 飛船), which rose to the air. A man stayed in it, its wind sail looked like a watermelon and was round. Making use of the wind it ascended from the ground, the wind filled the sail from inside like an inflated bladder. The boat carried the man upwards until it could not be seen by the eyes anymore. Eventually, with a telescope (*qianli jing* 千里鏡) it could not be seen anymore either. People said: 'usually when it rises to the air it will land again in the take-off location within one day and one night, sometimes a little more far away from the take-off location.' This time the boat did not return after all, there was also no information about it thus I do not know in which place it landed.[43]

This matches numerous reports about the event found in the Ottoman newspaper *Ceride-i Havadis* and a related contemporary illustration (Fig. 4), and shows that Ma was a careful observer with a broad scope of interests exceeding the realm of Islamic religion alone.

The last highlight of Ma Dexin's stay in Istanbul was his visit to the sultan's treasury[44] upon an invitation signed by the sultan himself (*guowang zhi piao* 國王之票), which was conveyed to him, as he mentions, by an official named Khusraw. He was deeply impressed with the sultan's treasure collections and praised them with the most enthusiastic words: "On this day in the state treasury I saw immeasurable and uncountable curiosities, as many as sand grains in the Ganges river in their number, one cannot record or count them."[45]

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southern side of the Marmara Sea. The event was witnessed by tens of thousands of spectators. For a detailed description see Ekmeleddin İhsanoğlu, Osmanlı Havacılığına Genel Bir Bakış (A General Overview of Ottoman Aviation), in Ekmeleddin İhsanoğlu and Mustafa Kaçar (eds.), Çağını yakalayan osmanlı: Osmanlı devleti'nde modern haberleşme ve ulaştırma teknikleri (The Ottoman Seizing His Sge: Modern Communication and Transport Technology in the Ottoman Empire) (Istanbul 1995), pp. 497–596, here pp. 512–514.

43 Ma Dexin, Chaojin tuji, pp. 220–221.

44 Ma Dexin gives the location of the treasury as Tophane (Zhuanbuhanai 篆補哈迺, ar. Tubhana) and mentions that this equalled the Imperial Department of Medicine (*taiyiyuan* 太醫院) in China. It is possible that Ma confused the name "Tophane" with the name "Topkapı", which is the actual location of the imperial treasury and – besides being the site of the Sultan's central palace – also home to a number of hospitals. For the possible confusion of names see also Na Guochang, *Chaojin Tuji*, p. 39. For the role of hospitals inside the Topkapı Palace see Sari, Hatice Nil, The Medical Organization at the Ottoman Court, in Studies in History of Medicine and Science 1 (2000), pp. 37–51.

45 Ma Dexin, Chaojin tuji, p. 221. It is interesting that Ma uses an expression of rather buddhist style here.

Fig. 4: Unknown artist (Turkish school), Festivities at Haydar Pasha on the occassion of the wedding of H.I.H. Adile Sultan with his Highness Mehmet Ali Pasha, 12 June 1845 (c. 1845). Source: After E. Grunberg and E. M. Torn, Four Centuries of Ottoman Taste, Exhibition Catalog (London: The Kyburg Gallery 1988), item 80.

On 25 July 1845 Ma left Istanbul on a ship bound for Yaffa together with a group of 70 Jews on pilgrimage to Jerusalem. En route they had short stopovers in Rhodes and Larnaca,[46], where he staid during the beginning of the fasting month of Ramadan. Probably because of the overwhelming majority of Jewish passengers, however, he was unable to fast and eat according to his duties before he reached the Holy Land, arriving in Jerusalem on 11 September 1845. Although he also once mentions the Arabic name al-Quds (*Gudeshi* 顧德士, lit. "the holy") for the city, he mostly refers *parte pro toto* to the Dome of the Rock using the term "pure and clean chamber" (*qing jing shi* 清淨室) when speaking about Jerusalem.[47] The passage is highly descriptive and detailed. He lists all religious

46 The text mentions Tuzla as the location where the ship anchored. The modern village of Tuzla in northern Cyprus, however, only received this name when it was settled by Turks from the former Tuzla quarter of Larnaca, which was located around the harbor of the city in 1974.

47 Ma Dexin, Chaojin tuji, p. 222. The term "pure and clean" (*qingjing* 清净) is in some contexts used synonymously to the common term "pure and true" (*qingzhen* 清真) for the pure and sacred character of Islamic religion in Chinese. *Qingjing shi* 清净室 ("pure and clean room") has to be understood as Chinese translation of the Arabic term *bait al-muqaddas* (sacred house), which sites, especially grave monuments that he visited and also takes note of their importance for Jews and Christians beside Muslims.[48] For the first time in his travelogue, Ma speaks about his own physical condition noting that after the visits he was completely exhausted from walking. His plan to travel onward to Hebron (Ar. al-Khalīl) needed to be abandoned as too dangerous because of ongoing unrest in the region. Six weeks after his arrival, he left Palestine again through the port of Yaffa.

Ma's original schedule must have been to first travel through Damietta (Ar. Dumyāt) to Cairo to join the Egyptian *hajj* caravan and thus to take the opportunity of performing the pilgrimage one more time. It was, however, mainly the cholera epidemic raging in the eastern Mediterranean and the Red Sea at this time that crossed his plans. Instead of reaching Damietta, the ship dumped him on a deserted stretch of the Egyptian coast where he was left alone for two days and two nights and where, as he stated, he almost died. He was then found by a fellow pilgrim and stayed in quarantine for fifteen days before he was allowed to enter Damietta. From his description it is not clear if he actually contracted cholera or was left behind for other reasons and quarantined as a measure of precaution. In any case, he must have been in a weakened state of health by then. With a considerable delay he continued his journey by donkey and by ship along the Nile once more to Alexandria, where his luggage and books,[49] purchased in Istanbul, had been shipped to avoid a detour through Palestine. By the time he reached Cairo in December 1845 the pilgrimage month had already begun and it was too late for him to participate.

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was earlier used as a name for the Temple in Jerusalem, but later also for the Dome of the Rock as successive building of the Temple and for the prayer direction (*qibla*) towards Jerusalem before it was readjusted towards the Ka'aba by Muhammad. In Chinese, the term is before Ma Dexin used by Liu Zhi 劉智 (1662–1730) who gives its Arabic as *baituo li mugaidesi* 擺脫離穆改德寺 (i.e. *bait al-muqaddas*). See Liu Zhi劉智, Tianfang zhisheng shilu 天方至聖實錄 (Veritable Records about the Last Prophet of Islam) (13 vols., s. p. 1724), vol. 10, pp. 2b–3a.

48 The sites mentioned include beside the Dome of the Rock the al-ʾAqṣā Mosque, the graves of Dāwūd/David, ʿUzayr/Ezra, Maryam/Maria, ʾĪsā/Jesus, Sulaymān/Solomon, Mūsā/Moses and the mystic Rābiʿa al-ʿAdawiyya, as well as the fountain of ʾAyyūb /Job and the ascension place of Jesus on the Mount of Olives.

49 We do not have details on the books, but Ma Dexin's later works show clearly that he must have had access to a selection of Islamic literature in China, which at least in parts should originate from Istanbul and was part of this shipping. The shipping may also have included books on astronomy and other topics.

For the following six months he lived in the house of a certain Labūt [al-]Barbarī in the Musiki street,[50] a period for which there are no descriptions in the report, before he took off for the following year's *hajj* together with a certain Habib Effendi and his family on 3 June 1846. This time the travel route led through Suez to Jiddha, which they reached after a land journey of three and a sea journey of twenty-six days. Mecca during this year had repeatedly been struck by epidemic again, claiming a high death toll especially among pilgrims near mount Arafat, so that he first stayed near Marwa and later moved to a place between the Umrah Gate and the Ibrāhīm Gate of the Great Mosque, where some time later he had accommodation with a certain Ahmad Mushaffaʿ from Java.

5 The way home

During his time in Mecca, a severe fire devastated the neighborhood around the Umrah Gate and the epidemic became increasingly serious in the city. Ma Dexin mentions that a certain Ayyūb, another Chinese pilgrim from Shaanxi province, had fallen seriously ill and hoped to return with him to China. Without a further comment on the *hajj* itself, during which he must have stayed in Mecca, Ma describes that he received a letter from Jeddah telling him that a ship would be available for him to board in Jeddah in a few days. He took the opportunity, but only together with a certain Mushafa', because Ayyūb had died on the very night of their departure on 19 June 1847. The ship they took had the Arabic name *Fatḥ al-Mubārak* and conveyed him, with stopovers, as he mentions, to Hodeidah, Karachi, Allepey,[51] Aceh, Penang, and Malakka all the way to Singapore. Before reaching Hodeidah the ship hit a rock but could still continue its journey. The largest number of passengers disembarked at the Port of Penang, as Ma notes, presumably returning pilgrims from Malaysia.[52] According to the *Chaojin tuji*, on 6 November 1847, Ma Dexin reached Singapore. The *Singapore Free Press and Mercantile Advertiser* records the arrival of the Barque "Fattle Mombarak" from Penang under British flag only three days later, on 9 November.[53] In Singapore, Ma Dexin was fortunate to live as the guest of the wealthy and influential

50 So far it has not been possible to identify his exact place of residence or his host, judging by his name probably a Nubian.

51 Port on the coast of Kerala, today Alappuzha.

52 Penang was one of the most important feed stations for Malay pilgrims who crossed the Indian Ocean over the nineteenth century. See Eric Tagliacozzo, The Longest Journey: Southeast Asians and the Pilgrimage to Mecca (Oxford 2013), p. 189.

53 Singapore Free Press and Mercantile Advertiser (11 November 1847), p. 3.

Hadhrami merchant and philanthropist Saiyyid ‘Umar (1792–1852), today still well-known in Singapore as Syed Omar Aljunied.[54] He praises him and his house in enthusiastic words: “Omar is a righteous man (*xianzhe* 賢者) from Hadhramaut who has lived in Singapore already for more than thirty years. His wealth has since increased in greatest abundance and his house holds a great number of classic books. I love them very much and wish I could have stayed longer there to study those many classic books!”[55]

After a stay of ten months, however, during which Ma could study Syed Omar’s book collection and undertook observations about the effects of Singapore’s location close to the equator, on 12 September 1848, he embarked on the *Myaram Dyaram*, an Indian ship under British flag transporting cotton from India to China.[56] After a terrifying thunderstorm, Ma Dexin set foot on Chinese ground again in Guangzhou on 13 October 1848.

Instead of directly continuing his journey back to Yunnan, however, he stayed on in Guangzhou for about one hundred days with Bengal Muslims at the Haopan street Mosque (*Haopan jie qingzhensi* 濠畔街清真寺) close to the harbor area of the Thirteen Factories (*shisan hang* 十三行). On 15 January 1849, he eventually took off on his journey back home, first by ship on the Pearl River to Baise 百色, passing on his way through Zhaoqing 肇慶, Wuzhou 梧州, Xunzhou 潯州, and Nanning 南寧, then the rest of the route to Yunnan on land. On 17 May 1849, seven and a half years after his departure, Ma Dexin returned home.[57]

The *Chaojin tuji* ends with a list of place names along three possible routes from Yunnan to Mecca: the first one was through Myanmar, and Bengal further on the sea route, the second through the Pearl River, Guangzhou, and further on the sea route, and the third directly through Central Asia on the land route (*tianfang beilu tucheng* 天方北路途程). For the first route, information about costs is given as well. Since earlier in his report Ma Dexin had never mentioned the op-

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54 On Syed Omar and his family see Michael Mukunthan, Nor Afidah Abd Rahman, Syed Omar Aljunied, in Singapore Infopedia (A Singapore government agency website), accessed 4 April 2022, <https://eresources.nlb.gov.sg/infopedia/articles/SIP_847_2004-12-29.html>; see also Zahra Aljunied, The Genealogy of the Hadhrami Arabs in Southeast Asia – the Alawi Family, Paper presented at IFLA WLIC 2013 – Singapore – Future Libraries: Infinite Possibilities in Session 220 – Genealogy and Local History.

55 Ma Dexin, Chaojin tuji, pp. 233–234.

56 Singapore Free Press and Mercantile Advertiser (14 September 1848), p. 4, agrees with this date.

57 Na Guochang, Chaojin tuji, p. 55 comments, that “home” (*jia* 家) in this case does not refer to his home village Fengchengzhuang near Dali, where he had taken off, but to Kunming, the provincial capital of Yunnan. He does not, however, give any further reason for this assumption.

tion of a land route or other pilgrims choosing this way, however, it cannot be excluded that this part of the appendix was added later by Ma Dexin or Ma Anli.

6 Ma Dexin's journey in French records

The accounts of the French expedition contain several pieces of information that add, or even contradict, the content of the *Chaojin tuji*. First, Rocher mentions that Ma Dexin had collected 45 *tael* of gold equaling an impressive amount of 765 *tael* of silver already two years before his departure in 1839 to add to his own modest financial resources.[58] This money likely came from his own and other Muslim communities in his region, where his brethren in faith may have hoped to have a share in the beneficial religious effect of his pilgrimage. It is possible that among these contributors were owners of horse caravans (*mabang* 馬幫), who were often Muslims in the Dali region and usually had far-reaching contacts for instance in Myanmar and other parts of South and Southeast Asia. Despite this generous supply, Ma Dexin told the French that he ran out of money during his stay in Istanbul, which forced him to return home.[59] While his own account gives the length of this stay only as seven months, Rocher notes that he stayed for two years and was especially occupied with studying astronomy and mechanics.[60] The duration of his stay may have been a matter of misunderstanding or exaggeration, while his involvement with astronomy and mechanics in Istanbul is possible. His observations on the hot air balloon at Adile Sultan's wedding show that he was obviously interested in technical matters and used a telescope; he may not have mentioned his efforts in greater detail, because he presumably considered them of minor interest to readers of religious motivation. The book boxes he had to send from Istanbul to Alexandria may also have contained volumes on these topics and could provide an additional explanation for his depleted funds. As Rocher writes, the reason of Ma's yearlong stay in Singapore was primarily related to his interest in astronomy as well. A fellow astronomer in Istanbul had told him that close to the equator, days and nights were about the same length throughout all seasons, an assumption Ma wished to verify in the place closest to the equator he would pass on his journey home – Singapore.[61] This matches exactly with the related passage about Ma's observations

58 Rocher, Province, vol. 1, p. 47.
59 Rocher, Province, vol. 1, p. 48.
60 Rocher, Province, vol. 1, p. 48.
61 Rocher, Province, vol. 1, p. 48.

in Singapore in the *Chaojin tuji*, only that the fellow astronomer in Istanbul is not mentioned there.

Well aware of Ma's later importance for Yunnan's Muslims, the Panthay Rebellion, and their journey, Rocher summarizes thus the impact of his pilgrimage: "The interesting voyage he had accomplished, the objects he had brought back from abroad, the knowledge he had acquired, the reputation of sanctity attached to pilgrims returning from Mecca only still increased the prestige he had already enjoyed before his departure."[62]

Conclusions

With his *Chaojin tuji*, Ma Dexin paved the way for hundreds of Chinese pilgrims following in his footsteps during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, when in an increasingly connected world more and more efficient transport and communication technology began to facilitate long-distance travel. His journey, which he started at the height of the First Opium War, inaugurated an age of strengthening ties, a new tide as Dru Gladney puts it,[63] between China's Muslim communities and the heartlands of Islam. The printed Chinese version published in 1861 by Ma Anli, which survives until today, was clearly not intended as a revealing and reflecting autobiographic work on the experience of Ma Dexin but as a guide to prospective pilgrims and an incentive to follow his example. It is therefore understandable that information about means of transportation or about travel routes and durations take more space in the book than exciting anecdotes or observations on intercultural comparisons. While railways inside the country and steamships chartered to transport pilgrims directly from Shanghai to Jeddah would change the experience of travelling from China to Mecca within a few decades and thus somewhat made the *Chaojin tuji* slightly outdated as a travel guide, it still remains an impressive testimony. It is a source of information on the first recorded Chinese to visit the Ottoman court in Istanbul, on a man who left China to travel the world before its first treaty ports opened through its mountainous southwestern backdoor, a man who observed the new technological developments of the Far West, collected books, and established contacts with scholars before the first Chinese exchange students were sent to Japan, Europe, or America. In Mecca, this man was remembered as

62 Rocher, Province, vol. 1, p. 78.
63 Dru C. Gladney, Muslim Chinese: Ethnic Nationalism in the People's Republic (Cambridge, Mass. 1996), p. 36.

well. When in 1938 a group of Chinese students of Islamic theology from Al-Azhar University went on the pilgrimage,[64] as one of them, the reputed scholar Na Zhong 納忠 relates later, the group was still able to "visit the old building in which Ma Dexin had studied and lived a century ago; it was basically still preserved in its original state."[65]

64 For details on the *hajj* season of 1938, during which two rivalling Chinese pilgrim groups were organized by the Japanese administration as well as by Chinese exchange students in Egypt see Yufeng Mao, A Muslim Vision for the Chinese Nation: Chinese Pilgrimage Missions to Mecca during World War II, in Journal of Asian Studies 70/2 (2011), pp. 373–395.

65 Na Zhong 納忠, Qingdai Yunnan musilin dui yisilan xuewen de jiaoxue yu yanjiu 清代云南穆斯林对伊斯兰学问的教学与研究 (Teaching and Research of Yunnan Muslims on Islamic Studies during the Qing Period), in Ningxia zhexue shehui kexue yanjiusuo 宁夏哲学社会科学研究所 (Ningxia Academy of Philosophy and Social Sciences) (ed.), Qingdai Zhongguo yisilanjiao lunji 清代中国伊斯兰教论集 (Article Collection on Islam in China during the Qing Period) (Yinchuan 1981).

Michael Harbsmeier

Travels from the Orient, Travels to the Orient: Does Comparison Make Sense?

Looking at the development of studies of travel writing and travel accounts through recent decades one can distinguish between three different stages: to begin with, and actually starting with the very first collections and bibliographies of travel accounts from the late eighteenth century onwards, the texts were primarily appreciated as goldmines of information about the continents, countries, societies, and cultures described by the many different pilgrims, explorers, scholars, and tourists. From the 1980s onwards, and due not least to the influence of Michel Foucault and of Edward W. Said's *Orientalism*[1] many of the same texts were criticized and valued as sources for a better understanding of the travelers' own prejudices and imperial gaze, cultures, and mentalities and those of their audience and readers.

Through the last couple of decades, however, it seems as if we have entered yet another stage: a whole wave of studies aiming at presenting travel accounts as sources for global, transnational, entangled, and connected histories (*Verflechtungsgeschichte* and *histoire croisée*), and history of knowledge (*Wissensgeschichte*). To some extent, these turns and programmatic calls have come about as a critical prolongation of the postcolonial studies of the final decades of the twentieth century, but realizing that it might not be enough to blame the West for its images and knowledge of "the Rest" has led many to a better understanding of how travel accounts can be read not necessarily as reflections of an either/or approach, but as expressions of the interactive and multidimensional productivity of the encounters.

When the contextual complexities and knowledge effects at both ends, at destinations as well as points of departure and return, have to be taken into account, the more interesting studies tend to concentrate on one travel account or one traveler at the time. Previously, studies of larger arrays of travel accounts – those to the Orient or the New World, or those of French, British, Italian, or German travelers for example – were fairly common. Today, such comparative studies certainly still continue to be published, but new insights seem rather to come from studies of single and perhaps also less well-known travelers and travel accounts.

1 Edward W. Said, Orientalism (New York 1978).

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However, thanks to digitization and translations, many more travel accounts are easily accessible and available than ever before. And while this possibly also means that it has become much easier to find and access more marginal and lesser known travelers and their accounts, it also can be understood as an invitation to engage in larger, maybe even global, comparative projects taking advantage of the potentials of digital and distant readings of much larger amounts of texts than previous generations of cliometrically inclined historians had at their disposal. In what follows, I will try to describe some of the ways in which more broadly comparative studies might help us better to understand and interpret travel accounts while still treating them as contextual and interactive documents. Such projects might even turn out to be the beginning of yet another, a fourth, stage of *Reiseforschung*, which will come about by drawing on the potential of the large amounts of travel accounts now digitally available at our libraries and online.

1 Patterns

Let me start from two important exceptions to the rule described so far: two recent monographs dealing with large numbers of travel accounts while at the same time keeping at least programmatically aware of the new demand for double contextualization: In his study *Humeurs vagabondes*, Daniel Roche deals, on more than a thousand pages in classical Annales style, with a vast amount of travel accounts as sources for a global economic, social, and cultural history of early modern Europe.[2] More interestingly for our purposes, although less wide-ranging, Jürgen Osterhammel's *Die Entzauberung Asiens*, translated as *Unfabling the East*, likewise is devoted to a large number of mainly British, French, and German travelogues from the late seventeenth to the early nineteenth centuries as sources for a global history of economic, political, and cultural interactions and exchanges.[3]

Osterhammel's chronological focus also lets him identify two major changes in the development of European travel accounts from the sixteenth to the nineteenth centuries. First, as suggested by the title of his book, Osterhammel describes the eighteenth century as a watershed, distinguishing an earlier period

2 Daniel Roche, Humeurs vagabondes: De la circulation des hommes et de l'utilité des voyages (Paris 2004).

3 Jürgen Osterhammel, Die Entzauberung Asiens: Europa und die asiatischen Reiche im 18. Jahrhundert (Munich 1998), English translation by Robert Savage, Unfabling the East: The Enlightenment's Encounter with Asia (Princeton 2018).

marked by some kind of *Zauber* (magic) or fables which the travelers of the Enlightenment somehow overcame, only to lead to the second major change, when new forms of imperial arrogance, racism, and Orientalism prevail in the course of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Osterhammel has of course much more to say and many nuances to add to this general picture, but by excluding both earlier and later accounts from his analysis he makes it seem as if only the travelers of the "enlightened century" can be trusted to make them into transparent sources for both the Asian empires they describe and the European public which they address. Earlier as well as later accounts thus are seen as insufficiently transparent: as enfabling and enchanting the East as either a surplus of meaning and wealth much admired and feared or later on as radical absence of progress and civilization now seen as a racially based privilege of Europe and the West.[4]

When trying to expand the comparative scope and include accounts from before and after the Enlightenment in the analysis and still want to live up to the demands for double contextualization we are left again with – fortunately growing – numbers of studies of singular cases which do not easily fit together into any kind of pattern. From the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, we have for example Michael Wintroub's fascinating *The Voyage of Thought*,[5] a micro-historical study and cross-disciplinary analysis of the texts and contexts that informed the remarkable journey of the French ship captain, merchant, and poet Jean Parmentier (1494–1529), from Dieppe to Sumatra in 1529. While Parmentier was collecting curiosities rather than comparing civilizations as Osterhammel's enlightened travelers, his voyage nevertheless allows Wintroub to engage deeply across interacting worlds of knowledge. Even more explicitly, Romain Bertrand has succeeded in disentangling and reconstructing the worlds which Cornelis de Houtman (1565–1599) engaged with during the earliest Dutch expeditions to Java and other places in East India in the last decades of the sixteenth century. Romain Bertrand's *L'histoire à parts égales*[6] is far from alone in demonstrating how close and contextualizing readings of travel accounts contribute to what seems to amount to a whole wave of global micro-histories of early modern travel un-

4 Most explicitly in the concluding chapter of Osterhammel, Die Entzauberung, pp. 375–403.
5 Michael Wintroub, The Voyage of Thought: Navigating Knowledge across the Sixteenth-Century World (Cambridge 2017).
6 Romain Bertrand, L'histoire à parts égales: Récits d'une rencontre, Orient-Occident XVI–XVII siècle (Paris 2011).

dertaken by historians such as Sanjay Subrahmanyam, Nathalie Zemon Davis, Jonathan Spence, and, more recently, John-Paul A. Ghobrial and others.[7]

When crossing the line into the nineteenth century of imperial arrogance and superiority we find a large number of recent case studies of various expeditions paying due attention not only to the European context but particularly to the local and "native" agencies involved in the collection, exchange, production, and dissemination of knowledge in the field.[8]

Voyages of exploration and expeditions are of course not the only kind of travel reported about, but when it comes to other kinds of travel writing the same patterns seem to obtain: many interesting studies of singular cases reveal intercultural complexity, but when dealing with larger amounts of texts the analysis invariably tends to focus on either the places visited by a list of travelers, on the world and background shared by these travelers, or on what they have in common. Comparing arrays of accounts cannot be done without reducing complexity – and thus we are left again with increasing numbers of interesting

7 Linda Colley, The Ordeal of Elizabeth Marsh: A Woman in World History (London 2007); Natalie Zemon Davis, Trickster Travels: A Sixteenth-Century Muslim Between Worlds (New York 2007); Mercedes García-Arenal and Gerard Wiegers, A Man of Three Worlds: Samuel Pallache, A Moroccan Jew in Catholic and Protestant Europe, translated by Martin Beagles (London, Baltimore 2003); John-Paul Ghobrial, The Secret Life of Elias of Babylon and the Uses of Global Microhistory, in Past & Present 222/1 (2014), pp. 51–93; Jonathan D. Spence, The Question of Hu (London 1988); Sanjay Subrahmanyam, Three Ways to Be Alien: Travails and Encounters in the Early Modern World (Waltham, Mass. 2011); Sanjay Subrahmanyam, The Career and Legend of Vasco da Gama (Cambridge 1997); and, most recently, Christophe Granger, Joseph Kabris ou les possibilités d'une vie 1780–1822 (Paris 2020).

8 See for example Felix Driver and Lowri Jonesm, Hidden Histories of Exploration: Researching the RGS-IBG Collections (London 2009); Johannes Fabians, Out of Our Minds: Reason and Madness in the Exploration of Central Africa (Berkeley et al. 2000); Dane Kennedy, The Last Blank Spaces: Exploring Africa and Australia (Cambridge, Mass. et al. 2013); Dane Kennedy (ed.), Reinterpreting Exploration: The West in the World (Oxford, New York 2014); Marianne Klemun and Ulrike Spring (eds.), Expeditions as Experiments: Practising Observation and Documentation (London 2016); Shino Konishi, Maria Nugent, and Tiffany Shellam (eds.), Indigenous Intermediaries: New Perspectives on Exploration Archives (Canberra 2015); Volker Matthies, Im Schatten der Entdecker: Indigene Begleiter europäischer Forschungsreisender (Berlin 2018); Kristian H. Nielsen, Michael Harbsmeier, and Christopher J. Ries (eds.), Scientists and Scholars in the Field: Studies in the History of Fieldwork and Expeditions (Aarhus 2012); Donald Simpson, Dark Companions: The African Contribution to the European Exploration of East Africa (London 1975); Martin Thomas (ed.), Expedition into Empire: Exploratory Journeys and the Making of the Modern World (Abingdon 2015); Martin Thomas (ed.), Expedition into Empire: Exploratory Journeys and the Making of the Modern World (Abingdon 2015); Martin Thomas and Amanda Harris (eds.), Expeditionary Anthropology: Teamwork, Travel and the 'Science of Man' (New York, Oxford 2018).

micro-historical studies without being able to arrive at more general, global conclusions.

Getting back to Osterhammel, we could conclude that it does make sense to look at the accounts of the eighteenth century from a comparative perspective that allows a minimum of contextual understanding of both the European travelers and the Asian empires they visited. When it comes to the preceding generations of travelers, however, one would have to make a choice between either exclusively following those with the same or similar destination or a set of travelers from one and the same cultural background and tradition. Instead of enabling global histories of interactions, these comparisons only lead to yet more national and local histories or, in the best of cases, to connected global microhistories like those mentioned above.

Compared to their enlightened successors, European travelers from the fifteenth to the seventeenth century still had a capacity for getting impressed and overwhelmed by awe and wonder when confronted with what for them still appeared as new and other worlds.[9] From the late seventeenth century onwards, this capacity slowly came to be domesticated by a variety of innovations, such as instructions and questionnaires in preparation for the voyage. The ambitions were not only to notice and bring home the exceptional, singular, unique, and curious, but increasingly also to go for complete sets and series, for regularities and species. Encyclopedically minded antiquarians and botanizing Linnean apostles, missionaries in search for the varieties of religion, the great Russian, French, and British expeditions to the Pacific and around the world, and all the other geographers and cartographers testify to much the same spirit of *Vervollständigung* and systematization of observations that characterizes Osterhammel's diplomats and merchants when analyzing the Oriental and Asian variants of tyranny, despotism, and social and political order.

Towards the end of the eighteenth century, however, this spirit somehow seems to expire, encyclopedic enthusiasm slowly giving way to various forms of reflexivity and specialization while undermining the authority of the traveler as privileged witness and observer. No longer being the only source of information about changes and events in other parts of the world, travelers by then had to prove their literary, professional, or scholarly qualifications. Following Osterhammel again, one can say that all this is compensated for by new forms of na-

9 As studied more closely in Michael Harbsmeier, Wilde Völkerkunde: Andere Welten in deutschen Reiseberichten der frühen Neuzeit (Frankfurt, New York 1994); Nathalie Hester, Literature and Identity in Italian Baroque Travel Writing (London, New York 2016); Frédéric Tinguely, L'écriture du Levant à la Renaissance: Enquête sur les voyageurs français dans l'Empire de Soliman le Magnifique (Genève 2000).

tional and European superiority and arrogance, racism, colonialism, and imperialism. Travel accounts might still criticize and undermine these new forms of authority, which of course can also be traced further back in time than Osterhammel wants us to believe, but what appears to have changed in principle is something more fundamental: a global temporalization of intercultural relationships which is also reflected in the travel accounts of the period.

Travelers' experiences have of course always been shaped by their expectations. But with the increasing tension between experience and expectation, between *Erfahrungsraum* and *Erwartungshorizont* as diagnosed by Reinhard Koselleck,[10] travelers increasingly will tend to interpret their experience of differences in space as temporal distances, as differences reflecting later or earlier stages of history and development, as more advanced or backward ways of life, as belonging to the past or to the future.

For Jürgen Osterhammel this temporalization first of all led to a devaluation of experiences of the eastern empires no longer seen and described as challenges and potential rivals or even models to emulate, but as representing a never-changing, Oriental backwardness and past.[11] Numerous generations of pilgrims and antiquarians, scholars and explorers went of course to study, enjoy, admire, collect, and bring home all kinds of items belonging to the classical, biblical, ancient, medieval, or prehistoric past, but with the temporalization of the late eighteenth into the nineteenth century these items were increasingly reinterpreted as representing a potential future as well. Travelers were increasingly forced to make a choice between contenting themselves with the items of the past or to take them also as signs of a different future, as remains of gone ages and stages of history and development announcing a different tomorrow.

It is of course impossible to do justice to the complexities of these processes of temporalization, which François Hartog has followed through the voyages of Constantin François, Comte de Volney (1757–1820) and François-René de Chateaubriand (1768–1848) to the Orient and the New World in his *Régimes d'historicité*.[12] Sylvain Venayre has followed this up through a much larger corpus of travel accounts in *Panorama du voyage 1780–1920*[13], while Mirjam Hähnle has

10 Reinhard Koselleck, Vergangene Zukunft: Zur Semantik geschichtlicher Zeiten (Frankfurt 1979).

11 Osterhammel, Die Entzauberung, pp. 385–393.

12 François Hartog, Régimes d'historicité: Présentisme et expériences du temps (Paris 2003).

13 Sylvain Venayre, Panorama du voyage 1780–1920: Mots, figures, pratiques (Paris 2012).

analyzed these voyages in even greater detail in her recent dissertation on Carsten Niebuhr (1733 – 1815).[14]

One of the, perhaps most important, consequences of this temporalization for the development of travel accounts has been the enormous multiplication and universalization of destinations and directions of the voyages depicted in accounts and descriptions from the nineteenth century onwards throughout the world. First of all, this is reflected in a reversal of the directions and orientation of travels within Europe: instead of mainly going from (Protestant) North to (Catholic) South and from West to East, travelers now went in all sorts of directions, from peripheries to centers as well as the other way around. In search of antiquities and remains from the past as much as of models and improvements for the future, there was no limit anymore to where to go and being able to write about.

One further, and for our comparative purposes even more important, aspect of this temporalization and the multiplication of directions and destinations is the exponentially increasing number of travel accounts originating from other traditions, from outside of Europe, throughout the nineteenth century. It is of course, though only rarely recognized, no secret that travel accounts as oral performances have been part of human history from the earliest beginnings. Shamans have always reported about the other world while still on their journey, and, with the growth of literacy, voyages and journals certainly were among the first subjects covered in writing almost anywhere in the world.[15] And although it seems – as I have tried to argue more extensively elsewhere[16] – that travel accounts in the easily recognizable shape of first-person accounts of experiences of otherness and alterity have a history which in Europe cannot be traced much further back than to the pilgrimage accounts of the late Middle Ages, one

14 Mirjam Hähnle, Zwischen den Zeiten: Über die Temporalität von Relikten im Kontext der Arabien-Expedition (1761 – 1767) (PhD thesis, University of Basel 2019). For yet another recent contribution see Sebastian Conrad, A Cultural History of Global Transformation, in History of the World, vol. 4: An Emerging World: 1750 – 1870, edited by Sebastian Conrad and Jürgen Osterhammel (Cambridge, Mass. 2018), chapter 3 – a book-size contribution with many references to travel accounts as evidence for the changes which indicate a global conjuncture, a global change in the conception of time.

15 See Eric J. Leed, The Mind of the Traveler: From Gilgamesh to Global Tourism (New York 1992).

16 Michael Harbsmeier, Allocentrism and Alterities: Ultra-short World History of the Genre of the Travelogue, in Zeitschrift für Kulturwissenschaften 2 (2020), pp. 205 – 210; Michael Harbsmeier, Heimkehrrituale: Prolegomena zu einer Weltgeschichte des Reiseberichts als globaler literarischer Gattung, in Erhard Schüttpelz, Annette Werberger, and Schamma Schahadat (eds.), Weltliteratur in der longue durée (Paderborn 2022), pp. 35 – 51.

can certainly identify similar accounts of alterity in early modern Japanese, Chinese, Indo-Persian, Ottoman, and Arab literature. Under the pressures of temporalization however, and when challenged by European commercial, colonial, and imperial threats and temptations, new generations of Japanese, Chinese, Indo-Persian, Indian, and Muslim travelers have continued in their predecessors' footsteps through the nineteenth century to produce substantial numbers of texts describing their experiences in their neighboring countries and in Russia and France, in Britain and Spain, in Germany and Italy, the United States and Scandinavia, etc.

2 Potentials

There are of course many reasons why all these many travel accounts only have caught the attention of comparatively few scholars. As a rule, most of the accounts have been considered to be of little value as sources for the "Western" cultures and societies visited by these Oriental travelers, since these places were supposedly much better known from all sorts of other historical sources. At the same time, these same accounts have been assumed to be of little value as a rule, as Westerners believed them to have been under so much modern, European, and Western influence as to be no longer able to reflect anything authentically Oriental, Chinese, Japanese, Indian, Persian, Ottoman, Arab, etc. During the first two stages of travel studies mentioned above, these accounts were of little interest indeed other than occasionally serving as further proof of the alleged singularity and superiority of European traditions of travel writing.[17] In recent years, however, and with the rise of interest in travel accounts as sources for global and transnational histories, these same accounts have become absolutely crucial sources for not only a growing list of global micro-his-

17 See for example W. G. Beasley, Japan Encounters the Barbarian: Japanese Travellers in America and Europe (New Haven, London 1995); Feng Chen, Die Entdeckung des Westens: Chinas erste Botschafter in Europa 1866 – 1894 (Frankfurt 2001); Andrew Cobbing, The Japanese Discovery of Victorian Britain. Early Travel Encounters in the Far West (London 1998); Michael H. Fisher, Counterflows to Colonialism: Indian Travellers and Settlers in Britain 1600 – 1857 (New Delhi 2004); Shompa Lahiri, Indians in Britain: Anglo-Indian Encounters, Race and Identity 1880 – 1930 (Lahiri 2000); Masao Miyoshi, As we Saw Them: The first Japanese Embassy to the United States 1860 (Berkeley 1979); Tapan Raychaudhuri, Europe Reconsidered: Perceptions of the West in Nineteenth-Century Bengal (Delhi 1988); Simonti Sen, Travels to Europe: Self and Other in Bengali Travel Narratives 1870 – 1910 (New Delhi 2005); Ying Sun, Aus dem Reich der Mitte in die Welt hinaus: Die chinesischen Gesandtschaftsberichte über Europa unter besonderer Berücksichtigung Deutschlands von 1866 bis 1906 (Frankfurt 1997).

tories such as those already mentioned, but also of quite a number of books and PhD theses covering various sets of Oriental travel accounts of not only European, but also multiple other destinations.

When I began to look out for what I then thought of as a kind of *Lettres persanes* from the hands of genuine Oriental travelers in 1985,[18] I did not have much more at hand than a few editions and anthologies, most of them translations of some of the primary sources. Now, more than thirty years later, however, one can rely on almost an entire library of relevant studies. I myself have made some minor contributions to this library with studies on Greenlandic accounts of the Kingdom of Denmark from the eighteenth century,[19] the diaries of Chinese exiles and ambassadors to Europe and the West from the second half of the nineteenth century,[20] African representations of Europe as spectacle,[21] questioning as an early version of Japanese accounts of Europe,[22] and finally Indian views of England from the final decades of the nineteenth century.[23] Instead of trying to summarize the results of these investigations, in what follows I shall try to take a closer look at a number of recent studies of Muslim travelers and their accounts to see what they have to offer from a comparative point of view.

It was Bernard Lewis who opened up this line of enquiry in his *The Muslim Discovery of Europe* in 1982.[24] Trying to demonstrate that Muslim observers were strikingly less interested in Europe than contemporary Europeans were in the

18 Michael Harbsmeier, Early Travels to Europe: Some Remarks on the Magic of Writing, in Francis Barker et al. (eds.), Europe and Its Others: Proceedings of the Essex Sociology of Literature Conference 1984, vol. 1 (Colchester. 1985), pp. 72–88.

19 Michael Harbsmeier, Stimmen aus dem äußersten Norden: Wie die Grönländer Europa für sich entdeckten (Stuttgart 2001); Michael Harbsmeier, Bodies and Voices from Ultima Thule: Inuit Explorations of the Kablunat from Christian IV to Knud Rasmussen, in Michael Bravo and Sverker Sörlin (eds.), Narrating the Arctic: A Cultural History of Scientific Practices (Canton, MA. 2002), pp. 33–71.

20 Michael Harbsmeier, Le monde renversé: Quelques expériences chinoises de la modernité européenne au XIX^{e} siècle, in Revue germanique internationale 21 (2004), pp. 163–180.

21 Michael Harbsmeier, Schauspiel Europa: Die außereuropäische Entdeckung Europas im 19. Jahrhundert am Beispiel afrikanischer Texte, in Historische Anthropologie 2/3 (1995), pp. 331–350.

22 Michael Harbsmeier and Peter Ulf Møller, Europe as Ethnographic Object: How Japan discovered the West, in Folk 34 (1993), pp. 5–42; Michael Harbsmeier, Interrogating Travelers: On the Production of Western Knowledge in Early Modern Japan, in Gesa Mackenthun, Andrea Nicolas, and Stephanie Wodianka (eds.), Travel, Agency, and the Circulation of Knowledge (Münster, New York 2017), pp. 201–220.

23 Michael Harbsmeier, Indian Views of England: Allochronism in Reverse, in Anna Brus (ed.), "The Savage Hits Back" Revisited: Art and Alterity in the Colonial Encounter (Berlin 2021).

24 Bernard Lewis, The Muslim Discovery of Europe (London 1982).

Muslim world, Bernard Lewis had very little to say about any of the Muslim travelers who actually did write about their visits to Europe. Nabil Matar's studies and anthologies made a large number of texts available in translation. These showed that it was European distrust, travel restrictions, and inhospitality rather than any lack interest and curiosity among the Arabs that can explain why there were so many more European accounts of Arab regions than the other way around.[25] If to this we add the account of Ahmad ibn Qāsim Al-Hajari (c. 1570–c. 1640), the envoy who in the early seventeenth century was sent by the Moroccan sultan to France and the Netherlands to negotiate the release of captured Moriscos,[26] and the fascinating diary of the Christian Maronite from Aleppo Hanna Diyab (d. c. 1687), who went to Paris in the early eighteenth century to help Antoine Galland (1646–1715) with the publication of *One Thousand and One Nights*,[27] we get a first indication of early modern Arab-European interactions and *Verflechtungen* (entanglements).

With the Egyptian modernist and reformer Rifa'a al-Tahtawi (1801–1873), who stayed in Paris as imam for a group of forty-four students from 1825 to 1831, things seem to have changed. Tahtawi's *Takhlis al-Ibriz fi Talkhis Bariz* or *The Extraction of Gold or an Overview of Paris* was published in Cairo in 1834,[28] and became the first of many Arab accounts of visits to France and other European countries, to Russia and also to Japan.[29] Aiming more or less explicitly at learning, improvement, and getting access to more advanced knowledge and equipment, the accounts of these diplomatic emissaries, students, tourists, and exiles as well as al-Tahtawis description of Paris have mostly been

25 Nabil Matar (ed. and trans.), In the Land of the Christians: Arabic Travel Writing in the 17th Century (Abingdon, New York 2003); Nabil Matar, Europe through Arab Eyes, 1578–1727 (New York 2009).

26 Ahmad ibn Qasim al-Hajarî, Kitab nasir al-din ala'l-qawm al-kafirin (The supporter of religion against the infidel), edited and translated from the Arabic by P. S. van Koningsveld, Q. al-Samarrai, and G. A. Wiegers (Madrid 1997). See also Michael Harbsmeier, Fremde Blicke: Aussenansichten Europas im 17. Jahrhundert, in Zeitsprünge. Forschungen zur frühen Neuzeit 7/2 (2003), pp. 455–476, here pp. 472–476.

27 Hanna Diyāb, Von Aleppo nach Paris: Die Reise eines jungen Syrers bis an den Hof Ludwigs XIV, unter Berücksichtigung der arabischen Handschrift, translated from the French adaptation by Gennaro Ghirardelli (Berlin 2016).

28 Rifa'a Rafi' al-Tahtawi, An Imam in Paris: Al-Tahtawi's Visit to France (1826–1831), translated and introduced by Daniel L. Newman (London 2004).

29 Alain Roussillon, Identité et modernité: Les voyageurs égyptiens au Japon (XIX^{e}–XX^{e} siècles) (Paris, Arles 2005). See also Ibrahim Abdürrechid, Un Tatar au Japon: Voyage en Asie 1908–1910, translated from Ottoman Turkish and annotated by François Georgeon and Isik Tamdogan-Abel (Paris 2004).

studied as integral to movements of enlightenment and modernization.[30] From a more broadly comparative point of view, however, they can also be interpreted as a continuation of the curiosity and fascination of their predecessors under the pressures of global temporalization.

Turning eastwards from the Arab to the Ottoman world the pattern seems to repeat itself with a twist. Evliya Çelebi (1611–c. 1687), the most famous of Ottoman travelers,[31] as well as the earliest ambassadors to Europe in the eighteenth century were as deeply impressed by what they recognized as superior means and ways of communication and representation as their many successors in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries traveling to the same destinations.[32] Where the earlier generations merely described and admired the libraries, theaters, opera houses, printing presses, post offices, museums, exhibitions, panoramas, and other public displays, later travelers were increasingly in search for models of improvement and progress to be introduced at home as well. Many of these travelers have been thoroughly studied in numerous publications resulting from the project *Europa von außen gesehen* (Europe seen from outside) led by Bekim Agai at the University of Bonn from 2010 to 2014.[33]

Perhaps even more interestingly, however, Ottoman travelers of the nineteenth century also turned eastwards themselves, thereby producing their own variety of "Orientalism." Christoph Herzog's and Raoul Motika's article "Orientalism 'alla turca'" from twenty years ago, which has been followed up by a substantial dissertation on *Ottoman Travellers' Perception of "the East" in the Late*

30 Anouar Louca, Voyageurs et écrivains égyptiens en France au XIX[e] siècle (Paris 1970); Susan Gilson Miller (ed. and transl.), Disorienting Encounters: Travels of a Moroccan Scholar in France in 1845–1846, the voyage of Muhammad aṣ-Saffār (Berkeley, Los Angeles 1992); Nazik Saba Yared, Arab Travellers and Western Civilisation (Beirut 1996).

31 See the presentation in this volume by Donna Landry and Gerald MacLean, as well as R. F. Kreutel (ed. and transl.), Im Reiche des goldenen Apfels: Des türkischen Weltenbummlers Evliya Çelebi denkwürdige Reisen in das Guiarenland und nach Wien, anno 1665 (Graz 1957).

32 Mehmed Efendi, Le paradis des infidèles: Relation de Yirmisekiz Çelebi Mehmed efendi, ambassadeur ottoman en France sours la Régence, translated from Ottoman by Julien Galland, edited by Gilles Veinstein (Paris 1981); Zeyneb Hanoum, A Turkish Woman's European Impressions, edited by Grace Ellison (London 1913, reprint Cambridge 2012); Stéphane Yerasimos, Deux Ottomans à Paris sous le Directoire et l'Empire: Relations d'ambassade (Paris 1998).

33 See Bekim Agai, Olcay Akyıldız, and Caspar Hillebrand (eds.), Venturing Beyond Borders: Reflections on Genre, Function and Boundaries in Middle Eastern Travel Writing (Würzburg 2013); Bekim Agai and Stephan Conermann (eds.), "Wenn einer eine Reise tut, hat er was zu erzählen": Präfiguration – Konfiguration – Refiguration in muslimischen Reiseberichten (Berlin 2013); Bekim Agai and Zita Ágota Pataki (eds.), Orientalische Reisende in Europa – Europäische Reisende im Nahen Osten: Bilder vom Selbst und Imaginationen des Anderen (Berlin 2010).

Ottoman Empire by Mustafa Serdar Palabiyik,[34] can also be seen as an invitation to compare travels to the Orient with travels from the Orient by focusing on the Occidentalist as against the Orientalist Ottoman travel accounts of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

Turning a further step eastwards to the Indo-Persian and Persian traditions of travel writing, we finally come to yet another and even better reason for answering the question whether it makes sense to compare in the affirmative. Sanjay Subrahmanym and Muzaffar Alam were the first to point out that many of the Indo-Persian travel accounts of "the age of discovery" had very little or nothing to do with any European presence or inspiration.[35] The few and better known exceptions, Shaikh Syed Muhammad I'tisam al-Din's (1730 – 1800) report of his visit to France and Britain from 1767 to 1769 in *The Wonders of Vilayet*[36] and Mirza Abu Taleb Khan's (1752 – 1805/06) *Travels in Asia, Africa and Europe during the years 1799 – 1803*[37] thus appear in a new light as links in a chain ranging from the Mughal to the Safavid and the travelers of the Qajar Empire of the nineteenth century, and it is precisely in this field that the comparative study of travel accounts has taken the most spectacular steps forward over the last couple of decades.

The most recent of the monographs about Persian travel accounts from the Qajar period, Hamid Dabashi's *Reversing the Colonial Gaze*,[38] spends quite a lot of energy on the attempt to show that, far from exclusively dealing with Europe, these travelers also went to many other destinations. Kamram Rastegar's wide-

34 Christoph Herzog and Raoul Motika, Orientalism "alla turca": Late 19th / Early 20th Century Ottoman Voyages into the Muslim "Outback," in Die Welt des Islams, new series 40/2 (2000): Ottoman Travels and Travel Accounts from an Earlier Age of Globalization, pp. 139 – 195; Mustafa Serdar Palabiyik, Travel, Civilisation, and the East: Ottoman Travellers' Perception of "the East" in the Late Ottoman Empire (PhD thesis, Middle East Technical University, Ankara 2010). See also Stephan Conermann, Das Eigene und das Fremde: Der Bericht der Gesandtschaft Muṣṭafā Rāsiḫs nach St. Petersburg 1792 – 1794, in Archivium Ottomanicum 17 (1999), pp. 249 – 270.

35 Muzaffar Alam and Sanjay Subrahmanyam, Indo-Persian Travels in the Age of Discoveries 1400 – 1800 (Cambridge 2007).

36 Mirza I'tisam al-Din, Shigurf namah i Velaet, or, Excellent Intelligence Concerning Europe: Being the Travels of Mirza Itesa Modeen in Great Britain and France, translated from the original Persian manuscript into Hindoostanee, with an English version and notes by J. E. Alexander and Munshi Shamsher Khan (London 1827). See also Juan R. I. Cole, Invisible Occidentalism: Eighteenth Century Indo-Persian Constructions of the West, in Iranian Studies 25/3 (1992), pp. 3 – 16.

37 Charles Stewart (trans.), Travels of Mirza Abu Taleb Khan in Asia, Africa and Europe during the years 1799, 1800, 1801, 1802 and 1803: Written by himself in the Persian Language, 2nd ed. (London 1814).

38 Hamid Dabashi, Reversing the Colonial Gaze: Persian Travelers Abroad (Cambridge 2020).

ranging study *Literary Modernity between the Middle East and Europe*,[39] Naghmeh Sohrabi's *Taken for Wonder*,[40] the anthology *On the Wonders of Land and Sea*,[41] and Sara Faridzadeh's PhD thesis[42] have devoted most of their comparative attention to the European experiences of these generations of travelers. The best illustration of how far a micro-historical study of just one of these Iranian voyages to Europe can take us in the direction of a better understanding of emphatically global interactions can be found in Nile Green's admirably detailed reconstruction of what six Iranians students learned during their stay in England in the early nineteenth century.[43]

Conclusions

Our survey of recent potential contributions to a comparative study of travel accounts to and from the Orient has given us some examples of successful micro-historical studies of singular encounters such as Nile Green's and a long list of travelers deserving such close micro-historical scrutiny. When trying to identify larger patterns, however, in the style of Jürgen Osterhammel's no longer merely curious and not yet eurocentrically and imperially arrogant and superior enlightened explorers of Asian empires, we are bound to remain disappointed: all the accounts quoted so far, whether to or from the Orient, are full of traces of experiences and observations of alterities, i. e., other ways of communication and representation, other ways of dealing with gender and age, with poverty and power, seasons and nature than what these travelers and their audience were used to and knew in advance. When trying to follow these traces we have to bracket our preconceived notions of both where the travelers came from and where they went to. Only when listening closely enough to the travelers themselves will they let us have a share in their global histories. Perhaps digitalization will be able to help us to find new ways of comparing these global experiences.

39 Kamran Rastegar, Literary Modernity between the Middle East and Europe: Textual Transactions in Nineteenth-Century Arabic, English and Persian Literatures (London, New York 2007).
40 Naghmeh Sohrabi, Taken for Wonder: Nineteenth-Century Travel Accounts from Iran to Europe (Oxford, New York 2012).
41 Roberta Micallef and Sunil Sharma (eds.), On the Wonders of Land and Sea: Persianate Travel Writing (Boston, Mass. et al. 2013).
42 Sara Faridzadeh, Der östliche Westen: Grenz- und Fremdheitskonstruktionen in iranischen Reiseberichten des 19. Jahrhunderts (PhD thesis, Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin 2017).
43 Nile Green, The Love of Strangers: What Six Muslims Learned in Jane Austen's London (Princeton, Oxford 2016).

II Intertextuality and Intermediality

Gabriele Leschke

Representations of the Tomb of Christ in Works Written, Designed, and Commissioned by Otto Friedrich von der Gröben

Today, Otto Friedrich von der Gröben (1656 – 1728)[1] is mainly known for his role in setting up the Brandenburg-Prussian colony Groß-Friedrichsburg, which was located in the vicinity of today's Princes Town in Ghana. Amongst his contemporaries, he was, however, famous for his Oriental journey. Gröben depicted his travels to the "Orient" as a pilgrimage, with Jerusalem, which belonged to the Ottoman Empire at that time, as the destination. Accordingly, he chose the most sacred place of Christianity, the Tomb of Christ in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, as the central emblem of his voyages. Focusing on the material aspects of the numerous representations of the aedicula in works written, designed, and commissioned by Gröben, this chapter will examine the various ways in which he used the edifice for his self-representation as a noble Protestant pilgrim from Brandenburg-Prussia to the Holy Land. It will also discuss the intermedial relations between the travelogue of the French Recollect friar Eugène Roger (fl. 1629 – 1634) and Gröben's books.

1 Materials used for the representations

The representations of the Tomb of Christ can be classified according to the materials used to create them, which is why their identification is key to the following discussion.

After returning to the Duchy of Prussia from his voyages, Gröben wrote two travelogues and had them copied in fine handwriting. The manuscript of the re-

1 Gröben states in his travelogue that he was born on Easter Sunday in 1657. Otto Friedrich von der Gröben, Orientalische Reise-Beschreibung des Brandenburgischen Adelichen Pilgers Otto Friedrich von der Gröben, Nebst der Brandenburgischen Schifffahrt nach Guinea, und der Verrichtung zu Morea (Marienwerder 1694), p. 12. However, the year of birth given on a plate on his tomb in Kwidzyn (Marienwerder) is 1656. This date is more likely, as Gröben's younger brother Heinrich Wilhelm (1657– 1729) was born in 1657. For the date of birth see also Wolfgang von der Groeben, Die Grafen und Herren von der Groeben, Stammtafeln 1140 – 1993 (Düsseldorf 1994), pp. 113 – 114, 126 – 127.

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port on his Oriental journey was splendidly bound and presented to his sovereign, Friedrich Wilhelm, Elector of Brandenburg-Prussia (1620 – 1688).[2] Six years after the elector's death in 1688, Gröben temporarily transferred Simon Reininger the Younger's (d. 1712) printing press from Gdansk (Danzig) to his residence at Kwidzyn (Marienwerder) in order to print his travelogue *Orientalische Reise-Beschreibung* (1694), with the *Guineische Reise-Beschreibung*, describing his journey to West Africa, as an appendix. In 1700, he published the heroic poem *Des Edlen Bergone und seiner Tugendhafften Areteen Denkwürdige Lebens- und Liebesgeschichte*,[3] which is also based on his travels. The manuscript of the *Orientalische Reise-Beschreibung,* the printed edition of the travelogue, and the heroic poem all incorporate a detailed verbal description of the Tomb of Christ. The medium of the representations is script. Since the production process is different for handwritten and printed scripts, handwritten script and printed script are classified as different types of material forms. The verbal depictions of the aedicula in Gröben's texts can thus be distinguished on the basis of their material forms as handwritten script and printed script. The carrier material is paper for both scripts.

There are four engravings of the aedicula by an unknown artist in the printed edition of the travelogue: one of the six images on the coppertitle, a plan[4] and a side view of the edifice[5], as well as an image of Gröben's tattoo[6] of the aedicula.[7] The medium of the representations is image combined with script, the material form is copperplate, and the carrier material is paper.

2 Otto Friedrich von der Gröben, [Orientalische Reise-Beschreibung], Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz [Ms. germ. Quart. 88].

3 Otto Friedrich von der Gröben, Des Edlen Bergone und seiner Tugendhafften Areteen Denkwürdige Lebens- und Liebesgeschichte. In deutschen Versen (Danzig 1700).

4 Gröben, Orientalische Reise-Beschreibung, following p. 126 (1).

5 Gröben, Orientalische Reise-Beschreibung, following p. 126 (2).

6 I am using the modern term "tattoo" in this chapter, although this term and its equivalents in European languages were not established in Europe until the second half of the eighteenth century. For examples of German terms describing tattoos in the seventeenth century, compare the quotations below. For English terms, compare the discussion by Juliet Fleming of "'Listing', 'rasing', 'pricking', and 'pouncing'". Juliet Fleming: The Renaissance Tattoo, in Jane Caplan (ed.), Written on the Body: The Tattoo in European and American History (Princeton, NJ, 2000), pp. 61 – 82, here p. 69.

7 Gröben, Orientalische Reise-Beschreibung, following p. 286.

"According to all pilgrims' custom,"[8] Gröben had his arms tattooed during his stay in the Franciscan monastery in Jerusalem in 1675.[9] From a number of models he chose three motifs for his right arm and two for the left arm, among them the Tomb of Christ. The medium of the representation is image combined with script, the material form is tattoo, and the original carrier material is, or rather was, human skin, while for the engraving showing the representation in the travelogue the material form is copperplate and the carrier material is paper.

In 1703, Friedrich I., King in Prussia (1657–1713), permitted Gröben to add a burial chapel for himself and his wife Anna Barbara (née von Schlieben, 1672–1703) to the cathedral of Kwidzyn.[10] One of the outside decorations of this chapel is a bas-relief of the Tomb of Christ by an unknown artist. Inside the chapel, there is another bas-relief containing an image of the aedicula. The medium of these is image, the material form is bas-relief, and the carrier material is sandstone. We can then identify three different media in the representations of the aedicula: script, image, and a combination of script and image, five different types of material forms: handwritten script, printed script, copperplate, tattoo, and bas-relief, and three carrier materials: paper, human skin, and sandstone.

2 The affective meanings of the materials

According to Monika Wagner, the carrier material contributes to the affective meaning of the representation that it carries.[11] Paper, human skin, and sandstone therefore add different affective meanings to the representations of the aedicula.

8 "[N]ach aller Pilger Gewonheit." Gröben, Orientalische Reise-Beschreibung, p. 283. Unless otherwise indicated, translations are by the author.

9 Mordechay Lewy observes that the pilgrims' habit of having their bodies tattooed with religious motifs started in the late sixteenth century. Mordechay Lewy, Jerusalem unter der Haut: Zur Geschichte der Jerusalemer Pilgertätowierung, in Zeitschrift für Religions- und Geistesgeschichte 55 (2003), pp. 1–39, here p. 7.

10 After the death of Anna Barbara von der Gröben, Gröben remarried twice. His wives Helene Marie (née Erbtruchsessin Gräfin zu Waldburg, 1681–1710) and Louise Juliane (widowed von Plotho, née von Kanitz, d. 1740) were also buried in the chapel.

11 Monika Wagner, Papier und Stein: Kommunikative Potenziale Anachronistischer Trägermaterialien in der Zeitgenössischen Kunst, in Thomas Strässle, Christoph Kleinschmidt, and Johanne Mons (eds.), Das Zusammenspielen der Materialien in den Künsten: Theorien, Praktiken, Perspektiven (Bielefeld 2013), pp. 263–276, here p. 264.

Image and script on paper are charged with vulnerability due to the latent hazard of its carrier material's potential destruction by fire.[12] This is particularly the case for handwritten script on paper, because of the uniqueness of the manifestation that it produces. In the case of Gröben's precious gift to the Elector, the valuable design of the manuscript enhances this meaning. Handwritten script and paper are therefore used by Gröben in his attempt to establish a special relationship with his sovereign by offering an outstanding gift. In addition, paper as carrier material has the affordance for storing information. It also affords portability, which in combination with printed script allows for the work's widespread distribution. In conjunction with printed script, paper can thus be deployed to establish the reputation of the traveler and his noble family by disseminating knowledge about his voyages.

As skin is inseparable from the person's body, a tattoo implies that the representation is permanent for that person's lifetime, but will perish after his or her death (unless the body is mummified, which is not normally the case). Thus, skin shares the quality of permanence with stone and the quality of fragility with paper. In comparison with stone and paper, human skin as carrier material is most heavily loaded with affective meaning because it charges the representation with the pain inherent in its production. As the tattoo and the tattooed body are inseparable, the skin as carrier material also bestows an affective meaning of mobility to the representation. Because the tattooed person can move and travel, the tattoo on the skin moves with him or her. The affective meaning of mobility is especially important for the religious tattoos that pilgrims obtained during their visits to the Christian sites in Jerusalem and other biblical locations, the custom of religious tattooing being restricted to that region. Accordingly, the tattoo indicates that the person carrying it had ventured on a journey to Jerusalem. By wearing the representation of the Tomb of Christ on his own skin, Gröben testifies to his faith as well as to the fact that he has visited the Holy Land.

A distinctive feature of sandstone as carrier material is its persistence, which makes it a favorite material for commemorative art like monuments and gravestones. In addition, it adds the affective meaning of immobility to the representation, as stone cannot easily be removed from the original site. By employing sandstone as a carrier material for the bas-reliefs used to decorate his own burial chapel, Gröben attempts to preserve his own fame and that of his family for posterity.

In order to use the affective meanings of the respective carrier materials, Gröben relied on a mix of materials to establish his own reputation and that

12 Wagner, Papier und Stein, p. 270.

of his family, to sustain it for posterity and to testify to his pilgrimage to the Holy Land.

3 Intermedial relations in the travelogue

This section will discuss the intermedial relations[13] of the representations of the Tomb of Christ in Gröbens's travelogue. We will first look at the copperplates, of which there are two groups. The representation of the Tomb of Christ on the copper title and the representation of the tattoo form the first group. The images depict the edifice in side view (seen from the south) as site of religious scenes, showing two angels and three women with the aedicula at the center on the copper title and Christ resurrecting from the grave on the copperplate of the tattoo. Both copperplates contain the inscription "*resurexit*," which is followed in the image of the tattoo by the words "*propter iustificationem n[ost]ram*." The inscriptions thus refer to the respective religious scenes. In contrast, the plan and the side view (seen from the north), which constitute the second group, seem to present the aedicula as an architectural structure. Their inscriptions, "The Plan of the Chapel of the Holy Tomb"[14] and "The Chapel that [is] over the Holy Tomb,"[15] serve to identify the building. However, this observation does not imply that the plan and the side view provide historically accurate reproductions of the edifice at the time of Gröben's visit.[16] This can be demonstrated by the fact that the plan does not indicate the narrow entrance allowing access to the burial chamber from the Chapel of the Angel.[17] This omission enhances the visual impression of the burial chamber as the place of the empty Tomb of Christ, while reducing the topographical accuracy. To give another example, Gröben refers verbally in some detail to several lamps donated by European princes and knights that were placed both inside the edifice and at its entrance.[18] We can therefore

13 For the terminology used in this section compare Doris Gruber, Intermedialität und gedruckte Reiseberichte: Ein Modell zur semi-automatisierten Anwendung, in Philipp Hegel and Michael Krewet (eds.), Wissen in Buchgestalt (Wiesbaden expected in 2022).
14 "Der Grundris der Capellen des H[eiligen] Grab[es]". Gröben, Orientalische Reise-Beschreibung, following p. 126 (1).
15 "Die Capelle so über dem H[eiligen] Grabe." Gröben, Orientalische Reise-Beschreibung, following p. 126 (2).
16 I am grateful to Dr. Ilya Berkovich for drawing my attention to this fact.
17 By comparison, for example, the plan by Bernardino Amico (fl. 1597–1620), first published in 1609, shows the entrance. See the reproduction of the plan in Zur Shalev, Sacred Words and Worlds: Geography, Religion, and Scholarship, 1550–1700 (Leiden at al. 2012), p. 115.
18 Gröben, Orientalische Reise-Beschreibung, p. 129.

assume that he considers them important. However, there are no lamps in the side view of the aedicula, while the lamps hanging between the pillars decorating the exterior of the chapel appear for instance in some of the side views in *Ichnographiae Monumentorum Terrae Sanctae* by Elzear Horn (c. 1691–1744).[19] Hence one may conclude that both the plan and the side view in the travelogue present a simplified, idealized version of the edifice.

In addition to the interpictorial relations created by the fact that the four copperplates in the *Orientalische Reise-Beschreibung* show the same external entity, namely the aedicula, there is another layer of their mutual relation, which is established by the text of the travelogue. An instance of this is the legend for the plan of the aedicula, which identifies "1" as "The stone on which the angel had sat who announced Christ's resurrection to the Three Holy Maries."[20] What appears as topographical information is in fact an allusion to the biblical narrative of the resurrection of Christ in the version of the Gospel of Mark.[21] It is this narrative that establishes the reference to the image of the resurrection on the coppertitle, identifying the three women as the "*heiligen drei Marien*" (Three Holy Maries). At this point, the intertextual relation between the legend and the Bible is unmarked, which applies by extension to the intermedial relations between the legend, the plan, and the resurrection scene on the copper title. When Gröben narrates his visit to the Tomb of Christ in the travelogue, he again mentions the stone "On which the angel of the Lord had sat, who announced Christ's resurrection to the Three Maries"[22] and underlines this point by stating in the marginalia: "The stone on which the angel had sat."[23] He continues by quoting the Gospel in the translation by Martin Luther (1483–1546). By naming the Evangelist and by providing the exact source of the quotation in the marginalia he creates a marked intertextual reference: "As he said: You are looking for Jesus the Nazarene, who was crucified, He has risen, He is not here: See the place where they laid him, like Mark the Evangelist writes."[24] Thus, the text

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19 Elzear Horn, Ichnographiae Monumentorum Terrae Sanctae. 1724–1744, 2nd ed. (Jerusalem 1962), p. 40 and plates I, II, and IV.

20 "Der Stein auff welchem der Engel gesessen/ so den drey heiligen Marien die Aufferstehung Christi verkündiget." Gröben, Orientalische Reise-Beschreibung, p. 126. Curiously enough, the numbers 1–3 in the legend do not correspond with the numbers 1–4 in the plan. In the plan, the stone is indicated by the number 2.

21 Mark 16:6.

22 "[...] auff welchem der Engel des Herrn gesessen/ der denen dreyen Marien die Aufferstehung Christi verkündiget." Gröben, Orientalische Reise-Beschreibung, p. 127.

23 "Der Stein worauff der Engel gesessen." Gröben, Orientalische Reise-Beschreibung, p. 127.

24 "[...] da er gesaget: Ihr suchet Jesum von Nazareht [sic]/ den Gekreutzigten/ Er ist aufferstanden/ und ist nicht hie : Siehe da die Stäte/ da sie Ihn hinlegten/ wie Marcus der Evangelist moves from an unmarked textual reference to a marked textual quotation from the Bible.

Furthermore, there is a second intertextual relation here, which, however, is unmarked. The travelogue of the French Recollect friar Eugène Roger, who stayed in the Holy Land from 1629 till 1634, *La Terre Saincte, ou description topographique tres-particuliere des saincts Lieux, & de la Terre de Promission*, was published in Paris in 1646 with illustrations by François Chauveau (1621–1676). A second edition appeared in 1664. There is no translation of it. Like Gröben, Roger describes the Tomb of Christ and the angel's stone: "On this stone the angel had sat when he appeared to the women for giving them assurance of the glorious resurrection."[25] This point is highlighted by the marginalia: "From where the angel appeared to the women at the resurrection of Our Savior."[26] At first glance, Roger's French text is very similar to Gröben's German travelogue. The texts are, however, not identical. Although Roger alludes to the Bible as well, his text lacks the explicit textual reference. It does not even state which of the Gospels it relates to, since neither the names nor the number of the women are specified, so that it is in accordance with the versions of the resurrection scene as narrated in the Gospels by Matthew, Mark, and Luke.

The intertextual reference between *La Terre Saincte* and the *Orientalische Reise-Beschreibung* is enhanced by the unmarked interpictorial relation formed by the plan[27] and the side view[28] of the Tomb of Christ in both travelogues. Whereas in the *Orientalische Reise-Beschreibung* the legends of the plan and the side view are incorporated into the text before the pages with the corresponding images, in *La Terre Saincte* they are placed directly below the copperplates they explicate. In particular, the legend of the plan identifies "1" as "Stone on which the angel had sat who said to the Maries that Jesus was resurrected."[29] Like in Gröben's legend, seemingly topographical information is provided by an allusion to the biblical narrative of the resurrection. Although the women

schreibet." Luther Bible, 1545, New International Version (2011), Mark 16:6, accessed 4 April 2022, <https://www.biblegateway.com/passage/?search=Mark+16&version=NIV>; Gröben, Orientalische Reise-Beschreibung, p. 127. The text in the marginalia reads "Marc. 16. v. 6."

25 "Sur cette pierre estoit assis l'Ange, lors qu'il s'aparut aux femmes pour leur donner asseurance de la Resurrection glorieuse." Eugène Roger, La Terre Saincte, ou description topographique tres-particuliere des saincts Lieux, & de la Terre de Promission (Paris 1646), p. 109.

26 "Du lieu où l'Ange aparut aux femmes en la Resurrection de N.S." Roger, La Terre Saincte, p. 109.

27 Roger, La Terre Saincte, p. 111.

28 Roger, La Terre Saincte, p. 112.

29 "Pierre sur laquelle estoit assis l'Ange qui dit aux Maries que Jesus estoit ressuscité." Roger, La Terre Saincte, p. 111.

are now named "Maries," thus narrowing the source to the Gospel of either Matthew (who names two women called Mary in the resurrection scene) or Mark (who depicts three women called Mary[30]) and excluding Luke (who includes "Johanna" in the group of women), their number is not stated, which still leaves ambiguity as to the source of the narrative (Matthew or Mark). By including the number in addition to the names of the "*drey heiligen Marien*," Gröben eliminates any ambiguity, making clear that he alludes to the Gospel of Mark.

Gröben creates two unmarked intertextual relations here: the unmarked allusion to the Gospel of Mark and the unmarked, and almost literal, translation of parts of Roger's travelogue. In contrast to the text copied from Roger, he later marks the intertextual relation to the Gospel of Mark by the literal quotation from the biblical text and by referring to the gospel in the marginalia. This marked intertextual relation serves two purposes: on the level of narration, quoting the words of the angel in direct speech increases the emotional impact of the resurrection scene on the reader, while on the level of discursive practice, quoting the Bible in Luther's translation establishes a Protestant counterbalance to the Franciscan-controlled pilgrimage business in the Holy Land, granted to the order by the Ottoman administration and experienced by the Brandenburg pilgrim during his stay in Jerusalem.[31] In this respect, the quotation from the Luther Bible also contributes to mask the fact that some of the information provided by the Protestant Gröben on the Tomb of Christ is copied from the travelogue of a French Recollect friar.

Like the corresponding French and German texts, the plan and the side view of the Tomb of Christ in the two travelogues are not identical, but very similar to each other.[32] However, the engravings in the *Orientalische Reise-Beschreibung* are mirror-inverted (Fig. 1–2).

Looking at the plan, this is not immediately apparent because of the symmetrical layout of the edifice, with the cross marking the site of Jesus' burial bed in the same place in both plans, although in the Prussian version it is bigger

30 In Luther's translation, they are named "Maria Magdalena / Maria Jacobi und Salome". Luther Bible, 1545, New International Version (2011), Mark 16:1. Salome is also known as "Maria Salome," hence the grouping of the three women as the "*drey Marien*" (Three Maries).

31 There is a multitude of negative references to the Franciscans in Gröben's text, ranging from accusing the monks of avarice and taking bribes to the fear of being poisoned by them as a heretic because of his Protestant confession. See Gröben, *Orientalische Reise-Beschreibung*, pp. 87–92.

32 Altogether, sixteen of the forty-nine engravings of the *Orientalische Reise-Beschreibung* are copied from Chauveau, as well as nine of the ten additional mezzotints contained in some copies of the travelogue.

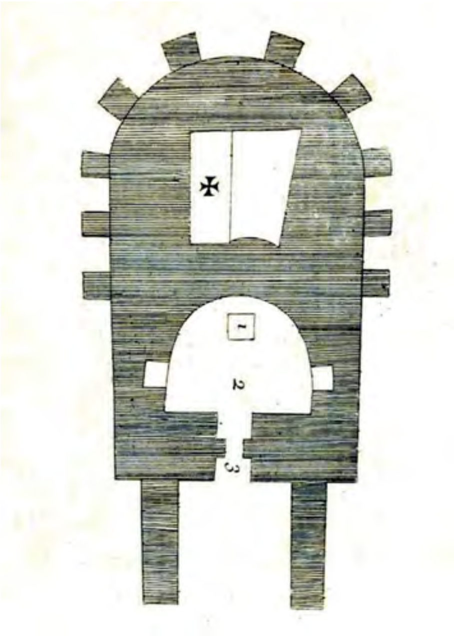

Fig. 1: Plan of the tomb of Christ, copperplate, in Roger, *La Terre Saincte,* 1646, p. 111. Source: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France [IFN-8607032], accessed 19 May 2022, <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8607032p>.

than in the French original. It is only the irregular form representing the burial chamber that indicates that the later image is mirror-inverted. This suggests that Gröben's engraver copied Chauveau's images on the copperplates without minding the mirror-inverted effect in the resulting engravings. Nevertheless, the side-reverted effect should not be regarded as an instance of the copies' inferior quality. Rather, it should be considered as an indicator of the interpictorial relation between the original image and its copy.

The mirror-inverted effect can be further exemplified by comparing the position of the cross marking the burial bed of Jesus in the two engravings and in the external entity they refer to. Both plans of the aedicula show the cross on the left-hand (southern) side of the burial chapel, thus marking the regular square representing the burial chamber in Roger and the irregular form representing the burial bed in Gröben due to the reversion. This raises the question as to where the burial bed is positioned in the building. Paradoxically, Roger has it both right and wrong simultaneously: the burial bed is on the right-hand (northern) side of the aedicula, so the regular square representing it is in the correct place in his travelogue, whereas the cross marking it is in the wrong place. We

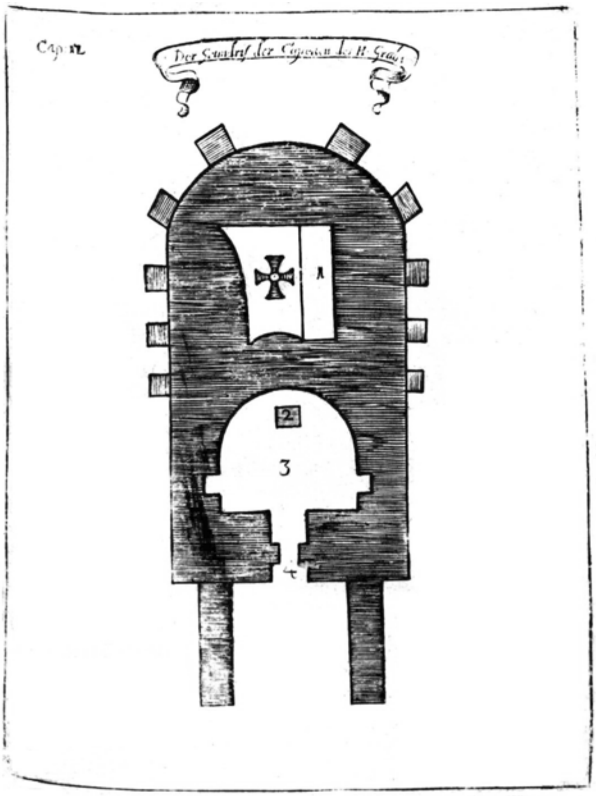

Fig. 2: Plan of the tomb of Christ, copperplate, in Gröben, *Orientalische Reise-Beschreibung,* 1694, following p. 126 (1). Source: Halle, ULB Sachsen-Anhalt [Ob 674], accessed 19 May 2022, <urn:nbn:de:gbv:3:3 – 25288>.

can thus detect a second mirror-inversion, this time in Chauveau's engraving. This might point to the fact that Chauveau copied the image from yet another source.[33] Conversely, Gröben's plan is faulty in both respects: both the burial bed and the cross marking it are on the wrong side of the edifice.

As a result, we can conclude that neither Roger nor Gröben considered it inappropriate to illustrate their travelogues with mirror-inverted engravings copied from other sources, as their aim was not to provide historically accurate images

33 Compare Grazia Tucci (ed.), Jerusalem. The Holy Sepulchre: Research and Investigations (2007–2011) (Florence 2019), p. 126.

of the biblical sites but to present idealized versions of some of the buildings instead.

4 The intermedial relations of the tattoos

Previous research on Gröben's tattoos has failed to investigate the tattoos' intermediality in detail.[34] The following section of my chapter will therefore focus on this aspect.

Katherine Dauge-Roth has argued that the pilgrim tattoo is an important factor in "fashioning identity."[35] Following this argument, one would assume that for the purpose of self-fashioning, the tattooed pilgrims would proudly present their tattoos when being portrayed. This assumption does, however, not apply to Gröben as none of the known portraits of the writer shows his tattoos. This can be illustrated by comparing the three engravings by Andreas Scharff (fl. 1694), George Lisiewski (1674 – 1750), and Johann Christoph Boecklin (1657–1709), respectively, which were used for the frontispiece in different copies of the *Orientalische Reise-Beschreibung*. On all three of them, the author is presented in almost half-length without tattoos. This could be due to the format of the portraits, which do not show the forearms, but we can still conclude that the tattoos were not considered important for the portraits of the author, which were exhibited in such a prominent place. It is estimated that more than 3,400 European pilgrims visited Jerusalem in the seventeenth century.[36] During that time, 390 travel reports on the town and the surrounding area were published,[37] at least nine of which mention pilgrim tattoos,[38] which substantiates Gröben's claim that getting pilgrim tattoos was a habit amongst European pilgrims to Jerusalem.[39] However, to our knowledge only three pilgrims had their portrait

34 Lewy, Jerusalem; Robert Ousterhout, Permanent Ephemera: The Honorable Stigmatization of Jerusalem Pilgrims, in Renana Bartal and Hanna Vorholt (eds.), Between Jerusalem and Europe: Essays in Honour of Bianca Kühnel (Leiden et al. 2015), pp. 95 – 109; Maria Schaller, "Stich bey Stich" auf dem "schmertzliche[n] Kreitz Weg Christi": Die Tätowierten Pilger-Zeichen des Otto Friedrich von der Gröben und seine Orientalische Reise-Beschreibung (Marienwerder 1694), in Debora Oswald, Linda Schiel, and Nadine Wagener-Böck (eds.), Wege: Gestalt, Funktion, Materialität (Berlin 2018), pp. 56 – 79; Katherine Dauge-Roth, Signing the Body: Marks on Skin in Early Modern France (Abington 2020), pp. 177, 198 – 200.

35 Dauge-Roth, Signing the Body, p. 198.

36 Shalev, Sacred Words, p. 77.

37 Shalev, Sacred Words, p. 79.

38 Lewy, Jerusalem, p. 11.

39 See Gröben, Orientalische Reise-Beschreibung, p. 283.

painted displaying their tattoos,[40] and none of these three portraits was transformed into an engraving for reproduction. This suggests that European pilgrims did not intend "fashioning [their] identities" using their pilgrim tattoos. Thus, the evidence does not support Dauge-Roth's proposition. Rather than using their pilgrim tattoos for fashioning identity, the pilgrims reveal an ambiguous attitude towards them: They do not deny their existence, but most of them do not have them displayed in their portraits.

Admittedly, as pointed out above, Gröben had representations of his tattoos engraved and published in his travelogue. But can we consider these, as Dauge-Roth claims, as "visual representations of pilgrim tattoos in print"?[41] Did Gröben indeed have "his flesh and blood engravings remade in copper"?[42] I would challenge this notion, since it is exactly the representation of the "flesh and blood" component that is missing from the copperplates (Fig. 3).

Rather than showing the "flesh and blood" of the tattooed person, they reduce the representation to the image and the script of the tattoos without showing their carrier.[43] The tattoo is thus transformed into an image and script without visual reference to the body. By copying the image of the tattoo, the tattoos are therefore separated not only from the author's skin, their original carrier material, but also from the representation of the author's skin. Gröben refers to the existence of the tattoos on his body verbally, but not visually. The medium is transformed from image and script to script only and the carrier material from the author's skin to paper. This material does not carry the affective meaning of the author's pain any more.

Still, some copies of the *Orientalische Reise-Beschreibung* do contain representations of tattoos on human bodies. In addition to the copperplates in the standard copies, these are equipped with mezzotint illustrations, signed by Andreas Scharff and George Lisiewski respectively. Three of the mezzotints exhibit Arabs with tattooed bodies, among them the portrait of an Arab woman engraved ("*fecit*") by Scharff. The fact that the term *delineavit* is missing from

40 These portraits allegedly depict the scholar Heinrich Wilhelm Ludolf (1655 – 1712), the diplomat Graf Siegfried von Kollonitz (portrayed around 1701), and an unidentified person. For the portrait of Ludolf see Lewy, Jerusalem, pp. 33 – 34. For the portrait of Kollonitz see Nina Trauth, Maske und Person: Orientalismus im Porträt des Barock (Berlin et al. 2009), pp. 255 – 256. For the portrait of the unidentified pilgrim see Dauge-Roth, Signing the Body, pp. 183 – 185.

41 Dauge-Roth, Signing the Body, p. 198.

42 Dauge-Roth, Signing the Body, p. 198.

43 This also applies to the engravings of William Lithgow's (1582 – in or after 1645) tattoos, which Dauge-Roth also refers to in order to support her proposition. See Dauge-Roth, Signing the Body, p. 173.

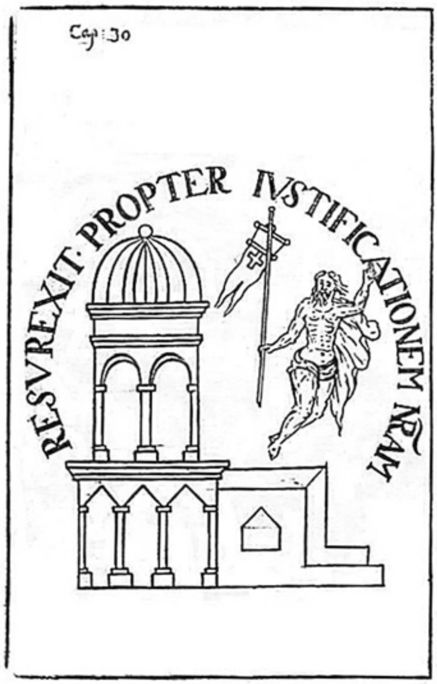

Fig. 3: Christ resurrecting, copperplate, in Gröben, *Orientalische Reise-Beschreibung*, 1694, following p. 286. Source: Halle, ULB Sachsen-Anhalt [Ob 674], accessed 19 May 2022, <urn:nbn:de:gbv:3:3 – 25288>.

the image's signature brings us to question whether Scharff was also its creator. When looking for a source we can revert again to Roger's travelogue, which does indeed contain the same portrait in mirror-inversion.[44] Scharff's mezzotint can therefore be classified as a copy of Chauveau's original. Both engravings represent the woman's tattoos on her body as images within an image. Accordingly, the image of the Arab woman's tattoos is presented in relation to its carrier material, the woman's skin, even though the carrier material of the representation is transformed into paper. The text of the travelogue mentions the tattoos of the Arab women only briefly in a generalizing manner: "Some have their faces pierced quite colorfully with powder."[45] There is no verbal reference to the

44 Roger, La Terre Saincte, p. 209.
45 "[...] etliche lassen sich das Angesicht gantz bund mit Pulver einstechen." Gröben, Orientalische Reise-Beschreibung, p. 237.

pain the Arab women experience when having the tattoos punctured onto their skin, but the affective meaning of the pierced skin is still conveyed by the woman's portrait.

When Gröben cautions in his travelogue against the dangers of tattooing, he refers to the process the Christian pilgrims underwent when receiving their tattoos: "Those of a weak constitution should mind to have such marks pierced, as they make the arm very severely swollen, and by inflammation can cause a fever that […] can easily bring death."[46] To Gröben, by contrast, physical strength is part of his self-fashioning as a nobleman skilled in the art of warfare. Therefore, the tattooing process causes nothing more inconvenient than "quite a strong pain"[47] to him. This rather passing mention of sufferance is in accordance with the cult of masculinity that required the Jerusalem pilgrims to be able to bear pain.[48] Hence, elaborating in more detail on the painful experience of receiving the tattoos on his own skin would have been inappropriate for Gröben.

In contrast to the travelogue, the heroic poem provides further possibilities for putting emphasis on the pain caused by the tattooing procedure. The male protagonist Bergone, whose name is an anagram of Gröben's name and who acts as the *alter ego* of the external entity Gröben, chooses his tattoos from hundreds of models presented by a Christian tattooist. The episode also features the female protagonist Aretea, a native of the Duchy of Prussia like Bergone and their author Gröben.[49] The tattoo artist ("*Künstler*")[50] tries to persuade Aretea to choose "this and that"[51] from the models as well, but she refuses "because hardly one out of a hundred can bear the pain."[52] The lack of strength of those who are of a weak constitution, or, as Gröben puts it in the heroic poem, of those who are "not of strong vigor,"[53] is transferred to the female protagonist, thus connecting European women with physical weakness.

In spite of the fact that Aretea does not receive tattoos on her own skin, she feels some of the pain of being tattooed. In the rare instance of the narrator of

46 "Wer nun einer schwachen Natur ist/ der mag sich wohl vorsehen/ solche Zeichen stechen zu lassen/ dann sie den Arm gar sehr schwellend machen/ und durch die Inflammation offtmahlen ein Fieber zu verursachen pflegen/ welches […] leicht den Todt befordern kan." Gröben, Orientalische Reise-Beschreibung, p. 286.
47 "[…] einen ziemlichen Schmertzen". Gröben, Orientalische Reise-Beschreibung, p. 285.
48 See Lewy, Jerusalem, p. 25.
49 Unlike Bergone/Gröben, the figure Aretea has no direct equivalent in an external entity.
50 Gröben, Bergone, p. 434.
51 "[D]ieß und das." Gröben, Bergone, p. 433.
52 "[W]eil kaum der hunderste den Schmertz ertragen kan." Gröben, Bergone, p. 434.
53 "[N]icht von starcker Krafft." Gröben, Bergone, p. 434.

the heroic poem ("I")[54] addressing the two protagonists, Bergone's pain is mirrored by that of the compassionate Aretea: "Bergone, can you not keep your pure blood? I know that Areté almost cried, When she saw it vainly growing cold, And that her suffering united with your pain."[55] As a result, Bergone's pain is emphasized without compromising the principle of male strength that Lewy has identified as part of the cult of masculinity the Christian pilgrims to Jerusalem submitted themselves to.[56]

The closing verses of the chapter dealing with Bergone's/Gröben's tattoos in the heroic poem are set off by a transformation of the sharpness of pain into sweetness ("acridity finally brings sweetness").[57] The transitional process brings sweetness in two respects. First, sweetness is created by the fact that the signs can only be robbed by the time of death ("nothing but the time of death").[58] Second, pleasantness is brought by the communication process triggered by the signs between Bergone/Gröben and others: "He can talk a lot about this case to others."[59] Far from being used by Gröben for personal religious contemplation, as Maria Schaller suggests in her paper on Gröben's tattoo showing the Way of the Cross,[60] the tattoos are on the contrary incorporated into a communication process about his pilgrimage that gives joy ("*Süßigkeit*") to Bergone/Gröben. Whereas the first aspect refers to the affective meaning that the carrier material, Bergone's/Gröben's own skin, contributes to the representation, the second facet introduces a performative element that ensures that the signs are interpreted by other observers in the way intended by Bergone/Gröben. Both, the tattoos and the hero's/author's conversations about them, end at the time of death. However, Bergone/Gröben has found a way of securing that even the time of death cannot steal the signs by transferring them onto an additional carrier material, a copperplate ("framed in a copper sheet"[61]). The intermedial reference to the copperplates transfers the affective meaning of vulnerability – contributed by the human skin as carrier of the tattoos – to the affective meaning of storing knowledge – contributed by paper as carrier material of the copperplates.

54 "Ich."
55 "Bergone kanstu nicht dein reines Blut behalten?| Ich weiß/ daß Areté darüber fast geweint/| Als sie dasselbige vergebens seh'n erkalten/| Und daß ihr Schmertzen sich mit deinem Schmertz vereint." Gröben, Bergone, p. 434.
56 See Lewy, Jerusalem, p. 25.
57 "Das Sauere bringt endlich Süßigkeit." Gröben, Bergone, p. 435.
58 "[N]ichts als die Todtes Zeit." Gröben, Bergone, p. 435.
59 "Er kan in diesem Fall gar viel vor andern sagen." Gröben, Bergone, p. 435.
60 Schaller, "Stich bey Stich".
61 "[I]ns Kupfer Blat [...] fassen." Gröben, Bergone, p. 436.

Likewise, the communication processes are continued after the hero's/author's death by "what is left by his labor / and what all the world finds in his writings,"[62] with the text stressing the performative character of the processes of writing and reading. On the material level, the copper sheet and the writings are the means "by which he overcomes his death until eternity."[63] On the discursive level of creating religious meaning, after Bergone's/Gröben's death, the copperplates will testify to his faith in the resurrection, which is signified to Christians by the religious sites in Jerusalem and especially by the Tomb of Christ. To Bergone/Gröben it is his faith that enables him to overcome death.

While we have focused on the images of Bergone's/Gröben's tattoos so far, it is also noteworthy that they consist of a combination of image and script. This again distinguishes them from the tattoos of the Arab women as presented by Gröben. As mentioned above, the women's tattoos are not described verbally in the travelogue. Again, we can trace an intertextual relation to Roger's text, which enumerates some of the images of the women's tattoos: "foliage, flowers, and characters."[64] Gröben mentions only the flowers ("roses"[65]) in his heroic poem as an example of what is displayed on the women's skin. Tattooed characters – whether in combination with image or on their own – might indicate that there is a symbolic meaning to the tattoos rather than just a decorative one. Omitting them from the description of the women's tattoos enables Gröben to pick up Roger's interpretation that the women use the tattoos "in the belief that these things render them more beautiful"[66] and thus to claim that the images are employed solely for ornamental purposes ("the beautification of the cheeks").[67]

Gröben's representations of tattoos differ according to the gender and the origin of the tattooed person. The pain caused by the tattooing process cannot be expressed verbally or through an image of the skin bearing the tattoo when the male protagonists of the travelogue and the heroic poem are concerned. It requires a female figure who mirrors the pain to talk about it. European

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62 "[W]as sein Fleiß verlassen| Und was die gantze Welt in seinen Schrifften find." Gröben, Bergone, p. 435.

63 "[W]omit er seinen Todt auff ewig überwind." Gröben, Bergone, p. 436.

64 "[F]ueillages [sic], fleurs & characters." Roger, La Terre Saincte, p. 259.

65 "Rosen." Gröben. Bergone, p. 288.

66 "[D]ans la croyance qu elles ont que ces choses les rendent plus belles." Roger, La Terre Saincte, p. 259. It might not be a coincidence that the noun "*la croyance*" with its religious connotation was changed to the more neutral expression "*l'opinion*" in the second edition of Roger's travelogue: Eugène Roger, La Terre Sainte, ou description topographique tres-particuliere des saints Lieux, & de la Terre de Promission, 2nd ed. (Paris 1664), p. 299.

67 "[D]er Wangen Zierath." Gröben, Bergone, p. 288.

women cannot bear the pain of the tattooing process, whereas Arab women are presented wearing tattoos. The pain they might feel while receiving the tattoos is not referred to verbally, but is still inherent in the portrait of the tattooed Arab woman in some copies of the travelogue. While the tattoos of the European male traveler have a highly symbolic religious meaning, those of the Arab women are reduced to a merely decorative statement. Thus, the Arab women's tattoos are turned into a sign of "otherness."

5 The intermateriality of the representations

The bas-reliefs of the aedicula stand out from the representations described above because of the complete absence of script from them (Fig. 4).

Fig. 4: Burial Chapel, bas-relief, sandstone, St. John's Cathedral, Kwidzyn.
Source: © Irmel Priß (photograph).

As a material, especially in combination with the walls of the burial chapel into which one of the bas-reliefs is implanted, sandstone adds an affective meaning of immobility. This constitutes a strong contrast to the other representations of the aedicula that are characterized by portability, one of the affective meanings conferred to script and image by paper as carrier material, and mobility, one of the affective meanings contributed to the tattoo by human skin as carrier. In addition, the bas-reliefs lack the performative aspect provided to the copperplates by the text of the travelogue into which they are embedded and to the tattoos on the pilgrim's skin by the pilgrim's conversations about them with others. These contrasts enhance the suggestion of the bas-reliefs that Gröben's travels came to an end with his death and subsequent burial in the chapel in Kwidzyn. Nevertheless, the persistence of the material will ensure that the bas-reliefs will convey Gröben's faith in Christian resurrection for posterity, by outliving his death like the copperplates of the tattoos and his writings.[68]

68 I would like to thank Kerstin Beate Grossmann, MA/GB, MBA, and Dr. Gerd Schubert †, who read drafts of this paper and contributed valuable advice.

Volker Bauer

Travelogues as Raw Material of Political Knowledge: The Case of the "Oriental" States in the Renger Series (1707 – 1716)

From 1704 to 1718 the German publishing house Renger in Halle an der Saale issued over seventy monographs, each describing a polity of the world, using the European countries as a blueprint for African, Asian, and American cases. This series amounts to probably the most complete and – if this expression is allowed – most global series of books dealing with the different political regimes that was published in early modern Germany. Initially, there were forty-one books on European and fifteen on non-European "states,"[1] each bearing the matching title *Der Staat von* (The state of), followed by the name of the respective political entity. All the volumes on the empires, countries, and regions outside Europe drew on printed travelogues as their main sources, although this was not always made explicit. Therefore, the books considered here turn out to be compilations, written anonymously by academic hacks employed by the publishing house. Travel accounts authorized and authenticated the information in these publications, but the knowledge they contained and conveyed had to be transformed and reconfigured to fit into the analytical framework of the Renger series.

The present paper deals with the Renger volumes on "Oriental" states, comprising the Islamic and Asian realms.[2] The sample consists of volumes on Turkey, Persia, the Mughal Empire, Siam, Japan, China, the so-called "Tartarian regions," and Morocco.[3] This chapter will show, first, to what extent these books openly acknowledged their debts to the travel accounts they exploited, and sec-

1 See the list in Einleitung zu den Europäischen Staaten Und Derselben Beschluß (Frankfurt am Main, Leipzig 1708), pp. 61–64, and in Staat Der Japanischen Und der übrigen Vornehmsten Insuln In Ost=Indien: Als ein Beschluß aller ausländischen Staaten / nebst einer ordentlichen Verzeichniß derselben / wie sie nach und nach im Druck erschienen ([Halle an der Saale] [1716]), Verzeichniß Aller ausländischen Staaten (immediately before the table of contents).

2 See Einleitung zu den Europäischen Staaten, pp. 7–9.

3 Staat von Türckey ([Halle an der Saale] [1708]); Der Staat Von Persien ([Halle an der Saale] [1707]); Der Staat Des Grossen Mogol ([Halle an der Saale] [1710]); Staat Von Siam, In Ost=Indien ([Halle an der Saale] [1715]); Der Staat von Sina ([Halle an der Saale] [1708]); Staat Der Japanischen Insuln ([Halle an der Saale] [1716]); Staat von der Kleinen und Grossen Tartarey ([Halle an der Saale] [1709]); Staat Von dem König=Reiche FEZ und MAROCCO in Africa ([Halle an der Saale] [1714]).

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ond, by which means and techniques the contents of these travelogues were modified so that they could fit in with the format required in the series. The third section of the chapter deals with the transfer of trustworthiness from the original travel reports to the Renger publications and is followed by a conclusion that stresses the commercial character of the series. The aim of this study is to reveal the impact of early modern travel literature on the relevant Renger volumes and thereby the considerable intertextual and epistemic potential of the genre, which was the main basis for a comparative approach to the different regimes of the early modern world from a European angle.[4]

1 References and rip-offs

The eight books under scrutiny all refer to accounts and authors upon which their descriptions are based, but these references vary extremely in their form, level of detail, and precision. Within the *Staat von Türckey* (1708) references are quite scant, amounting to eleven mentions of authors and sometimes their works within its running text. Among them are well-known travel accounts by Jean de Thévenot (1633–1667), Jean-Baptiste Tavernier (1605–1689), Pietro della Valle (1586–1652), Paul Rycaut (1628–1700), and Ogier Ghislain de Busbecq (1522–1592).[5] The text of the *Staat Des Grossen Mogol* (1710), in contrast, is peppered with numerous cross references which often serve to verify numerical data.[6] François Bernier (1625–1688) is one of the authors most frequently quoted directly,[7] while most of the other travel accounts are present only indirectly, since they are referred to via the popular compilation *Ost= und West=Indischer, wie auch Sinesischer Lust=und Stats=Garten* (1668),[8] edited by Erasmus Francisci (1627–1694). These travel reports do, however, also remain visible because they are explicitly cited in the *Stats=Garten.*[9] The *Staat Des Grossen Mogol* thus is on top of a three-layered structure of intertextual exchange: The original travelogues provide first-hand information, which is processed in Francisci's

4 See also Horst Walter Blanke, Politische Herrschaft und soziale Ungleichheit im Spiegel des Anderen: Untersuchungen zu deutschsprachigen Reisebeschreibungen vornehmlich im Zeitalter der Aufklärung (2 vols., Waltrop 1997).
5 Staat von Türckey, pp. 82–83, 106, 109, 161, 163, 166.
6 Staat Des Grossen Mogol, e.g., pp. 81, 96–108.
7 Staat Des Grossen Mogol, pp. 52, 81, 84, 89, 93–94, 100, 110.
8 Staat Des Grossen Mogol, pp. 77–78, 82–84, 97–100.
9 Erasmus Francisci, Ost= und West=Indischer, wie auch Sinesischer Lust= und Stats=Garten […] (Nürnberg 1668), pp. 1436–1456.

book, which in turn informs the Renger volume. The same triad underlay the *Staat von Sina* (1708).[10] This volume also includes a critique of earlier accounts: it blames Francisci's compilation for having complicated the much clearer description of the Chinese legal system in the important travelogue of Johan Nieuhof (1618–1672) from 1666.[11]

While the Renger publications on Turkey, the Mughal Empire, and China use references to travel literature embedded in the main text, the *Staat Von Siam* (1715) applies footnotes to specify the sources of the information conveyed. They are indicated by lowercased letters, asterisks, and crosses, and normally contain the exact page of reference. The explanation of the term *Mandarin*, for example, is verified by the following footnote: "See Trigault, *De Christiana expeditione apud Sinas undertaken by the Society of Jesus*, p. 61, book I, and Neuhof, *Beschreibung der Ost=Indischen Compagnie Gesandschafft an den großen Cham von Sina*, p. 240."[12] The seventy-five numbered pages contain as many as seventy-six footnotes, which leads to a density of references that is not achieved anywhere else in the Renger series. Again, Francisci's *Stats=Garten* figures alongside the travelogues of Johann Albrecht von Mandelslo (1616–1644), Thévenot, and others.[13] The author most cited is Guy Tachard (1651–1712) with the German version of his account.[14] The Renger volume on Japan combines both techniques and contains references in footnotes and in the running text.[15]

The *Staat Von Persien* (1707) is a special case. It only names two French cartographers and once refers quite vaguely to "today's writers on the world" (*heutigen Welt=Schreiber*),[16] although the whole book is largely an unacknowledged rip-off of François Sanson's (fl. c. 1695) *Reise nach Persien* from 1695.[17] Whole passages of the latter are taken over into the *Staat Von Persien*, without ever

10 See Staat von Sina, p. 183, and Francisci, Stats=Garten, p. 1607; Staat von Sina, p. 228, and Francisci, Stats=Garten, p. 1586.

11 See Staat von Sina, p. 244; Francisci, Stats=Garten, p. 1592; Johan Nieuhof, Die GESANTSCHAFT der Ost-Indischen Geselschaft in den Vereinigten Niederländern / an den Tartarischen Cham / und nunmehr auch Sinischen Keiser […] (Amsterdam 1666), p. 240.

12 "Vid. Trigantium de Christiana expeditione apud Sina suscepta a societate Jesu. p.61. L.I. & Neuhofium in der Beschreibung der Ost=Indischen Compagnie Gesandschafft an den großen Cham von Sina p.240."; Staat Von Siam, p. 42.

13 See Staat Von Siam, e.g. pp. 2–4, 7–10, 26.

14 Guy Tachard, Curieuse und Merckwürdige Reise Nach SIAM […] (Hamburg 1706); Guy Tachard, Zweyte Reise Nach SIAM […] (Hamburg 1709).

15 Staat Der Japanischen Insuln, e.g. pp. 9–10, 13–15, 123–124, 314 (recte 134), 156.

16 Staat Von Persien, pp. 126, 146.

17 François Sanson, Reise nach Persien / Oder: Der neueste Staat desselben Königreichs […] (Dresden, Leipzig 1695); see also the largely identical edition by the same publisher from 1701.

mentioning either author or title. This is the exact opposite of how the *Staat Von MAROCCO* (1714) proceeds, which likewise largely draws on a single travel account, in this instance on François Pidou de Saint-Olon's (1640/46 – 1720) *RELATION DE L'EMPIRE DE MAROC* (1695).[18] But this connection is explicitly made clear in the preface of the corresponding Renger book, which provides a bibliography of the contemporary literature on Morocco on two pages. It lists eleven titles, among which the account by Saint-Olon is praised as the most trustworthy one and hence chosen as the main source.[19]

The Renger volumes did, however, not only borrow textual information from travel accounts, but also images. Within the series images occur exclusively as frontispieces, and those of the *Staat Von Siam*, the *Staat Der Japanischen Insuln* (1716) and the *Staat Von MAROCCO* can all be traced back to travelogues. The Siamese scene (Fig. 1) is an inverted copy of an engraving in the *VOYAGE DE SIAM* (1686) by Guy Tachard,[20] the Japanese one is similarly carved after an illustration in the *Beschryvinge Van het Machtigh Koninghrijck van IAPPAN* (1661) by François Caron (around 1600 – 1673),[21] while in the Moroccan case the frontispiece turns out to be a combination of several prints from Saint-Olon's *RELATION*.[22] All three title pages have in common that they show scenes of audiences of, or homages to, the local ruler.

The choice of frontispieces showing basic ceremonial events at non-European courts is significant: The alien material culture and exotic setting they evoked at the very beginning of the individual books probably proved attractive to potential buyers, who at the same time could be expected to decipher the basically familiar ceremonial logic underlying the depicted situations. The original images, in contrast, were sort of hidden in the interior of the travel accounts and each belonged to a specific context. Thus, their re-use as frontispieces within the Renger context was presumably a deliberate functional change, most likely due to commercial reason.

18 François Pidou de Saint-Olon, RELATION DE L'EMPIRE DE MAROC […] (Paris 1695).
19 Staat Von MAROCCO, preface (An den Leser),)(r.
20 Staat Von Siam, frontispiece; Guy Tachard, VOYAGE DE SIAM DES PERES JESUITES […] (Paris 1686), here pp. 288 – 289.
21 Staat Der Japanischen Insuln, frontispiece; François Caron, Rechte Beschryvinge Van het Machtigh Koninghrijck van IAPPAN [….] (Den Haag 1661), here p. 49.
22 Staat Von MAROCCO, frontispiece; Saint-Olon, RELATION, (referring to) pp. 88, 93, 95 – 98.

Fig. 1: *Staat Von Siam, In Ost=Indien* (Halle an der Saale 1715), frontispiece.
Source: © Herzog August Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel [Gb 298:13 (4)].

2 Shifting texts

Obviously, the publisher Renger had right from the start planned to produce and sell a whole series of books under the title *Der Staat von*, since the first volume on Portugal was advertised together with five books on other European countries.[23] When the first subseries on Europe was completed and proved a success, a second one was announced that was to cover non-European states[24] and use the former's layout and structure. Hence, all the Renger volumes follow the model developed for the European cases and look very much alike. This standardization becomes clear if one looks at the respective tables of content: the chapters uniformly focus on the political and administrative structures of each polity, including the dynastic regimes. Separate chapters are also devoted to the revenues, the size of the army, and the interests of each state, as shown, for example by the publications on France and on China.[25] Consequently, any borrowing from a travel account had to be transplanted into the appropriate con-

23 CATALOGUS UNIVERSALIS, Sive DESIGNATIO OMNIUM LIBRORUM, Qvi hisce Nundinis Autumnalibus FRANCOFURTENSIBUS & LIPSIENSIBUS Anni 1704. vel novi, vel emendiatores & auctiores prodierunt [...] (Leipzig 1704), fol. F2v.
24 Einleitung zu den Europäischen Staaten, p. 59.
25 Staat von Franckreich ([Halle an der Saale] [1705]), pp. 5–6, and Staat von Sina, pp. 6–7.

text of the relevant Renger volume, which in turn was determined by the structure common to all the works. Therefore, whenever larger chunks of the original texts were to be quoted or paraphrased in a Renger publication, they had to be repositioned in the right place. That is why the practice of compilation can basically be understood as a process of de-contextualization and then re-contextualization of the passages in question. Books and printed news media compiling political information from different sources were a regular feature of the late seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century book market.[26]

A suitable example is the way in which extensive sections of Sanson's *Reise nach Persien* were incorporated into the *Staat Von Persien*, which was published twelve years later. Sanson's book, a German translation of the French original,[27] starts with two statements affirming the trustworthiness of the account: the translator stresses that Sanson has not included anything in his account that is "taken from other travel books" or "what he had not seen himself",[28] while the author himself boasts of his first-hand knowledge of court and country.[29] Since the Renger book on Persia does not mention Sanson at all, there is no such claim to truth and factuality.

Information taken from the *Reise nach Persien* is mostly adopted by the *Staat Von Persien* in a condensed manner. The higher religious and court officials are treated by Sanson in hierarchical order on over twenty pages, and this directory is transferred into the Renger publication one by one. The single items are, however, often dealt with in abridged form. Therefore, the relevant text in the *Staat* comprises about 70 per cent of the number of characters originally used in the *Reise nach Persien*.[30] This practice is also employed with regard to a block of text on the relations of Persia to other countries. These are handled on more than forty pages in Sanson's book and make up the main contents of the chapter

26 See Volker Bauer, Strukturwandel der höfischen Öffentlichkeit: Zur Medialisierung des Hoflebens vom 16. bis zum 18. Jahrhundert, in Zeitschrift für Historische Forschung 38 (2011), pp. 585 – 620, here pp. 606 – 608; Daniel Bellingradt, Forschungsbericht: Periodische Presse im deutschen Sprachraum der Frühen Neuzeit, in Archiv für Geschichte des Buchwesens 69 (2014), pp. 235 – 248; Rudolf Schlögl, Anwesende und Abwesende: Grundriss für eine Gesellschaftsgeschichte der Frühen Neuzeit (Konstanz 2014), pp. 322 – 323.

27 François Sanson, VOYAGE OU RELATION DE L'ETAT PRESENT DU ROYAUME DE PERSE [...] (Paris 1695).

28 "[...] aus andern Reisebüchern entnommen" or "was er selbst nicht gesehen"; Sanson, Reise, Zuschrifft, fol. a4v.

29 Sanson, Reise, Erinnerung an den Leser (section immediately before p. 1).

30 See Sanson, Reise, pp. 19 – 40, and Staat Von Persien, pp. 26 – 37.

"Von den Persischen Interesse" (on Persian interest) in the Renger publication. Again, there is a similar ratio of about 70 per cent.[31]

Other textual techniques are also involved in the processing of Sanson's book. Sometimes detailed accounts are simply cut off.[32] Where the *Reise nach Persien* expands, for example, on the meals laid out at the shah's audiences, the *Staat Von Persien* abruptly stops with the sweets being served, indicating the omission by a mere "etc."[33] Occasionally, the sequence of short passages transferred from one book to the other is changed,[34] and in some cases sections of the text are deliberately transplanted into a completely different context. Sanson describes the tomb of Esther and Mordechai (Hamadān) as one stage of his missionary journey through Persia, while in the *Staat Von Persien* it is dealt with as part of a short paragraph about Jews, which closes a section on the different religions to be found in the Asian country.[35] Quite often, specific, first-hand information is generalized in the *Staat Von Persien*. Whereas Sanson explicitly speaks of the "legitimate spouse" of Shah Sulayman I, also known as Safi II (1648 – 1694), in whose reign he had visited Safavid Persia, the *Staat* quotes this passage and turns it into a general characterization of the position of the ruler's consorts.[36] In yet another passage Sanson compares Persia to France, obviously bearing in mind his intended French readership. In the *Staat Von Persien*, however, which is, after all, part of a German series, the point of reference is expanded to include the Netherlands, England, and Germany.[37]

But the most fundamental change in the course of the transfer of knowledge from Sanson's travel account to the Renger volume is the elimination of narrative elements. This happens on two levels: First, Sanson's *Reise* features some sections written in the first person. The author himself figures in the narrative, attesting to the authenticity of his account, which is structured by his physical movement across the land.[38] The main text of the *Staat Von Persien*, in contrast, dispenses completely with any reference to the person of the author. Second, many passages are reduced within the *Staat Von Persien* to a single observation, whereas the accompanying narrative from Sanson's *Reise* meant to shed additional light on the given information is skipped. When Sanson writes, for exam-

31 See Sanson, Reise, pp. 143 – 183, and Staat Von Persien, pp. 66 – 88.
32 See Sanson, Reise, p. 112, and Staat Von Persien, p. 25.
33 See Sanson, Reise, p. 62, and Staat Von Persien, p. 10.
34 See Sanson, Reise, pp. 88 – 89, and Staat Von Persien, pp. 13 – 14.
35 See Sanson, Reise, pp. 245 – 246, and Staat Von Persien, p. 103.
36 See Sanson, Reise, pp. 88 – 89, and Staat Von Persien, p. 13.
37 See Sanson, Reise, p. 97, and Staat Von Persien, p. 47.
38 See Sanson, Reise, pp. 225 – 255.

ple, about an execution and the role of a certain official in it, this is followed by a tedious anecdote about an Armenian condemned to death. The Renger book, in contrast, simply mentions the rank of the royal officeholder in charge, reducing the whole passage to four lines of text.[39] What is left of Sanson's travelogue in the *Staat Von Persien* is, ultimately, a factual account largely devoid of individual traits and personal experience.

The different tools for condensing, shifting, and reformatting are similarly employed in other "Oriental" volumes of the Renger series, which are also based on one main source. A case in point is the *Staat von der Kleinen und Grossen Tartarey* (1709), which chiefly relies on Eberhard Isbrand Ides' (1657–1712/13) account[40] of his *Dreyjährige Reise nach China* (1707).[41] The *Staat Von MAROCCO* predominantly exploits the travel account from 1695 of François Pidou de Saint-Olon, French ambassador to Morocco in 1693. Although it utilizes the diplomat's report as its factual basis,[42] it also interprets or even distorts its message at least once. Saint-Olon writes about sultan Moulay Ismail (1645–1727), who is "*absolu*

39 Sanson, Reise, pp. 192–193, and Staat Von Persien, p. 113.

40 Eberhard Isbrand Ides, Dreyjährige Reise nach China / Von Moscau ab zu lande durch groß Ustiga / Siriania / Permia / Sibirien / Daour und die grosse Tartarey [...] (Frankfurt am Main 1707); this edition is the German translation of the Dutch original: Eberhard Isbrand Ides, DRIE-JAARIGE REIZE NAAR CHINA, te lande gedann [...] (Amsterdam 1704); see Michael Hundt, Einleitung, in Michael Hundt (ed.), Beschreibung der dreijährigen chinesischen Reise. Die russische Gesandtschaft von Moskau nach Peking 1692 bis 1695 in den Darstellungen von Eberhard Isbrand Ides und Adam Brand (Stuttgart 1999), pp. 1–102.

41 See Ides, Reise nach China, p. 23, and Staat von der Tartarey, p. 82; Ides, Reise nach China, pp. 41–51, and Staat von der Tartarey, pp. 83–87; Ides, Reise nach China, pp. 67–70, and Staat von der Tartarey, pp. 88–90; Ides, Reise nach China, pp. 72–76, and Staat von der Tartarey, pp. 92–94; Ides, Reise nach China, pp. 111–113, and Staat von der Tartarey, pp. 105–106; Ides, Reise nach China, pp. 119–122, and Staat von der Tartarey, pp. 106–109; Ides, Reise nach China, pp. 209–214, and Staat von der Tartarey, pp. 65–70; Ides, Reise nach China, pp. 217–219, and Staat von der Tartarey, pp. 78–79; Ides, Reise nach China, pp. 223–225, and Staat von der Tartarey, pp. 137–139; Ides, Reise nach China, pp. 243–245, and Staat von der Tartarey, pp. 73–75.

42 See Saint-Olon, RELATION, pp. 2–8, and Staat Von MAROCCO, pp. 21–24; Saint-Olon, RELATION, p. 12, and Staat Von MAROCCO, p. 9; Saint-Olon, RELATION, pp. 19–20, and Staat Von MAROCCO, p. 52; Saint-Olon, RELATION, pp. 41–52, and Staat Von MAROCCO, pp. 66–72; Saint-Olon, RELATION, pp. 60–66, and Staat Von MAROCCO, pp. 23–25; Saint-Olon, RELATION, pp. 66–68, and Staat Von MAROCCO, pp. 38–39; Saint-Olon, RELATION, pp. 99–104, and Staat Von MAROCCO, pp. 26–27; Saint-Olon, RELATION, pp. 104–107, and Staat Von MAROCCO, pp. 43–44; Saint-Olon, RELATION, pp. 108–112, and Staat Von MAROCCO, pp. 40–42; Saint-Olon, RELATION, p. 113, and Staat Von MAROCCO, p. 45; Saint-Olon, RELATION, pp. 117–120, and Staat Von MAROCCO, pp. 45–47; Saint-Olon, RELATION, pp. 138–140, and Staat Von MAROCCO, p. 42; Saint-Olon, RELATION, pp. 140–150, and Staat Von MAROCCO, pp. 62–65.

dans ses Etats" (absolute in his domain) and likens his own style of rule with the one of Louis XIV of France (1638–1715). In the *Staat Von MAROCCO*, however, this passage is significantly rephrased and recontextualized by explicitly labelling the sultan's regime as "*Despotische Gewalt*" (despotic power).[43] This ploy is meant to taint the Sun King's reputation by tying him to the notion of Oriental despotism,[44] which is present within the Renger series and influences its general attitude towards the French monarch.[45]

The last two examples differ drastically from the *Staat Von Persien* in that they refer emphatically to their sources. As already mentioned, the *Staat Von MAROCCO* openly concedes that Saint-Olon's *RELATION* was the book "*am meisten gebraucht*" (used most of all) among all pertinent publications.[46] The preface of the *Staat von der Tartarey* declares that it "owes something to various travel accounts by Olearius, Strauss [Struys] and other authors. But Isbrand Ides's *dreyjährige Reise nach China* was most illuminating of all."[47] Obviously the authors of these two Renger volumes – which remained anonymous anyway – had absolutely no qualms about admitting that their works were both mere compilations based upon one master text each.

3 The transfer of trust

Early modern travelogues have their own ways of establishing and maintaining the trustworthiness of their accounts. The most straightforward strategy is to stress the identity of the eyewitness traveler and the book author, particularly by writing in the first person. Being, after all, compilations, the "Oriental" Renger volumes had to find different means of displaying and preserving the authority and authenticity of the knowledge they had derived from the original accounts. They did so by not simply selecting and juxtaposing quotations from and references to the various publications they relied on, but also by evaluating them implicitly or explicitly.

43 Saint-Olon, RELATION, pp. 66–68, and Staat Von MAROCCO, pp. 38–40.

44 See Joan-Pau Rubiés, Oriental Despotism and European Orientalism: Botero to Montesquieu, in Journal of Early Modern History 9 (2005), pp. 109–180.

45 See e.g. Einleitung zu den Europäischen Staaten, pp. 8–9, 52–53, and Staat von Franckreich, p. 63.

46 Staat Von MAROCCO, preface (An den Leser).

47 "[…] verschiedenen Reise=Beschreibungen / als des Olearii, Straussens / und anderer Autorum etwas zu dancken: Doch das gröste Licht hat uns gegeben des Herrn Ysbrand Ides […] dreyjährige Reise nach China". Staat von der Tartarey, preface (Geneigter Leser).

Many references do not only consist of the basic bibliographical data, but also qualify the dependability of the source in question. One important reason for praise of an author or work is accuracy. For example, after dealing with the tomb of Muhammad (c. 570–632) in Medina, the *Staat von Türckey* goes on: "Which was described accurately by Thévenot", thereby referring to the latter's *Reysen in Europa, Asia und Africa* (published in German in 1693).[48] Even more valuable are those travelogues that report on the "recent and most accurate voyages"[49] and hence combine topicality and precision, because the most recent information is also the most relevant and reliable one. The *Staat von Sina* therefore once concedes: "One cannot be sure if this law court of mercy still exists, because Father le Comte, the most recent [travel writer], does not disclose anything about it."[50]

Another, and arguably more convincing, mode of emphasizing the veracity of an account is predicated on the method by which the source had gathered intelligence. It was duly noted whenever an author wrote in the capacity of an actual witness. This is exactly why Thévenot serves as the favorite informant in the *Staat von Türckey*, which sets great store by his "*Zeugnüß*" (testimony).[51] Particularly the volume on China is full of assertions of this kind. One passage is introduced with the phrase: "Among other things, Father Gerbillon relates the following which he has observed on a voyage to Tartary."[52] Even more appreciated than Jean-François Gerbillon (1654–1707) was his co-Jesuit Louis le Comte (1655–1728), who figures repeatedly in the *Staat von Sina* because of his first-hand experience of the country.[53] His reputation is often enhanced by references such as "As Father le Comte testifies, who passed through there thrice" or "Father le Comte has measured the height in several places."[54] The trustworthiness of a witness is even augmented by openly admitting to the limits of his perception. The *Staat Des Grossen Mogol* contains a passage on the serail in Delhi which

48 "[...] welches Tevenot accurat beschrieben". Staat von Türckey, p. 166; see Jean de Thévenot, [...] REYSEN In EUROPA, ASIA und AFRICA [...] (Frankfurt am Main 1693).

49 "...heutigen und accuratesten Voyages". Staat Von Persien, p. 126.

50 "Ob dergleichen Stuhl der Barmhertzigkeit noch ietzo bestehe / kann man nicht gewiß versichern; weil P. le Comte, als der neueste / nichts davon meldet". Staat von Sina, p. 250; see Louis le Comte, Das heutige SINA [...] (3 vols., Frankfurt am Main et al. 1699–1700).

51 Staat von Türckey, p. 163.

52 "Unter andern erzehlet der P. Gerbillon nachfolgendes / so er auff einer Tartarischen Reyse observiret." Staat von Sina, p. 112.

53 Staat von Sina, pp. 14, 112, 116–118, 124, 129–130, 139, 146, 160, 181, 185, 207, 221, 250–251, 271, 277, 286, 298–300, 317, 320, 325.

54 "[...] wie P. le Comte bezeuget / welcher dreymal dadurch gereiset" or "P. le Comte hat die Höhe an etlichen Orten gemessen". Staat von Sina, p. 180.

reads: "Bernier has had occasion to enter it, [...] but his head was covered by a blanket so that he cannot tell us anything about the design." This sentence is a third-person paraphrase of an episode narrated in Bernier's first-person travelogue, which was published in German in 1672[55] and is frequently quoted in the Renger book.[56]

Sometimes the Renger volumes stage debates between several travel writers. The book on the Mughal Empire refers to two pages from Francisci's *Stats=Garten* – itself a compilation – on which three travelogues are juxtaposed, each expressing a different opinion about the sources and amount of the Mughal state's revenues.[57] The *Staat Des Grossen Mogol* documents the diverging views and then decides that Bernier – who could not and thus did not figure in Francisci's book – provides the most convincing and detailed data.[58] Within the *Staat von Sina* there is a similar confrontation to be found, but in this case Francisci's book is pitted against le Comte's *Das heutige SINA* from 1699, which is correctly quoted including the pertinent page number.[59] In both Renger titles, the more recent travelogues, published long after Francisci's *Stats=Garten*, trump this encyclopedic work from 1668, but only after a brief comparative assessment of the relevant works. The *Staat Von MAROCCO* establishes the veracity of Saint-Olon's account – its main reference – by logical reasoning. Put into the context of other sources, the French ambassador's *RELATION* is deemed to be definitely superior: "Because this author agrees completely with all the others who belong here, one can easily reckon that everything else which is not recorded by others and which he described from his own experience represents the truth as well."[60]

Thus, within the Renger volumes on "Oriental" regimes many textual devices were used to refer to the corpus of relevant travel accounts. These travelogues did not only serve as simple depositories of authentic information on the respective countries, but they were apparently checked for factuality and validity. By this approach, the second-hand observations of the Renger volumes sought evidence

55 "Bernier hat zwar Gelegenheit gehabt hinein zu kommen / [...] doch hat man ihm eine Decke übern Kopff gehänget [...] / daß er also nichts nachsagen kan / wie es darinn ausgesehen." Staat Des Grossen Mogol, pp. 93–94; see François Bernier, Auffgezeichnete Beobachtungen Was sich in dem Reich Deß Großen Mogols Begeben und zugetragen hat (Frankfurt am Main 1672), p. 49.
56 Staat Des Grossen Mogol, pp. 52, 81, 84, 89, 93–94, 100, 105, 110.
57 Francisci, Stats=Garten, pp. 1441–1442.
58 Staat Des Grossen Mogol, pp. 98–100, 105.
59 Staat von Sina, p. 251.
60 "Denn in dem dieser Auctor mit allen andern / welche hieher gehören / genau übereinkomt: so kan man sich leichtlich die Rechnung machen / daß auch die übrigen Dinge / welche wir bey andern nicht aufgezeichnet finden und Er aus eigner Erfahrung angemercket hat / mit der Warheit übereinstimmen." Staat Von MAROCCO, preface.

in first-hand observations and at the same time decided on the latter's reliability. The mutual confirmation of both levels led to a transfer of trustworthiness from the travel accounts to the Renger series.

Conclusions: the business of compilation

The commercial character of the series is highly relevant. Once the European volumes with their standardized approach had been well received on the book market, it was an obvious decision to also supply publications on non-European countries following this model. The "Oriental" and Asian realms were therefore treated according to the successful description model developed for the European cases.[61] Another feature that was preserved was the anonymity of the authors, which was, however, fully appropriate to the production process, because, starting with the *Staat von Portugall* as the very first title of the series, all Renger volumes were the result of text adoption or compilation.[62] The hired writers and their products remained under almost complete control of the publishing house Renger and were not even mentioned on the title pages of these distinctly non-academic works.[63]

In this context the place of publication is of paramount importance, because from 1694 onwards Halle an der Saale was the site of a renowned university that produced an increasing number of younger and underemployed academics in need of additional income. This is exactly where a second influential figure besides the publisher Johann Gottfried Renger (d. 1718) comes in. For it was the professor of law and historian Johann Peter von Ludewig (1668 – 1743) who had originally initiated the whole series[64] and who probably recruited his former student Caspar Gottschling (1679 – 1739) as the main compiler of the non-European Renger books. Gottschling in fact lived in Ludewig's household after 1709, when his career at an academy for knights (*Ritterakademie*) in Brandenburg had failed, and gave private lessons in, among other subjects, geography and

61 See Einleitung zu den Europäischen Staaten, pp. 64 – 71.
62 Johann Hübner, Hamburgische BIBLIOTHECA HISTORICA, Der Studierenden Jugend Zum Besten zusammen getragen, 2. Centuria, 100. Artickel (Leipzig 1716), pp. 334 – 372, here pp. 335 – 336.
63 See also Volker Bauer, Europe as a Political System, an Ideal and a Selling Point: the Renger Series (1704 – 1718), in Nicolas Detering, Clementina Marsico, and Isabella Walser-Bürgler (eds.), Contesting Europe: Comparative Perspectives on Early Modern Discourses on Europe, 1400 – 1800 (Leiden et al. 2020), pp. 364 – 380, here pp. 364 – 365.
64 See Einleitung zu den Europäischen Staaten, p. 59.

history.[65] It is likely that he used the holdings of Ludewig's personal library, which comprised a considerable collection of travel accounts,[66] among them, of all titles, a copy of Saint-Olon's *RELATION*. And it was indeed Gottschling who compiled the *Staat Von MAROCCO* from this French book.[67] This copy was moreover bound together with a copy of Sanson's *VOYAGE OU RELATION* on Persia,[68] and this might convincingly explain why this book served as the main source of the *Staat Von Persien* rather than, for example, the more popular and more comprehensive account by Jean (John) Chardin (1643 – 1713) from 1686.[69] Thus, the whole infrastructure required for the business of compilation did exist in early eighteenth-century Halle: a thriving and ambitious publishing house managing the commercial aspects, an academic institution providing qualified authors, and a library featuring the necessary raw material.

It was an obvious choice to use predominantly travel accounts as sources of information. In the case of the Renger series, however, this was not done *faute de mieux*. At least in some cases the works the respective volumes were indebted to were mentioned by title and author. The *Staat von Sina* is extremely outspoken and modest when praising the books which it drew on:

> If there are readers whose appetite for a more comprehensive account is whetted by this short one [i.e. Staat von Sina], there is no lack of books that could satisfy this wish. Mendoza, Trigantinus, Martinius, Neuhoff / Dapper / Erasmus Francisci, Andreas Müller / […]. P. Couplet, P. le Comte, P. Gobien, P. Bouvet and many more have made us so familiar with the hitherto unknown China that we have to praise their useful diligence. And these are the sources from which this humble work has sprung. If the benevolent reader finds something inside which entertains him, this must be attributed to them rather than to the author.[70]

65 Lothar Noack and Jürgen Splett (eds.), Bio-Bibliographien. Brandenburgische Gelehrte der Frühen Neuzeit: Mark Brandenburg 1640 – 1713 (Berlin 2001), pp. 213 – 221, here p. 214.
66 See CATALOGUS PRAESTANTISSIMI THESAURI LIBRORUM TIPIS VULGATORUM ET MANUSCRIPTORUM JOANNIS PETRI DE LUDEWIG […] (Halle 1745), pp. 841 – 849.
67 Caspar Gottschling, Der Staat Von Schlaraffen-Land. Mit Kommentar, Nachwort und Bibliographie, edited by Nikola Roßbach (Hannover 2007), p. 113.
68 CATALOGUS PRAESTANTISSIMI THESAURI, p. 847, No. 6495.
69 Jean Chardin, JOURNAL DU VOYAGE […] EN PERSE & aux Indes Orientales […] (London 1686).
70 "Sollten sich aber Liebhaber finden / welchen diese kurze Nachricht [i.e. Staat von Sina] einen Appetit zu einer ausführlichen erwecket / so würde es auch an Büchern nicht fehlen / welche solchen nach Wunsch contentiren könten. Mendoza, Trigantinus, Martinius, Neuhoff / Dapper / Erasmus Francisci, Andreas Müller / […]. P. Couplet, P. le Comte, P. Gobien, P. Bouvet, und viele andere / haben uns das bißher unbekannte Sina dergestalt bekant gemacht / daß wir solchen nützlichen Fleiß billig zu rühmen haben. Und dieses sind die Quellen / woraus gegenwärtige geringe Arbeit geflossen ist. Findet der geneigte Leser etwas darinnen / das ihn vergnüget / so hat er solches mehr Jenen als dem Verfasser zu zuschreiben." Staat von Sina, p. 5. The author

In the *Staat Des Grossen Mogol*, which according to a special edition was, like the *Staat von Sina,* written by Dietrich Hermann Kemmerich (1677–1745),[71] the practice of compilation is not concealed at all, but on the contrary turned into an advantage. Anybody who wants information on the Asian empire will profit from it: "Many would consider browsing Dapper, Thévenot, Mandelslo or other writers on the Orient who describe these realms exhaustively much too tedious. Hence these few sheets may satisfy a reader who only demands short, but still sufficient, information on this famous state."[72] This attempt to emphasize the superiority of the compilation over the original sources ties in neatly with Renger's sophisticated marketing strategy.[73] It becomes visible in quite a lot of the publishing house's own printed works, among them journals and bibliographies, which mention, advertise, or review the series in question or volumes belonging to it.[74]

The processing of material that had already been published elsewhere had, however, a significant side effect: Because many of the travelogues serving as sources date back to the middle or end of the seventeenth century (e. g., Bernier on the Mughal Empire, Sanson on Persia, Saint-Olon on Morocco, Thévenot on Ottoman Turkey), a time gap emerged, since the Renger books on "Oriental" states only appeared after 1707. Hence, these volumes represent a state of affairs as perceived at least twenty years previously. In those times, however, the realms treated in the Renger volumes had appeared in their prime and were for this rea-

refers to Juan Gonzaléz de Mendoza (1545–1618), Nicolaus Trigantius (1577–1628), Martino Martini (1614–1661), Johan Nieuhof (1618–1672), Olfert Dapper (1636–1689), Erasmus Francisci (1627–1694), Andreas Müller (1630–1694), Philippe Couplet (1623–1693), Louis le Comte (1655–1728), Charles le Gobien (1653–1708), and Joachim Bouvet (1656–1730).

71 See Dieterich Hermann Kemmerich, Staat Des grossen Mogol / wie auch von Sina / und Der kleinen und grossen Tartarey (Halle an der Saale 1711).

72 "Zwar den Dapper, oder Thevenot, oder Mandelsloh / oder andere Orientalische Scribenten / welche diese Reiche ausführlich beschrieben / deswegen auffzuschlagen / würde manchem viel zu weitläufftig fallen. Derowegen können diese wenig Bogen einem Liebhaber / der nichts als eine kurtze und doch zulängl. Nachricht von diesem berühmten Staat verlanget / vieleicht einige Satisfaction geben." Staat Des Grossen Mogol, pp. 3–4. The author refers to Olfert Dapper (1636–1689), Jean de Thévenot (1633–1667), and Johann Albrecht von Mandelslo (1616–1644).

73 Bauer, Europe, pp. 376–377.

74 See Einleitung zu den Europäischen Staaten, pp. 59–61; Curieuses Bücher=Cabinet 20. Eingang (1714), appendix; Jacob Friderich Reimmann, Versuch einer Einleitung In die HISTORIAM LITERARIAM Derer Teutschen Und zwar Des dritten und letzten Theils Drittes Hauptstück Darinnen Die Historia Politices, und Historiae so wohl insgemein / als auch insonderheit der Historiae Civilis und derer dazu gehörigen Neben-Wissenschafften […] (Halle an der Saale 1710), pp. 279–284; CATALOGVS Einiger Nützlichen Bücher, So in der Rengerischen Buchhandlung Zu Franckfurt am Mayn und Leipzig In Denen Messen Zu finden ([Halle an der Saale] [c. 1714]).

son described quite favorably by European travelers.[75] This perspective certainly contributed to a surprisingly fair description of the "Oriental" states in the Renger context, which is thus an example of – to borrow a phrase from Jürgen Osterhammel – an "inclusive Eurocentrism."[76]

75 Jürgen Osterhammel, Unfabling the East: The Enlightenment's Encounter with Asia, translated by Robert Savage (Princeton, Oxford 2018), pp. 22–27.
76 Osterhammel, Unfabling, pp. 65, 489.

Stefaniia Demchuk

Inherited or Witnessed? The Construction of "Otherness" in the Correspondence and Memoirs of Pavel Levashov (c. 1719 – 1820)

When Pavel Levashov showed up in Constantinople acting as an attorney assigned to the Russian embassy, Russian-Ottoman relations were tense and Russian diplomats found themselves in a rather precarious situation. When the Russo-Turkish war of 1768 – 1774 broke up Levashov and his colleagues were imprisoned in Yedikule – the seven-tower castle. He managed to survive and published his diaries under the eloquent title *Plen i stradanie rossiian u turkov* (The Russians' captivity and sufferings among the Turks, 1790) upon his almost triumphal return to Russia. In addition, he is considered to be the author of *Tsaregradskie pisma o drevnikh i nyneshnikh turkakh* (Letters from Tsargrad [Constantinople] about ancient and contemporary Turks, 1789), a work that is full of insights about Turkish everyday life and traditions and gained comparable popularity, although the attribution to Levashov was established years later. These travel writings amassed remarkable popularity in Russia due to the interest in the Ottoman "other" sparked by a series of Russo-Turkish wars. However, Levashov's travelogues equally address Russian identity and international aspirations alongside the "customs and manners" practiced by the then Turks.

1 Historiography

The Russian Oriental travelogue has been attracting particular interest from researchers for the last thirty years with numerous colonial and postcolonial studies being the key contributors to this popularity. Such studies present travelogues not as a reliable source of information and knowledge about the "inner" and "outer" East adopted by Russians but rather as a tangle of political,

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gender, and religious discourses.[1] Moreover, they expose the role of travelogues itself as a combination of several genres.[2]

The monograph *Authenticity and Fiction in the Russian Literary Journey, 1790 – 1840*[3] by Andreas Schönle is considered a milestone in studies on the Russian travelogue. Although he focused only on travels undertaken by writers (starting from the first author of a travelogue, Nikolay Mikhailovich Karamzin, up to Alexandr Pushkin), nonetheless, Schönle was able to reach a crucial conclusion that is rarely found even in more fact-based travelogues: a Russian traveler is different from Western explorers since Russians do not strive to explore their inner self through traveling but rather to reform themselves "by integrating it [the self] into the public body."[4] This idea is also present in the travelogues by Pavel Levashov who was not only striving to explore his inner personality but also was trying to adapt himself to the reality he found himself in.

Oriental travelogues re-emerged in Russian historiography in 1995 when *Puteshestvie po Vostoku v epokhu Ekateriny II* (Traveling across the east in the Age of Catherine II) by Vigasin and Karpyuk was published.[5] Not only did they facilitate access to the disparate travelogues published more than fifty years previously,

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1 Elena Andreeva, Russia and Iran in the Great Game: Travelogues and Orientalism (London 2007); Daniel R. Brower and Edward J. Lazzerini, Russia's Orient: Imperial Borderlands and Peoples, 1700 – 1917 (Bloomington, IN 1997); Steven H. Clark (ed.), Travel Writing and Empire: Postcolonial Theory in Transit (London, New York 1999); Sara Dickinson, Breaking Ground: Travel and National Culture in Russia from Peter I to the Era of Pushkin (Amsterdam 2006); Lucien J. Frary and Mara Kozelsky, Russian-Ottoman Borderlands: The Eastern Question Reconsidered (Madison 2014); Gerald MacLean, The Rise of Oriental Travel: English Visitors to the Ottoman Empire, 1580 – 1720 (New York 2004); Reuel K. Wilson, The Literary Travelogue: A Comparative Study with Special Relevance to Russian Literature from Fonvizin to Pushkin (The Hague 1973); Larry Wolff, Inventing Eastern Europe: The Map of Civilization on the Mind of the Enlightenment (Stanford 1994).

2 Yurij Lotman, O ponyatii geograficheskogo prostranstva v russkih srednevekovyh tekstah (On the Notion of Geographical Space in the Russian Medieval Texts), in Yurij Lotman, Semiosfera (SPb 2000), pp. 297– 303; Olga Lvova, Rasskaz o puteshestvii: formy literataturnoj recepcii travеloga (Story about Travel: Forms of the Literary Reception of the Travelogue) in Filologicheskie nauki. Voprosy teorii i praktiki (2016), pp. 38 – 40; Galina Rokina, Travelog kak istoricheskij istochnik (Travelogue as a Historical Source), in Zapad-Vostok, Nauchno-prakticheskij ezhegodnik 9 (2016), pp. 5 – 8; Vasilij Rusakov and Olga Rusakova, Metodologiya diskurs-issledovaniya travеloga (The Methodology of Research on the Discourse of Travelogues), in Diskurs-Pi (2014), pp. 14 – 20.

3 Andreas Schönle, Authenticity and Fiction in the Russian Literary Journey, 1790 – 1840 (Cambridge, Mass., London 2000).

4 Schönle, Authenticity, p. 210.

5 Aleksej Vigasin and Sergej Karpyuk (eds.), Puteshestvie po Vostoku v epokhu Ekateriny II (Traveling Across the East in the Age of Catherine II) (Moscow 1995).

they also provided a thorough and critical introduction to each of them, exposing their social and scientific value.

Victor Taki[6] is considered the most prominent contributor to research on Russian accounts of journeys to the Ottoman Empire. He is known to be the first to put Russo-Ottoman relations into their cultural and historic context in a series of monographs and articles, engaging with perceptions that had been overlooked in classic studies of political history. He discovered several key metaphors and images that are frequently embedded in narratives by Russian travelers in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The first such trope was the image of the "ailing man" ("*bolnoi chelovek*") that Russians associated with the Ottoman Empire. Taki emphasized that this image was based on the contrast between the grandeur that the empire had witnessed in the sixteenth century and its current decline.[7]

In addition, while scrutinizing the captivity narratives left by noblemen – the principal format of Russian travelogues of that time – he pinpointed similar themes addressed by the authors: the loss of faith during captivity, clashes between the protagonists and the Muslim population, accounts of the terrible fate of others in opposition to the magic luck that saved the authors, the presence of "a noble Turk" among their captors in contrast to the "barbarian" habits of his compatriots. Taki went on to argue that the latter image derived from the earlier and widespread image of the "noble savage."[8] And finally, in an article published in 2011, Taki employed the notion of "Orientalization" to describe Russian mental constructs of the Ottoman Empire.[9] An apt quote from this study is worth mentioning here: "Orientalising the Ottoman Empire undoubtedly allowed Russian writers to assert their European identity in the face of the references to Russia's own semi-barbarous character that one found at times in the Western literature."[10] The ambivalent nature of the Russian presence in the cross-European discourse is clearly visible here: aware of the rather derogatory reviews they received from European travelers, Russians strived to distance themselves from the other "East," arguing that to a large extent the reforms introduced by

6 Victor Taki, Tsar and Sultan: Russian Encounters with the Ottoman Empire (London, New York 2016) and in Russian: Viktor Taki, Tsar i sultan. Osmanskaya imperiya glazami rossiyan (Moscow 2017).
7 Taki, Tsar i sultan, p. 253.
8 Taki, Tsar i sultan, p. 167.
9 Viktor Taki, Orientalism on the Margins: The Ottoman Empire under Russian Eyes, in Explorations in Russian and Eurasian History 12 (2011), pp. 321–351.
10 Taki, Orientalism, p. 350.

Peter the Great (1672–1725) made them an integral part of the European civilization.

The image of the Ottoman Turk and Turkish rule cultivated in travelogues and other narratives starting in the nineteenth century is addressed in an article by Elena Linkova and Anastasia Aksenova.[11] The authors look at a curious case wherein the image of the "other" had been formed on foreign territory, away from both adversaries, namely during the hostilities between French and Russian troops clashing with Turks in Egypt. The authors conclude that derogatory imaged of Turks championed in French narratives were designed to justify the French military intervention, whereas Russian narratives argued: "Permanent confrontation with the Ottoman Empire created a need for Russians to mold an image of an evil enemy. Such an image allowed Russia to take on a role as a defender from the 'evil Turk oppressor'."[12]

A research paper with a strong theoretical background on Russian travelogues of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries is also worth mentioning here: Peter Alekseev's article *Russkii orientalnyi travelog kak zhanr putevoi prozy kontsa XVIII – pervoi treti XIX veka* (The Russian Orientalist travelogue as a genre of travel writing in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries).[13] He furnished a list of key flaws of the travelogue genre in general and of Russian travelogues in particular: "An apparent lack of plot, deliberate literary crudeness, an abundance of 'excessive' everyday details that transform the narrative into a travel guide, and finally a conspicuously event-influenced structure of presentation can be found in the majority of Oriental travel accounts."[14] As he looked at travel accounts of actual and imagined journeys, the author exposed the artistic and ideological homogeneity of the Russian Oriental travelogue dwelling upon the fundamental concept of "a Russian man in the East"[15]. "A Russian man" is a private traveler and propagator of the idea of Russian Orientalism designed to counter the European perception of Russia as a barbarian country.

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11 Elena Linkova and Anastasiya Aksenova, Obraz turka-osmana i ottomanskogo gospodstva v proizvedeniyah russkih i francuzskih puteshestvennikov XIX veka (The Image of the Ottoman Turk and Ottoman Rule in the Narratives of Russian and French Travelers) in Vestnik Rossijskogo universiteta druzhby narodov. Seriya: Vseobshschaya istoriya (2018), pp. 33–41.

12 Linkova and Aksenova, Obraz turka-osmana i ottomanskogo gospodstva, p. 40.

13 Pavel Alekseev, Russkij orientalnyj travelog kak zhanr putevoj prozy konca XVIII – pervoj treti XIX veka (The Russian Orientalist Travelogue as a Genre of Travel Writing in the late Eighteenth and early Nineteenth Centuries), in Filologiya I chelovek 2 (2014), pp. 34–46.

14 Alekseev, Russkij orientalnyj travelog, p. 35.

15 Alekseev, Russkij orientalnyj travelog, p. 46.

Summing up the aforesaid, different researchers and compilers of collections of captivity accounts have been pursuing the same goal, i.e., the quest for common notions designed to expose widespread popular perceptions about the Ottoman Empire and other Eastern countries at the end of the eighteenth century. The present chapter is pursuing a slightly different goal: rather than blending together several more or less synchronous texts, the aim here is to detect the internal textual structures employed by a single author. More specifically, the goal of this study is to explore constructions of "otherness" in Pavel Levashov's works. I proceed with examining the most important *topoi,* their gender, ethnic, and social bias. Then I juxtapose them with earlier travel accounts then available in Russia to identify beliefs, notions, and opinions that Levashov could have borrowed. Such an approach will facilitate detecting patterns in his expectations and real-life experiences endured during his tough times in the Ottoman Empire.

2 Who was Pavel Levashov and why do we question his statements?

We know surprisingly little about Pavel Levashov. The information on his diplomatic and official duties accompanied by accounts of his life at the court form the biggest part of all available data. His date of birth cannot be verified; it is assumed to be around 1719, meaning that he lived for more than a hundred years. He entered military service on 6 January 1737 and took part in the Russo-Turkish war of 1735–1739. In the following years, from 1741 to 1743, he acted as military officer in the hostilities in Finland. In 1752, he started his diplomatic service as a member of the Russian mission to Vienna presided by ambassador Hermann Keyserling (1697–1765).[16] Within five years, he was promoted to embassy's counsellor. From April 1761 to May 1762, Levashov had other diplomatic roles in Regensburg.

His Constantinople adventure started on 19 August 1763 with his appointment as *chargé d'affaires*, presumably succeeding Aleksey Obreskov (1718–1787), who had fallen ill. However, the start of his mission to the Ottoman Empire was not smooth. The Ottoman authorities refused to accept Levashov's credentials as new *chargé d'affaires* as result of the intrigues of the French ambassador Vergin. Obreskov complained that "our ill-wishers found a way to present Leva-

16 Gavriil Kesselbrenner, Izvestnye diplomaty Rossii: Ot Posolskoj izby do Kollegii inostrannyh del (The Famous Russian Diplomats:from Posolskaya Izba to the Collegium of Foreign Affairs) (Moscow 1999), p. 398.

shov's personality in the worst possible manner to the sultan."[17] Soon afterwards the relations between Obreskov and Levashov deteriorated. However, the worst was yet to come: at the beginning of the Russo-Turkish war of 1768–1774 the unfortunate *chargé d'affaires* was arrested along with his Russian colleagues. He managed to return to Russia in 1771, where he received a warm welcome: the records in the "*Kammerfurier* journals" of 1772–1773 attest that Levashov was a regular guest at official receptions at the palace.[18]

When the new war between Russia and the Ottoman Empire broke out in 1787, Levashov had a series of meetings with Grigorii Potemkin (1739–1791) and the Head of the Field Marshal's Office Vasiliy Popov (1745–1822). They discussed the founding of the Black Sea Trading Company and the construction of a new port to replace the Khadjibey wharf. Indeed, the wharf was rebuilt and became the present-day city of Odessa (1795).[19] Levashov, Potemkin, and Popov drew up plans of a large-scale colonization of the Black Sea region and planned an expansion of Russian commercial activities in the area of the "three seas" to create opportunities for the "Russian commercial fleet to operate in the four corners of the world" and help "Russia become a mediator between countries of the East and West, drawing riches from all countries"[20]. Levashov aspired to become a director of the commercial department in the Odessa city administration one day. He accompanied Grand Princes Alexander (1777–1825) and Konstantin Pavlovich (1779–1831) on their journey to London in 1787. Following retirement, Levashov lived on an estate in Belarus granted by Catherine II (1729–1796).[21] He left the estate from time to time to pay brief visits to Mogilev (Belarus) and Moscow.

Levashov started his writing endeavors upon his release from the Turkish captivity in 1771. His first essay on Ottoman Turkey, *Tsaregradskie pisma* [...] (Letters from Tsargrad [...]) saw two editions at the Bogdanovich publishing house, which was to become his long-term editorial partner. The first edition was pub-

17 Vigasin and Karpyuk, Puteshestvie po Vostoku v epokhu Ekateriny II, p. 9.

18 The *Kammerfurier* was a sixth-grade rank in The Table of Ranks of 1742 and a position at court. He was the head of the court servants and kept the so-called "*Kammerfurier* journals," where all that happened at court was scrupulously noted. Cited from: Pavel Artemievich Levashov, accessed 4 April 2022, <http://www.rusdiplomats.narod.ru/levashov-pa.html>.

19 Vasilij Nadler, Odessa v pervye epokhi ee sushestvovaniya (Odessa during the first Centuries of its Existence), (Odessa 2007) p. 30.

20 "Rossijskie kupecheskie floty vo vsekh chetyrekh chastyah sveta plavanie svoe rasprostranili"; "Rossiya sdelalas by sredotochiem mezhdu vostochnymi stranami i vseyu Evropoyu i privlekla by k sebe ot vsekh stran velikie sokrovishcha" as cited in Vigasin and Karpyuk, Puteshestvie po Vostoku v epokhu Ekateriny II, p. 10.

21 Vigasin and Karpyuk, Puteshestvie po Vostoku v epokhu Ekateriny II, p. 11.

lished in 1789. The letters had been written anonymously; Levashov's authorship was confirmed years later. Boris Danzig was the first to attribute them to Levashov in his monograph *Russkie puteshestvenniki na Blizhnem Vostoke* (Russian travelers in the Middle East) (1965).[22] Vigasin, however, was able to find irrefutable proof: Levashov himself included the *Letters* in a list of his works.[23] The letters were partially based on Levashov's personal experiences, but also included his interpretations of earlier works when he referred to changes that had taken place by the time the letters were written.[24]

He had completed the manuscript of his captivity diaries long before the end of the war in 1774 and it was published in 1790. It shares the same structure with other similar works in this genre. It begins with the introduction, written, as mentioned above, after the core chapters, and a perfect example of blatant ideological propaganda. The introduction is followed by the detailed account of events: Russia's unexpected declaration of war, the start of Levashov's prosecution, and his voluntary decision to surrender to the Ottoman authorities despite the threat of imminent reprisal for his covert dispatch of two envoys with intelligence to Russia. So Levashov dared to pay a visit to the superintendent of the Yedikule fortress-prison and was allowed to see Obreskov, who had already been jailed. The following night, Levashov, with the help of the court interpreter, drew up a message to the Grand Vizier offering "to put his own life under the custody of the Sublime Porte"[25]. The Vizier decreed to allow Levashov to join the other Russians imprisoned at Yedikule. Levashov was relieved on hearing this ruling since death penalty could also have been a likely outcome. The diary continues with his descriptions of the daily war news and living conditions of prisoners up to the day of their release.

The captivity diaries were soon followed by an anticipated sequel entitled *Kartina ili opisanie vsekh nashestvij na Rossiyu Tatar i Turkov, i ih tut branej, grabitelstv i opustoshenij, nachavshihsya v polovine desyatogo veka i pochti besprerywno cherez vosemsot let prodolzhavshihsya* (Portrayal or report on all invasions

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22 Boris DanTsig, Russkie puteshestvenniki na Blizhnem Vostoke (Russian Travelers in the Middle East) (Moscow 1965), p. 91.

23 Vigasin and Karpyuk, Puteshestvie po Vostoku v epokhu Ekateriny II, p. 36.

24 Pavel Levashov, Tsaregradskie pisma o drevnih i nyneshnih turkah i o sostoyanii ih vojsk, o Tsaregrade i vseh okrestnostyah onogo […] (Letters from Tsargrad about the Ancient and Contemporary Turks and about their Military Forces, about Tsargrad and its Environs), in Vigasin and Karpyuk, Puteshestvie po Vostoku v epokhu Ekateriny II. p. 52.

25 Pavel Levashov, Plen i stradanie rossiyan u turkov […] (The Russians' Captivity and Sufferings among the Turks) in Vigasin and Karpyuk, Puteshestvie po Vostoku v epokhu Ekateriny II, p. 18.

of Russia by Tatars and Turks and their abuses, looting and devastations that began in the middle of the tenth c. and have been continuing almost ceaselessly for 800 years) that is considered to have been written in 1774 and published in 1791/1792. This treatise is not a travelogue but rather a compilation of evidence the author was able to collect while studying chronicles and records on Cuman, Tatar, and Turk invasions of Russia. In addition to finding an additional "justification" of Russia's war with Turkey, Levashov aimed with this treatise to substantiate Russia's inherent rights to own the Crimean Peninsula.

But how trustworthy are his travel narratives, taking into account his biography? First, his Western experience and proficiency in foreign languages hint at his knowledge of European travel narratives. Moreover, we do know that in 1750 he translated François Callières's (1645–1717) *De la manière de négocier avec les souverains* (1716). Thus, it comes as no surprise to find traces of earlier European travel writings in his own accounts. Second, another challenge in decoding Levashov's writing deserves particular consideration: almost two decades separated his Ottoman experience from the publication of the travelogue and he managed to edit his first draft and inject all the features that he deemed necessary to boost his career. In fact, he took an active part in Catherine's "Greek project" that inspired him to adopt and propagate the image of a prosperous and booming Russia facing the crumbling Ottoman Empire. Undoubtedly, acting as a representative of the court whose career depended on royal patronage, his views were biased. Third, a pro smothered in "cons" consists of the fact that he had been living in Constantinople for years and he knew his subject matter well. Last but not least, one should also take into account the causes that propelled this publication – the growing demand for "exotic" literature and, at the same time, the rise of propaganda for the Russian military campaigns in Europe and the East. Therefore, in what follows I shall review the travel accounts of Pavel Levashov in full awareness that they were biased and fairly derivative travelogues, although seasoned with his personal touch.

3 *The Russians' Captivity and Sufferings among the Turks* and the *Letters from Tsargrad* (Constantinople): main topoi, old and new ideas

I proceed with Levashov's most original travelogue describing his experience as a prisoner at the Porte and entitled *Plen i stradanie rossiian u turkov* (The Russians' captivity and sufferings among the Turks). The foreword to the travelogue was written by Levashov many years after completion of the manuscript and took into account Russia's recent military and diplomatic victories. The purpose of the foreword is to make the reader interpret the text that follows in a particular light: unlike the travelogue itself, it is filled with stereotypes and topoi. Levashov tried to convey a specific message to an audience he knew well, one that, he argued, was composed of those who had only "vague knowledge" ("*mechtatelnoe poniatie*") about the Ottoman Empire.[26]

Which topoi did Levashov focus on? The first can be found in the second paragraph of the foreword. As I shall substantiate in further paragraphs it was not a novelty, but a revision of earlier travelogues. This topos was meant to showcase Russia's progressive image: Russia and the Ottoman Empire were represented as two persons meeting each other on the stairs as one goes up and the other descends. Passing over the imperfect descriptions of the Turkish state by previous authors, we will notice that each region is subject to different changes, i.e., some are booming while others are slumping. For example, if one reads a description of Russia from the previous century and concludes that he has a profound knowledge about its current state he will be driven into a wrong belief that Russia had been constantly growing in contrast with the ailing Ottoman Empire. "Therefore, its [the Ottoman Empire's] present state is a bleak shadow of a mammoth once ruled by the glorious sultans Suleiman, Bayezid, Amurat and Mahomet the Second (sic!), who put an end to the Eastern Greek (sic!) empire and snatched its charming capital – Constantinople."[27] Therefore, looking at these metaphorical stairs one could see the Ottoman Empire going down, while Russia was on the rise.

Here Levashov flattered Catherine the Great whose aggressive actions in Poland and "Greek project" were aimed at transforming Russia into an empire that neither Europeans nor Ottomans could ever dare to neglect on the international scene. Elsewhere he rewrote the topos of the Ottoman Empire's decline employing the metaphor of "a building in ruins." He put it as follows: "To get an impression of the present Turkish state one should envisage this Empire as a vast crumbling edifice that once surprised and terrified viewers only by its appearance, but that was shattered by the Russian Boreas so violently that it was almost totally ruined." After such an introduction, he goes on with a praise of Russian arms that "delivered miracles on land and sea."[28]

26 Levashov, Plen i stradanie rossiyan u turkov, p. 31.
27 Levashov, Plen i stradanie rossiyan u turkov, p. 31.
28 "[…] tvorimye rossijskim oruzhiem chudesa kak na zemle, tak i na more." Levashov, Plen i stradanie rossiyan u turkov, p. 32.

I decided to skip the very well-known topos of the "barbaric Turks" due to its straightforward nature – Levashov mentioned it, but rather seldom. It is curious that he was more concerned not with the ethnic "other" but with a social "other" rather than with an ethnic one. And this "other" will be the second item discussed here. This "other" stood for a rabble or a mob of common people. Levashov refers to it several times in his travelogue. When he recounted the exultation among Turks at the beginning of the war with Russia he said: "In Tsargrad (Constantinople) and its suburbs a violent, ecstatic rabble robbed and abused not only Christians, but also many Muslims, making almost all foreign ministers to abandon the rustic air and flee to Pera."[29]

While relating the story of his imprisonment he described his justified concern about his future, fearing most not the "Turkish" cruelty but the atrocities committed by the rabble: "In fear of falling into the hands of the frenzied mob of these guardsmen and the cruel rabble, I have decided to surrender myself to the Porte, ignoring the objections raised by my friends and their advice to flee Constantinople clandestinely on a European ship".[30] He explained his reasons to the dragoman using similar words so that he could pass them over to the Vizier and the divan: "When I saw him I explained to him the aim of my visit and that being in such circumstances when common rights were unable to protect me from the different abuses committed by the rabble I felt necessary to seek shelter in the shadow of the Sublime Porte."[31] And the authorities, he remarked with a tinge of admiration in his words, did find a way to herd people "together in trembling and delight" ("*kupno i v trepete i udovolstvii*"),[32] unleashing executions and punitive actions. Therefore, the second topos in Levashov's travel writings is a pejorative representation of commoners. Thus, social status had more importance to him than ethnicity as shown in his decision to surrender to the more "civilized" Turks.

The third topos that formed an integral part of most early modern travelogues was, of course, that of harems, Turkish women, and Turks in love. Leva-

29 "V Tsar-grade i vo vsekh onogo okrestnostyakh buinaya chern, byv v isstuplenii ot bezmernoi o tom radosti, proizvodila grabezhi i nasiliya ne tokmo protivu khristian, no i vesma mnogikh magometan, chto prinudilo vsekh pochti chuzhestrannykh ministrov rasstatsya s selskim vozduhom i pereekhat v Peru." Levashov, Plen i stradanie rossiyan u turkov, pp. 13–14.

30 "Opasayas vpast v ruki neobuzdannoj tolpy sikh strazhej i zhestokoi cherni, reshilsya yavitsya sam k Porte, nesmotrya na raznye protiv sego ot priyatelei moikh vozrazheniya i sovet, chtob uekhat iz Tsar-grada taino na kakom-nibud evropeiskom sudne." Levashov, Plen i stradanie rossiyan u turkov, p. 14.

31 Levashov, Plen i stradanie rossiyan u turkov, p. 18.

32 Levashov, Tsaregradskie pisma, p. 75.

shov explores the topic at length in his *Tsaregradskie pisma* (Letters from Tsargrad) (in the second, third, and ninth letters). Following the example of European travel writings Levashov used this topic to spice up his narrative with a pinch of "Oriental exoticism" because he was well aware of market demand, i. e., using modern language, he knew that "sex sells." The authors of travelogues described the private life of Turks with an eroticism and sensuality that were forbidden fruit in "civilized" Europe. This theme was exempt from censorship and Levashov took advantage of it to promote sales.

His first accounts were quite typical – he started with explaining the notion of "harem," its place within the structure of the palace, and the isolation of the women who lived there. In the title of the letter, he deliberately used the humiliating notion of "women's depository" as he tried to convey perceptions of women as inanimate objects. He described the harem hierarchy, i. e., how a woman could become the sultan's wife and, inevitably, what awaited them when the sultan eventually died. He narrated that that "after the sultan's death his wives and concubines alike, as well as the old women, are all, apart from the young and beautiful, transferred to an old seraglio, where they get locked together with their children and often a new sultan has them murdered."[33] Remarkably, the letter on the harem is quite generic, deprived of any personal touch, and does not go beyond stereotypes.

After depicting life in the harem, Levashov gives colorful descriptions of Turkish baths, spicing up his account with descriptions of naked women having a few moments to themselves, finally free from male guardianship. He also dares to address the issue of same-sex love thriving during the women's visits to baths:

> Among Turkish women there are lots of tribades who fall in love desperately with other women and are fond of spending time with their lovers in baths and enjoy greatly seeing them naked; the growth of this unnatural passion among Turkish women is the result of keeping them in severity and isolation. In other words, baths are a kind of earthly paradise for Turkish women, and you would not find baths better than these anywhere in the world.[34]

33 "Po smerti sultana kak ego zheny, tak i nalozhnicy, prestarelye devicy, krome molodykh i prigozhikh, perevodyatsya v staryi seral, gde onykh zapirayut vechno oplakivat smert sultana, soderzhavshego ikh vzaperti, i svoih detei, koikh novyi sultan chasto davit povelevaet." Levashov, Tsaregradskie pisma, p. 47.

34 "No kak mezhdu tureckimi krasavicami nakhoditsya mnogo tribad, kotorye sami v drugikh zhenshchin do bezumiya vlyublivayutsya, to takovye za naibolshee uveselenie pochitayut, chtob s svoimi lyubovnicami vmeste paritsya i naslazhdatsya zreniem ikh nagoty: sei mezhdu tureckikh zhenshchin protivoestestvennoi strasti prichinoyu strogoe i nevolnoe ikh soderzhanie: odnim slovom, bani dlya tureckikh zhenshchin sut zemnoi rai, i dlya togo nigde ne vidno takogo velikolepnogo ustroeniya onykh, kak v Turcii." Levashov, Tsaregradskie pisma, p. 43.

This remark is at the same time an "Orientalizing" one for women had been living in Turkey imprisoned and separated from men, so to say, quite differently from their Russian counterparts. However, he went beyond simply commenting on their "otherness" and also sympathized with them, refraining from criticism of same-sex intercourse.

His account of relationships among Turks is full of ambiguities. First, he describes the behavior of a Turk in love, circling his sweetheart's house and demonstrating his passionate feelings through desperate actions such as self-maiming. His love is described as jealous, fearless, and stronger than blood ties. Here Levashov inserts the narration of an event that he claimed to have witnessed: it is a story of a young woman locked in the harem by her uncle and liberated by a young Turk she fell in love with. Subsequently, the brother of this Turk falls in love with her as well and they fight to death over her.[35] Levashov and his companions meet the young woman and take care of her by providing two guardians to accompany her on her way back to the uncle's house. This motive of romantic love contrasts with previous accounts about Turkish men treating their women badly, but it nevertheless fits within the topos of uncivilized relationships between Turkish men and women.

4 Inherited or witnessed? Looking for possible sources in Russian and European (travel) writing

By the time Levashov had started working on his travelogue, the tradition of travel writing in Russia spanned at least one hundred years. Moreover, we do know for sure that Levashov knew every text that addressed Russia's relations with Turks and Tatars (Russians made no distinction between the two, considering them a single sovereign power). Since he had used these sources in his aforementioned treatise *Kartina ili opisanie vsekh nashestvij na Rossiyu Tatar i Turkov* (Portrayal or report on all invasions of Russia by Tatars and Turks), he made his contribution to forming an image of the Turks as a hostile enemy, who invaded the Russian motherland without any legitimate reason.

However, medieval and early modern chronicles were not the only sources that influenced his texts. The first topos under scrutiny here, "the Ottoman Empire in decay," emerged in travel accounts only after the Russia's overwhelming

35 Levashov, Tsaregradskie pisma, pp. 68–69.

victory in the war of 1768–1774, although the prerequisites for its arrival had been set forth earlier. Two European texts translated and published in Russia in the 1740s and 1750s made a critical contribution. The first, by Luigi Marsigli (1658–1730) had a revealing title in Russian: *Voennoe sostoianie Ottomanskiia imperii s eia prirashcheniem i upadkom* (The military condition of the Ottoman Empire from its growth to its decay, 1737).

The second, *The History of the Present State of the Ottoman Empire* (1665), authored by the British diplomat and historian Paul Rycaut (1629–1700), was translated from Polish (Slutsk 1678) and published in Russia in 1742. Rycaut writes as follows:

> And in the times of the best emperours, when vertue and deserts were considered, and the Empire flourished and encreased, Men had Offices conferred for their Merits, and good Services were rewarded freely and with bounty, without Sums of Money and Payments to be a foil to the lustre of their better parts: But now it is quite contrary, and all matters run out of course, a manifest token in my opinion of the declension and decay of the Ottoman Empire.[36]

It is worth remembering that Levashov's foreword to "Sufferings" included a similar depiction: "[The Ottoman Empire] keeps crumbling. Therefore, its present state is a bleak shadow of a mammoth once ruled by the glorious sultans Suleiman, Bajazet, Amurat and Mahomet the Second."[37] The only, yet substantial, difference was the selection of the cause of the decay: whereas Levashov was speaking in evolutionary terms, seeing the state as a living entity, Rycaut was adamant in blaming the corrupt authorities for causing this decline.

The Russian tradition of travel writing, especially that by former prisoners, also had an impact on Levashov's narrative. Formulas employed by Levashov in his narrative can be found in an earlier anonymous travelogue *Opisanie Tureckoj imperii, sostavlennoe russkim, byvshim v plenu u turok vo vtoroi polovine XVII veka* (The description of the Turkish Empire written by a Russian who was imprisoned by Turks in the second half of the seventeenth century). The author starts his account with the following words: "This book was written secretly and meticulously hidden by me, a prisoner, in my captivity, where I suffered."[38]

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36 Paul Rycaut, The History of the Present State of the Ottoman Empire: Containing The Maxims of the Turkish Polity, the Most Material Points of the Mahometan Religion, Their Sects and Heresies, Their Convents and Religious Votaries. Their Military Discipline, with an Exact Computation of Their Forces both by Sea and Land […] In Three Books (London 1686), p. 142.

37 Vigasin and Karpyuk, Puteshestvie po Vostoku v epokhu Ekateriny II, p. 31.

38 "Napisasia zhe siia kniga vie tainemie, vie sokravennemie vie sokryte mnoiu plennikomie vie plennoi svoei nevoli terpeniia stradaniia svoego […]." Opisanie Tureckoi imperii, sostavlennoe

Levashov followed this example and set off with a description of how he had to encrypt his log so that if it fell in the hands of an enemy they would not be able to read anything: "When I returned to Russia some of my benefactors were curious to see this log written in brief sentences to make one wonder about its actual meaning since I wrote it in a way that no one could make anything of it, especially the Turks, even if they ever happened to procure it and tried to read."[39]

His account of the seraglio and baths must have been inspired by the comprehensive description from the *Nouvelle relation de l'intérieur du serrail du Grand Seigneur* (1675) authored by Jean-Baptiste Tavernier (1605–1689), a famous merchant-traveler, who died in Moscow and was well-known among Russian fans of reading. Although in one of the scenes he presented in his *Letters* Levashov described a European "Peeping Tom" in the house of a Turkish woman, according to Vigasin it is highly probable that it could have happened to Levashov himself. Unlike this anecdotal episode, his description of a harem is a lot duller and generic – he could not have missed it since the harem was an unavoidable topos despite the fact that few writers had ever had a chance to visit a real harem. It had not taken much effort to procure descriptions of baths and the private life of Turks since those had been easily accessible to him during his five years in Constantinople. Thus, there had been no need for him to copy abstracts from other travelogues.

And what about Russian themes? In his research on travelogues, Victor Taki was able to identified five captivity narratives by nobles. However, they have little value for our research since Levashov proved to be the earliest Russian high-ranking prisoner. Nikolay Klement (early nineteenth century), Vladimir Safonov (early nineteenth century), Alexandre Duhamel (1801–1880), and Alexandr Grigor'evich Rozalion-Soshal'skiĭ (1797–1873) took part in later Russo-Turkish wars, i.e., 1806–1812 (Klement and Safonov) and 1828–1829.[40]

Therefore, Levashov had at his disposal a very limited selection of travel diaries written by Russians. The only Russian sources he could have used were much earlier travel notes or the travelogues left by his contemporary Baranshchikov (1756–early nineteenth century), *Neshchastnyya priklyucheniya Vasilya Baranshchikova, meshchanina Nizhnego Novgoroda, v trekh chastyakh sveta: v Amerike, Azii i Evrope s 1780 po 1787 god* (The unfortunate adventures of Vasily Baranshchikov, a burgess from Nizhny Novgorod, in three parts of the world:

russkim, byvshim v plenu u turok vo vtoroj polovine XVII veka (The Description of the Turkish Empire Written by a Russian who was Imprisoned by the Turks in the Second Half of the Seventeenth Century) (Moscow, 1890), p. 1.

39 Vigasin and Karpyuk, Puteshestvie po Vostoku v epokhu Ekateriny II, p. 31.

40 Taki, Tsar i Sultan, p. 150.

America, Asia, and Europe, from 1780 to 1787).[41] However, those could have hardly inspired a Russian diplomat. Baranshchikov was fleeing from his lenders, converted to Islam, was said to have taken Turkish wives, and had deliberately fabricated his adventures. Therefore, Levashov's narrative made a trade-off between earlier travel notes emphasizing the religious confrontation between Islam and Orthodox Christianity and more secular, entertaining travel fiction. Vigasin suggested the only genuine purpose that these adventures had been designed to serve, i. e., to strike gold, due to the desperate need for money the author was experiencing upon his return to Russia.[42] Moreover, Vigasin suspected that a later sequel to Baranshchikov's travelogue, written by an unknown author, in fact plagiarized *Tsaregradskie pisma* (Letters from Tsargrad) by Levashov. Thus, even if that is the case, it gives an idea of the impact Levashov made on the Russian tradition of Oriental travelogues than the other way round. In conclusion, it is safe to conclude that Pavel Levashov's borrowings from earlier foreign travelogues were limited to only a few features that he found more appropriate to his social status and that were propagating other goals, in contrast with the earlier Russian tradition.

Conclusions

Generally speaking, despite the presence of certain similarities with earlier travelogues, Levashov's writing stands out in several ways. First, he rarely refers to Turks as a monolithically barbaric nation, except in the foreword, which is full of bias and was written for a specific purpose. Most references mention a social "other", a term that earlier authors, especially Russian ones, had avoided. And there was no coincidence that, for him, the "Westernizing" reforms of Peter the Great had triggered the start of the so-called Europeanizing and "civilizing" process in Russia. Thus, Levashov looked at Turks through the prism of the criteria of "civilization." The image of the "rabble" constructed with very specific adjectives such as "fierce," "violent," and "bloodthirsty" had very little to do with Levashov's beliefs and those of his patrons. It is evident that, being Rus-

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41 Vasiliy Baranshchikov, Neshastnyya priklyucheniya Vasilya Baranshikova, meshanina Nizhnego Novgoroda, v treh chastyah sveta: v Amerike, Azii i Evrope s 1780 po 1787 god (The Unfortunate Adventures of Vasily Baranshchikov, a Burgess from Nizhny Novgorod, in Three Parts of the World: America, Asia, and Europe, from 1780 to 1787), in Vigasin and Karpyuk, Puteshestvie po Vostoku v epokhu Ekateriny II, pp. 101–133.
42 Baranshchikov, Neshastnyya priklyucheniya, p. 106.

sian, Levashov tried to distance himself from the "otherness" constructed by Europeans in their own travelogues by Orientalizing the Turks.

The same mechanism of constructing "otherness" worked in another sphere that seemed at first unrelated to more general social issues, namely in the description of the private life of the Turks. Levashov highlights their passionate nature, manifested in self-maiming and even homicide; he also emphasizes women's sexual appetites, earning him a status of a refined "European". Here we see the same "violent" and "uncivilized" other for the author once more emphasized the exoticism in the behavior of the Turks.

Were his accounts inherited or witnessed? There is no doubt that Levashov knew what he was looking for in the Ottoman everyday life as well as how he should structure his own experience as a prisoner by selecting a few themes: the Empire in decay, barbaric Turks, harems and baths, exotic food and table manners, secret writing and life-threatening situations with violent guardians. All these topoi shaped the narrative of *The Russians' Captivity and Sufferings among the Turks* and *Letters from Tsargrad* but also left some room for improvising. One's patterns of expectation do play a great role during travels abroad, but they do not guarantee that one will limit oneself to a mere repetition of well-known stereotypes. Levashov was a good observer and he did his best to become an engaging narrator that enriches his text with colorful details and his personal experience. Another element that influenced his writing was his status at Catherine's court – Levashov evaded criticism of the sultan's absolute power, exposed the military weakness of the Ottoman Empire, extolling Russia's growing might, and elaborated on his awareness of the responsibility he carried as *chargé d'affaires*. It is impossible to draw a distinction between collective representations and individual experience, but it is possible to appreciate the personal touch in Levashov's travel writing.

One might also wonder about any visual sources that might have been available to him, since diplomatic missions often had painters among their staff. Or, if this was not the case, painters or engravers were involved at the stage of production of travelogues. Unfortunately, a researcher who works with Russian travelogues is deprived of the luxury of analyzing correlations between texts and images. Unlike their Western counterparts, these travelogues were deprived of images. At the same time, we do know that in the late 1790s painters accompanied diplomats during their missions to the "Orient". One of them was Gavrila Sergeev (1765–1816), whose watercolors were put on display during a thematic exposition at the Rybinsk State History, Architecture and Art Museum (8 July–

10 September 2009, Russian Federation).[43] However, as Olga Kaparulina recently proved,[44] his works were mainly copies of an English painter's engravings.[45] Unfortunately, other paintings, watercolors, and engravings date from the nineteenth century. Therefore, researchers must restrict themselves to verbal pictures only.

43 Accessed 19 May 2022, <http://www.museum.ru/N37263>.
44 Olga Kaparulina, Original ili kopiya? k voprosu ob atribucii akvarelej i risunkov G. S. Sergeeva (Original or Copy? On the Question of Attribution of G. S. Sergeev's Watercolours and Drawings), in Trudy Istoricheskogo fakulteta Sankt-Peterburgskogo universiteta (2014), pp. 300 – 309.
45 See, for example, Luigi Mayer, Views in Egypt, from the Original Drawings, in the Possession of Sir Robert Ainslie, Taken During his Embassy to Constantinople: Engraved by and under the Direction of Thomas Milton with Historical Observations, and Incidental Illustrations of the Manners and Customs of the Natives of that Country (London 1805), p. 60.

Irini Apostolou

Oriental Images of Otherness: Fashion Encounters in French Travelogues and Other Representations of the Nineteenth Century

In the nineteenth century, the Orient, particularly the Ottoman Empire and Egypt, were not alien spaces, but familiar realms, to the French people. Napoleon Bonaparte's (1769 – 1821) campaign in Egypt and Syria from 1798 to 1801 had a powerful impact on the French perception of the Orient. This was supplemented by information from travelogues, works of literature, historical treatises, as well as other (illustrated) publications, paintings, and etchings.[1]

Orientalism, defined by Edward Said as "a Western style for dominating, restructuring, and having authority over the Orient,"[2] was not absent as an expression of Western hegemony from nineteenth-century French visual and textual travel narratives. Said's analysis of the ideological foundation of European representations of Oriental otherness has been subject to debate and criticism.[3] It has been suggested, for example. that in his study *Orientalism* (1978), he focused on the discursive and textual production of Oriental images, did not analyze the role of gender,[4] and did not examine the representation of the Orient in Western art.[5] Nevertheless, French travelers' descriptions and images of ethnic and religious groups do provide information on the characteristics of the Orient's exoti-

1 For explorations of Western fantasies and stereotypes about the Orient see Rana Kabbani, Europe's Myths of Orient: Devise and Rule (Basingstoke, London 1986).

2 Edward Said, whose seminal work *Orientalism*, starts with Bonaparte's campaign, argues that the West's dominant perception of the Orient is a stereotype of its own making. Edward W. Said, Orientalism (New York 1978), p. 3.

3 For more information on criticism of Said's *Orientalism* see Ali Behdad, Orientalism after Orientalism, in L'Esprit Createur 34/2 (1994), pp. 3 – 11; Fred Halliday, Orientalism and its Critics, in British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies 20 (1993), pp. 145 – 163.

4 On the role of gender see Reina Lewis, Gendering Orientalism: Race, Feminity and Representation (London, New York 1996); Meyda Yegenoglu, Colonial Fantasies: Towards a Feminist Reading of Orientalism (Cambridge, Mass. 1998); Reina Lewis, Rethinking Orientalism: Women, Travel and the Ottoman Harem (London 2004).

5 For a useful analysis of the production of French Orientalist painters see Christine Peltre, Les orientalistes (Paris 2018). For a general approach of Orientalism in art see also Roger Diederen and Davy Depelchin (eds.), De Delacroix à Kandinsky: L'Orientalisme en Europe, exhibition catalogue (Paris 2010).

https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110698046-010

cized otherness on the basis of various topics such as the outward appearance of its population.[6] The analysis of travel literature and iconography usually reveals what the travelers saw and experienced during their journeys as well as their personal perception of otherness. However, their textual and visual production is not an objective evidence because "it is written from a perspective that reveals something of the traveler's culture and ideology."[7] Nineteenth-century travelers do not only describe other places and people, they also express themselves. Percy Adams has argued that "the personal, subjective nature of [travel] literature has always been one of its chief and most endearing elements."[8] The visual and textual representation of the Orient's ethnic and religious groups can also be studied in the context of imagology, an approach that analyzes the cultural construction and literary representation of 'the other.'[9] Moreover, as travel narratives are related to earlier literary conventions and models, they draw on previous writings and frequently repeat old information.[10]

This chapter explores, through nineteenth-century French travel writing and images, the contribution of representations of Oriental fashions to the construction of Oriental otherness. Throughout various case studies, we analyze textual and visual representations in an attempt to better understand their perception and use by French travelers. Their testimonies help us to acknowledge fashion as a form of cultural transfer between East and West.[11]

6 Irini Apostolou, L'apparence extérieure de l'Oriental et son rôle dans la formation de l'image de l'Autre par les voyageurs français au XVIII^{e} siècle, in Cahiers de la Méditerranée 66 (2003), pp. 181–200.

7 Nandini Das and Tim Youngs (eds.), The Cambridge History of Travel Writing (Cambridge, UK et al. 2019), Introduction, p. 16.

8 Percy G. Adams, Travel Literature and the Evolution of the Novel (Lexington 1983), p. 167.

9 For more details on the theoretical approach of "imagology" see Joep Leerssen, Imagology: History and Method, in Manfred Beller and Joep Leerssen (eds.), Imagology: The Cultural Construction and Literary Representation of National Characters: A Critical Survey (Amsterdam, New York 2007), pp. 17–32. In his approach to the theory of imagology, Daniel-Henri Pageaux also focused on the contribution of the cultural context. Daniel-Henri Pageaux, Une perspective d'étude en littérature comparée: L'imagerie culturelle, in Synthesis 8 (1981), pp. 169–185; Daniel-Henri Pageaux, L'imagerie culturelle: De la littérature comparée à l'anthropologie, in Synthesis 10 (1983), pp. 79–88.

10 Isabelle Daunais considered that "For romantic travelers, travel is also a commemoration of past travels," in L'art de la mesure ou L'invention de l'espace dans les récits d'Orient (XIX^{e} siècle) (Saint-Denis, Montréal 1996), introduction.

11 The concept of cultural transfer was developed by Michel Espagne. See in particular Michel Espagne, La notion de transfert culturel, in Revue Sciences/Lettres 1 (2013), accessed 4 April 2022, <https://doi.org/10.4000/rsl.219>.

Since the Renaissance, European costume books and travelogues had usually offered abundant information about local manners and customs to acquaint their readers with foreign cultures. In eighteenth-century French travelogues, chapters were repeatedly entitled "*moeurs et coutumes*" (mores and customs) and presented the daily life, the beliefs, and the dress of the population of the visited countries. Like other travelers of the time, French travelers, whose personal encounters with the local population were limited due to language and culture barriers, expressed in their accounts a particular interest in Oriental clothing with vivid descriptions based on their personal observations. The descriptions and representations of costumes in travelogues contributed to the identification of otherness and to the recognition of its cultural, social, and ethnic characteristics.[12] Nevertheless, despite the richness of the information provided on fashion and clothing items, travelogues do not capture the complexity of 'the Oriental' as an individual.[13] Textual descriptions and commentaries in travelogues are not sufficiently enlightening and cannot always be used as ethnographic data by researchers. Furthermore, due to their general character or inaccuracy, many European pictures representing Ottoman fashion and sartorial habits, cannot be considered as a reliable visual source. Likewise, Patrick Holland and Graham Huggan claim that "it is best to see travel writing as pseudoethnographic," insofar as it purports to provide a document of, or report on, other peoples and cultures while using them as a backdrop for the author's personal quest.[14] Suraiya Faroqhi argues that the observations and images "produced by European travelers are often invaluable but must be used with due caution." She adds that "as strangers, these people [travelers], were more likely than insiders to misunderstand the often subtle messages imparted by the clothes of people who at best they got to know but casually."[15] Travelogues do not always inform us about the wearer's social class and the place where the clothes described had been viewed, nor do they mention their quality systematically. More-

12 For an analysis of the eighteenth-century iconography of Orientals see the fourth section in Irini Apostolou, L'Orientalisme des voyageurs français au XVIII^{e} siècle: Une iconographie de l'Orient méditerranéen (Paris 2009).

13 In eighteenth-century travelogues, travelers usually offered general outlines of the Orient's ethnic, religious, and local groups. For more information about their personal encounters see Irini Apostolou, Rencontrer l'Oriental dans les récits de voyages: Aperçus de l'altérité au siècle des Lumières, in Gérard Ferreyrolles and Laurent Versini (eds.), Le Livre du monde et le monde des livres: Mélanges à l'honneur de François Moureau (Paris 2012), pp. 787–800.

14 Patrick Holland and Graham Huggan, Tourists with Typewriters: Critical Reflections on Contemporary Travel Writing (Ann Arbor 1998), p. 12.

15 Suraiya Faroqhi and Christoph K. Neumann (eds.), Ottoman Costumes: From Textile to Identity (Istanbul 2004), p. 17.

over, a costume cannot be studied without taking into account the body of the wearer and the gestures that are prevalent in every culture. However, in some cases, travelogues can be used as a secondary source in social, cultural, and material history as well as in the history of trade and consumption.

1 Costume books, travel illustration and portraits: an old tradition of Orientalist representations of fashion

Starting with the Renaissance, European readers were confronted with written or oral descriptions of Oriental clothes, in other words with verbal images. Many early modern travelogues included engravings representing Oriental dress. Furthermore, the genre of costume book, in manuscript or printed form, became very popular as it allowed the reader/spectator to travel to foreign countries via sartorial images, associated with specific geographical spaces.[16] Travelogues were consumed by avid readers and "cross-pollinated with contemporary books of clothing and habits with which they sustained a rich symbolic relationship."[17] Images of Oriental costumes were either published as part of Renaissance travel accounts or in collections of world costumes. Sometimes, they were also used to indicate the relevant geographical area and allow the reader/spectator to associate the costume to a region or country. Moreover, he or she could compare the physical and sartorial characteristics of the various ethnic groups.[18]

Les Quatre premiers livres des navigations et pérégrinations orientales (1567–1568)[19] written by the French geographer, and probably spy, Nicolas de Nicolay (1517–1583) was a commercial success.[20] Nicolay's travelogue, translated in English, German, Flemish, and Italian comprises sixty plates representing the sul-

16 For an overview of costume books see Odile Blanc, Images du monde et portraits d'habits: Les recueils de costumes à la Renaissance, in Bulletin du Bibliophile 2 (1995), pp. 221–261.
17 Stephanie Leitch, Visual Images in Travel Writing, in Das and Youngs, The Cambridge History of Travel Writing, pp. 456–473, here p. 465.
18 Isabelle Paresys, Apparences vestimentaires et cartographie de l'espace en Europe occidentale aux XVI^e^ et XVII^e^ siècles, in Isabelle Paresys (ed.), Paraître et apparences en Europe occidentale du Moyen Âge à nos jours (Villeneuve-d'Ascq 2008), pp. 253–270, accessed 4 April 2022, <https://doi.org/10.4000/books.septentrion.57573>.
19 Nicolas de Nicolay, Les Quatre premiers livres des navigations et pérégrinations orientales (Lyon 1567–1568).
20 David Brafman, Facing East: The Western View of Islam in Nicolas de Nicolay's 'Travels in Turkey', in Getty Research Journal 1 (2009), pp. 153–160, here p. 153.

tan, a mufti, various soldiers and servants of the imperial court, as well as Ottoman women and Christian subjects. Its images of Oriental dress are presented as signifiers of ethnicity, and of religious and cultural heritage. Over the next three centuries, Nicolay's illustrated travelogue was an important inspiration for artists and writers.[21]

In the eighteenth century, the *Recueil de cent estampes représentant les diverses nations du Levant*,[22] with plates engraved after the paintings by Jean-Baptiste Van Mour (1671–1737), which were commanded by Charles Ferriol (1652–1722), also became a valuable visual and textual resource for authors and artists who had not visited the Orient themselves.[23] Known as the *Recueil Ferriol* it documented especially the costumes and the way of life of the residents of the sultan's imperial household and the sultan's subjects. Sources like these were, for instance, used by Westerners who enjoyed dressing as Orientals in masquerades, used exotic fabrics and accessories,[24] or adapted elements and trends from Oriental costumes.[25]

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21 Marie-Christine Gomez-Géraud and Stéphane Yérasimos (eds.), Dans l'empire de Soliman le Magnifique : Nicolas de Nicolay (Paris 1989), Introduction, pp. 33–36.

22 Jacques Le Hay (ed.), Recueil de cent estampes représentant les diverses nations du Levant, tirées d'après nature en 1707 et 1708 par les ordres de M. de Ferriol, ambassadeur du Roy à la Porte et gravées en 1712 et 1713 par les soins de Le Hay (Paris 1714).

23 Further information on the *Recueil* by Ferriol can be found in Jeff Moronvalle, Connaître et représenter l'Orient au siècle des Lumières: Le Recueil de cent estampes représentant différentes nations du Levant de Charles de Ferriol, 1714, in Sophie Basch et al. (eds.), Orientalisme, les Orientalistes et l'Empire ottoman: De la fin du XVIII^e^ siècle à la fin du XX^e^ siècle: Actes du colloque international réuni à Paris, les 12 et 13 février 2010 au Palais de l'Institut de France (Paris 2011), pp. 61–79. See also Apostolou, L'Orientalisme, pp. 262–265, and Maria-Elisabeth Pape, Die Turquerie in der Bildenkunst des 18 Jahrhunderts (PhD dissertation, University of Cologne, 1987), pp. 305–319.

24 Onur Inal, Women's Fashions in Transition: Ottoman Borderlands and the Anglo-Ottoman Exchange of Costumes, in Journal of World History 22 (2011), pp. 243–272.

25 For the assimilation of Oriental styles in French fashion see Adam Geczy and Vicki Karaminas (eds.), Fashion and Orientalism: Dress, Textiles and Culture from the 17th to the 21st century (London 2013); Kendra Van Cleave, The Desire to Banish Any Constraint in Clothing: *Turquerie* and Enlightenment Thought in the French Fashion Press, 1768–1790, in French Historical Studies 43 (2020), pp. 197–221. For a general approach to Ottoman fashion in Europe see Charlotte A. Jirousek with Sara Catterall, Ottoman Dress and Design in the West: A Visual History of Cultural Exchange (Indiana 2019).

2 Travelers' Orientalist portraits

Drawn, painted, or photographed, portraits of travelers were conceived according to a codified system of representations which reinforced their power over knowledge about the Orient and their cultural hegemony.[26] Christine Riding argues that "cultural cross-dressing also represents an Orientalist's desire for power over a Western audience, as a visual expression of his or her distinct experience, understanding, and authority."[27] In the same approach, Gail Ching-Liang Low suggests that travelers' cultural appropriation of a foreign culture passed through their representations of its clothing considering that "the visual and imaginative pleasure of stepping into another's clothes forms one of the central legacies of orientalism."[28] The adoption of Oriental dress could also reflect the sitter's admiration for Oriental culture.[29]

Many sitters chose to appear in Oriental attire bought during their travels, and the association with the Orient was often strengthened by real or imaginary geographies depicted in the background of the paintings. In Jean-Baptiste Tavernier's (1605 – 1689) portrait by Nicholas de Largillière (1656 – 1746; portrait c. 1678, Herzog Anton Ulrich Museum, Brunswick)[30] and in Lady Mary Wortley-Montagu's (1689 – 1762) portraits in Turkish dress[31] as well as in many travelers' photographs, Oriental dress was imposed as an important element of the travel-

26 For more information on cross-dressing as the expression of cultural hegemony see Mary Roberts, Cultural Crossings: Sartorial Adventures, Satiric Narratives and the Question of Indigenous Agency in Nineteenth-century Europe and the Near East, in Jocelyn Hackforth-Jones and Mary Roberts (eds.), Edges of Empire: Orientalism and Visual Culture (Malden, MA et al. 2005), pp. 70 – 94.

27 Christine Riding, Travellers and Sitters: The Orientalist Portrait, in Nicholas Tromans (ed.), The Lure of the East: British Orientalist Painting, exhibition catalogue, Tate Gallery (London 2008), pp. 48 – 75, here p. 48.

28 Gail Ching-Liang Low, White Skins/Black Masks: The Pleasures and Politics of Imperialism, in New Formations 9 (1989), pp. 83 – 103, here p. 83.

29 The European fascination with Ottoman culture is discussed by Haydn Williams in Turquerie: An Eighteenth-Century European Fantasy (London 2014).

30 For Tavernier's portrait see Gereon Sievernich and Hendrik Budde (eds.), Europa und der Orient (Gütersloh, Munich 1989), p. 821, figure 895. For the use of Oriental dress in Tavernier's travel account and images see Nina Trauth, Maske und Person: Orientalismus im Porträt des Barock (Munich 2009).

31 Lady Mary Wortley-Montagu accompanied her husband, Sir Edward Wortley-Montagu (1678 – 1761), who had been appointed ambassador to Constantinople (Istanbul) in 1716, through various Eastern European states before settling in Pera. In her portraits, Lady Mary appears either in her original Turkish costume or in a modified Turkish dress. See Isobel Grundy, Lady Mary Wortley Montagu (Oxford 1999).

er's identity. Adopting cultural cross-dressing helped them to establish their authority as writers or artists producing an 'authentic' image of the Orient. Therefore, travelers' portraits in their Oriental costume can be perceived as examples of their Orientalist strategy as they asserted their superiority as Westerners and connoisseurs of the Orient through this medium.

In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, costume books and travelogues with information on Oriental fashion were very popular.[32] Compared to the early modern production, nineteenth-century costume books have a stronger focus on the social and administrative hierarchy as well as on the religious and ethnic diversity as represented by a variety of Oriental characters ranging from the upper echelons of Ottoman society to ordinary men and women in Constantinople and in other parts of the Ottoman Empire. Frequently, these volumes present the same costumes, poses, and characters with minor changes, thus offering stereotyped images of the Orient. During their sojourn in the Ottoman Empire, especially in Constantinople, nineteenth-century visitors also purchased manuscript costume books, produced by European and local artists.[33]

Travelogues and costume books were often used as visual sources by European artists and writers because they provided insights into the peculiarities of the outward appearance of the ethnic and religious groups represented. One prominent example of borrowing of textual and visual elements from travelogues is the *Turkish Bath* (*Le bain turc*, 1862, Fig.1) by Jean-Auguste-Dominique Ingres (1780 – 1867), a painting largely inspired by Mary Wortley-Montagu's *Letters*. Wortley-Montagu informed her sister of her particular interest in Ottoman fashion and described her Turkish costume in detail.[34] Besides the general atmosphere of the hammam that was inspired by Wortley-Montagu's visits to the baths in Adrianople (Edirne), Ingres borrowed his two standing naked figures from a sixteenth-century print entitled *Turque allant au bain* (Fig. 2) which itself

32 See Apostolou, L'Orientalisme, pp. 260 – 277.

33 For more information on the production of costume books in the Ottoman Empire see Gwendolyn Collaço, Between Brush, Stone, and Copper: The Harvard Fulgenzi Album Mediating Print Techniques and Crosscurrents of the Press, in Gwendolyn Collaço (ed.), Prints and Impressions from Ottoman Smyrna: The Collection de costumes civils et militaires, scènes populaires, et vues de l'Asie-Mineure, Album (1836 – 38) at Harvard University's Fine Arts Library. With historical comments by Evangelia Balta and Richard Wittmann (Bonn 2019), pp. 9 – 20.

34 Mary Wortley Lady Montagu, Letter XXIX, in Letters of the right honourable Lady M […] y W […] y M […] e: written during her travels in Europe, Asia, and Africa, to persons of distinction, men of letters, &c. in different parts of Europe (London 1784), pp. 149 – 150.

was based on a drawing by Nicolas de Nicolay published in his travelogue.[35] Contrary to the woman wearing an orange headdress, and the lady holding a blue cloth, who were represented naked by Ingres, the original etching actually depicts two fully dressed women, a Turkish lady and her servant, on their way to a Turkish bath.

Moreover, Ingres "undressed" one of the figures of the *Recueil* – originally wearing a light dress after her bath (Fig. 3) – to fit in the hammam group of naked ladies.[36] Ingres, a neoclassical artist, who never visited the Orient, preferred to use Renaissance and eighteenth-century travelogues and images for his Oriental paintings rather than contemporary written and visual sources. Nineteenth-century readers had access to contemporary illustrated travelogues and to costume books whose topics remained unchanged. Albums with scenes of daily life such as *La Turquie* (1846) by Camille Rogier (1810 – 1896) also comprise typical Oriental costumes.[37] Rogier was a draughtsman, painter, and engraver who, after being part of a literary and artistic circle in Paris, sojourned for several years in Constantinople. This sojourn and his several difficult trips to Smyrna (Izmir) and other parts of Asia Minor prior to his relocation to Beirut, introduced him to the particularities of the Ottoman society.[38]

Rogier created narrative scenes for a French as well as for a European audience using the rhetoric and pictorial conventions that governed this genre to meet the expectations of his public. As *La Turquie*'s complete title suggests, it is an album about Ottoman life, whose picturesque compositions help the reader/spectator to identify the Orient's ethnic groups and social classes. This album expresses a particular interest in the social, ethnic, and religious diversity of the Ottoman Empire that is also visible in the details of the outward appearance of the models represented (Fig. 4).

35 For more information on the sources of Ingres see the exhibition catalogue by Hélène Toussaint and Suzy Delbourgo, Le Bain Turc d'Ingres: Étude au Laboratoire de recherche des musées de France, Musée du Louvre (Paris 1971).

36 Gérard Jean Baptiste Scotin after Jean-Baptiste Van Mour, Femme turque qui repose sur le sopha sortant du bain, in Le Hay, Recueil de cent estampes, figure 46.

37 Camille Rogier, La Turquie: Mœurs et usages des orientaux au dix-neuvième siècle. Scènes de leur vie intérieure et publique. Harem, bazars, cafés, bains, danses et musique, coutumes levantines, etc. (Paris 1846).

38 Anne Morel-Besson, Camille Rogier, peintre et illustrateur du XIX^{e} siècle (master's thesis [DEA], Paris-Sorbonne University 1995).

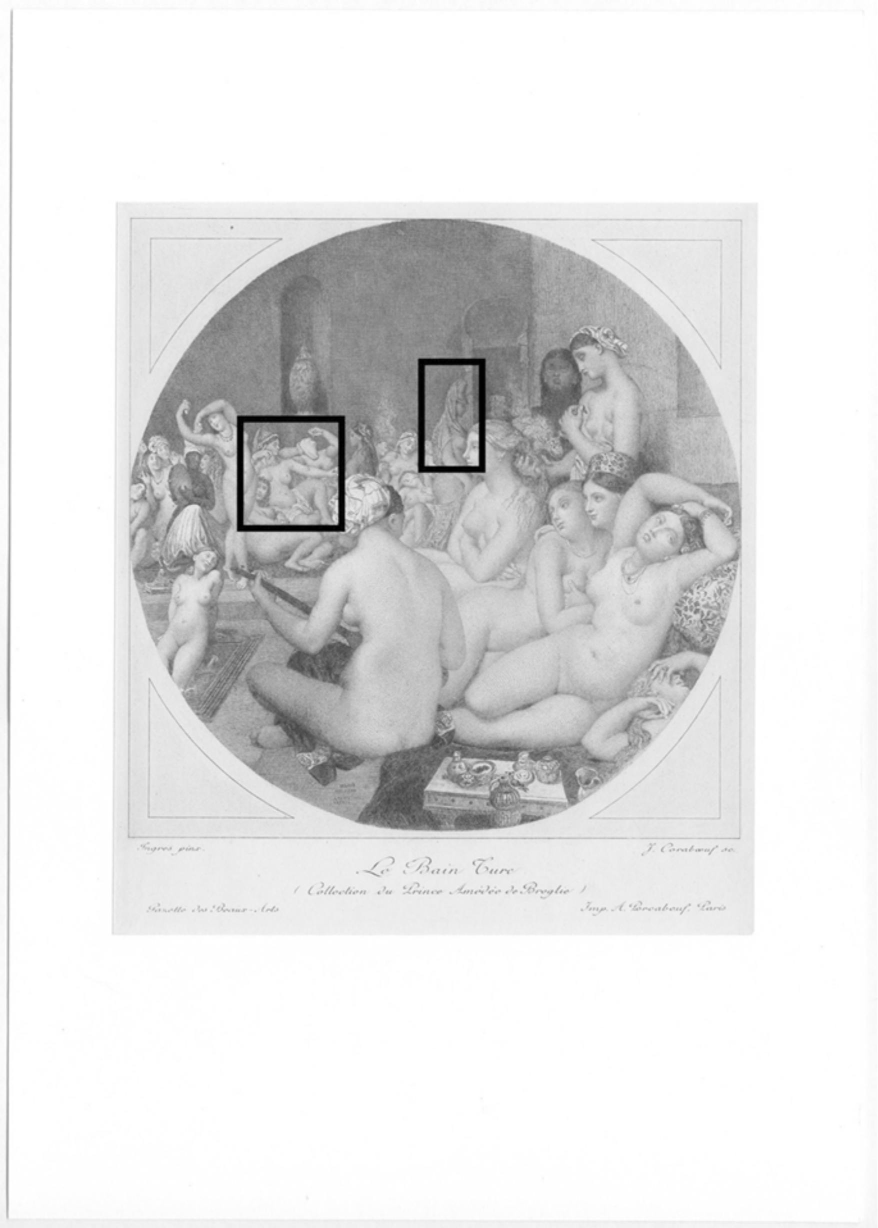

Fig. 1: Jean-Alexandre Coraboeuf after Ingres, *Le Bain turc* (Paris 1906).
Source: © Musée d'Arts de Nantes (Inv.: 1864).

Fig. 2: *Turque allant au bain*, in Nicolas de Nicolay, *Les quatre premiers livres des navigations et pérégrinations orientales* (Lyon 1567–1568), p. 40.
Source: © Gennadius Library, American School of Classical Studies at Athens.

3 Oriental fashion in travelogues: looking for the picturesque and the exotic

In French nineteenth-century travelogues, Oriental scenes are also enhanced by representations of ethnic and religious groups in exotic dress. Travelers' fascination with Oriental costumes is evident in the verbal depictions, as they describe

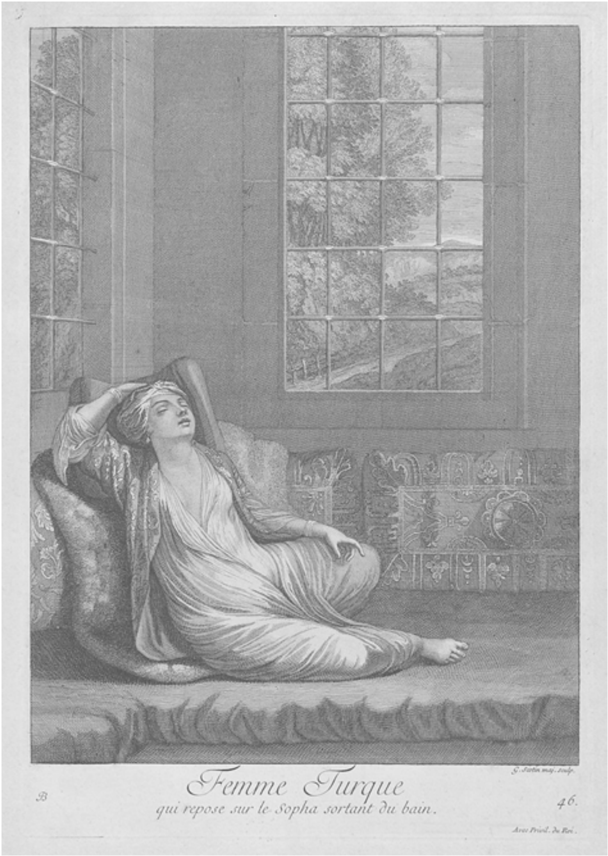

Fig. 3: Gérard Jean Baptiste Scotin after Jean-Baptiste Van Mour, *Femme turque qui repose sur le sopha sortant du bain,* in Jacques Le Hay (ed.), *Recueil de cent estampes représentant les diverses nations du Levant, tirées d'après nature en 1707 et 1708 par les ordres de M. de Ferriol, ambassadeur du Roy à la Porte et gravées en 1712 et 1713 par les soins de Le Hay* (Paris 1714), figure 46.
Source: © Gennadius Library. American School of Classical Studies at Athens.

their different elements and explain the ethnicity and religion of the persons wearing them. Romantic travelogues reflect their authors' strong interest in Oriental fashion although the information given is usually limited to general characteristics.[39] Alphonse de Lamartine's (1790 – 1869) travels to Greece, Lebanon,

39 For a detailed analysis of romantic travel writers and their actual contacts with the local population in the Ottoman Empire see Sarga Moussa, La relation orientale: Enquête sur la com-

Fig. 4: Lithography after a drawing by Camille Rogier, *Écrivain public*, in Camille Rogier, *La Turquie : Mœurs et usages des orientaux au dix-neuvième siècle. Scènes de leur vie intérieure et publique. Harem, bazars, cafés, bains, danses et musique, coutumes levantines, etc.* (Paris 1846).
Source: © Gennadius Library. American School of Classical Studies at Athens.

Syria, and the Holy Land in 1832–1833 nourished his reflections on exoticism and otherness. Although he discussed fashion mostly in general terms in his

munication dans les récits de voyage en Orient, 1811–1861 (Paris 1995); C. W. Thompson, French Romantic Travel Writing: Chateaubriand to Nerval (Oxford et al. 2012).

Souvenirs, impressions, pensées et paysages pendant un voyage en Orient (1832–1833) ou Notes d'un voyageur (1835), he sometimes, as in his textual portrait of the daughter of the vice-consul of Sardinia in Haifa, described the costumes in detail and created an enchanting image of otherness.

> Her oriental costume added much to the charms of this young maiden's person. Her long light hair, which bordered on the golden auburn, was plaited in numberless tresses on her head, and fell over her uncovered shoulders [...]; her bosom was uncovered, according to the custom of the Arabian woman; a tunic of fine muslin embroidered with silver flowers, was fastened by a Cashmere shawl round her waist; her arms were passed through the floating sleeves, open to the elbow, of a vest of green tissue, whose sloping points hung gracefully bellow the hips wide pantaloons; filled with many plaits completed this costume, and her slender ankles were encircled by two bracelets of chased silver; one of these bracelets was ornamented with little round silver bells, whose musical sound accompanied each movement of her feet.[40]

As an accomplished and celebrated author, Lamartine gave a vivid image of Oriental fashion without the help of illustration. His extensive description of the vice-consul daughter's Oriental costume and accessories, based on his direct observation, helps his readers to immerse themselves in the Oriental ambiance and corroborates his intercultural experience, adding a picturesque element to his travel account.

Six years later, in 1839, the Orientalist painter Horace Vernet (1789–1863) embarked in Marseille for a long journey in the company of his nephew Antoine Frédéric Goupil-Fesquet (1817–1878). During their travels in the Aegean Islands, Smyrna, Egypt, Palestine, Syria, and their sojourn in Constantinople, they came into contact with various ethnic, religious, and professional groups that sometimes posed as models for their paintings.[41] Some of the iconographic documentation gathered during their tour was published in Goupil-Fesquet's travelogue that records the daily life and impressions of the travelers.[42] Although they visited and daguerreotyped mostly archaeological sites and monuments, Goupil-Fesquet's account is rich in information on the physical appearance of the population and the originality of its costumes. The *Voyage d'Horace Vernet en Orient*

40 Alphonse de Lamartine, A Pilgrimage to the Holy Land: Comprising Recollections, Sketches and Reflections, made during a Tour in the East 1832–1833 (London 1836), vol. 1, pp. 363–364.
41 Sarga Moussa, Le regard d'un artiste français sur l'Égypte ottomane: Le voyage en Orient de Frédéric Goupil-Fesquet (1839–1840), in Frédéric Hitzel (ed.), 14th International Congress of Turkish Art: Proceedings (Ankara 2013), pp. 517–522.
42 Auguste Antoine Goupil-Fesquet, Voyage d'Horace Vernet en Orient (Paris 1843).

includes plates showing, through genre scenes and costume representations, the ethnic and religious diversity of the population they encountered.

Published during the establishment of cultural anthropology as scientific discipline, the *Voyage d'Horace Vernet en Orient* neglects the physical characteristics of the persons represented and focuses essentially on their costumes that probably were perceived as an important mark of identification. The plate *Grèce, Egypte, Syrie, Asie mineure, Turquie Physionomie de l'Orient*, despite its title, concentrates more on the costumes and skin color of groups represented on the same plate rather than on their facial features, allowing the reader/spectator to discover their variety in color and form. The plate, which depicts turbans and headdresses worn in the Orient, could be used as a visual source by professional artists (Fig. 5).

Fig. 5: Augustin Challamel after Auguste Antoine Goupil-Fesquet, *Les différentes formes du turban en Orient*, in Auguste Antoine Goupil-Fesquet, *Voyage d'Horace Vernet en Orient* (Paris 1843), p. 178.
Source: © Gennadius Library. American School of Classical Studies at Athens.

Gérard de Nerval (1808–1855) sojourned in the Orient in 1843 in search for inspiration. Initially, he wanted to publish an illustrated travelogue proving that he was a reliable observer, but he never realized his original project. Nevertheless, he composed many narrative scenes and vivid descriptions of Oriental life and customs. In his *Voyage en Orient* (1851), otherness is present in his depictions of ethnic, religious, and cultural differences as well as through Oriental fashion. The "charm and sensuality of Oriental women," which is a major Nervalian theme, are particularly enhanced by their costumes. The descriptions of the dresses and accessories of the dancing girls of Cairo highlight their exoticism:

> The first thing about them that struck me was the brightness of the golden caps upon their tresses [sic]. As their heels beat upon the ground, with a tinkle of little bells and anklets, their raised arms quivered in harmony; their hips shook with a voluptuous movement; their form seemed bare under the muslin between the little jacket and the low loose girdle, like the ceston of Venus.[43]

In Syria, Nerval was fascinated by the headdress of his Maronite hostess, who was the wife of a shop owner in the Beirut bazaar. Nerval noted that she wore "upon her head a kind of cone draped with a shawl, which, with the tresses of long hair adorned with sequins, gives her the air of an Assyrian queen."[44] Like other Europeans such as Lamartine and Henri Guys (1787–1878), the French consul in Beirut,[45] Nerval was impressed by the traditional high cone shaped headdress called *ṭanṭūr*, which was used mostly by married women belonging to the three Lebanese ethno-religious groups (Christian Maronite, Muslim, and Druze). This testimony is very important, because some years after Nerval's visit, Lebanese women ceased to wear it. Josias Leslie Porter (1823–1889) mentions in 1889 that it was "until about twenty years ago they wore the most remarkable head-dress."[46] As demonstrated here, illustrated travelogues use a different approach than the one adopted in costume books, as they inform their readers about the different aspects of Oriental fashion through text and image.

43 Gérard de Nerval, The Women of Cairo, with an introduction by Conrad Elphinstone (New York et al. 1930), vol. 1, p. 64.
44 Nerval, The Women of Cairo, vol. 1, p. 251.
45 Henri Guys, Beyrout et le Liban: Relation d'un séjour de plusieurs années dans ce pays, précédée d'une lettre de M. Poujoulat (Paris 1850).
46 Josias Leslie Porter, Through Samaria to Galilee and the Jordan: Scenes of the Early Life and Labours of Our Lord (London et al. 1889), p. 244.

4 Bazaars

Oriental goods and textiles were particularly appreciated in the West.[47] Traveling in the Orient was an occasion to buy authentic costumes and accessories. The bustle and color of the bazaars, which were central to the economy of the Ottoman cities, attracted European travelers in search of local and exotic products.[48] Their travelogues list bazaars' shops and the articles on sale, and offer information about their economic activity and commercial life as well as on the material culture of the area. Moreover, they present a vivid image of observers, customers, and shop owners engaged in discussions about Oriental clothing, jewelry, and accessories, thus providing the opportunity for the reader/spectator to study luxury and fashion items sold in these establishments as well as Europeans' preferences and choices.

Goupil-Fesquet, whose attention focused on the items sold in the bazaars, was also interested in fashion as a part of Oriental material culture. Costumes and everyday objects, sold in the Cairo bazaar, are depicted in the plate *Vêtements et objets usuels*. Moreover, the plate *Costume levantin moderne*, *Costume smyrniote moderne* represents two women, one wearing a costume bought in Damascus and one with an outfit from Smyrna worn in the past by the author's grandmother, thus offering readers/spectators a vivid illustration of the evolution of dress.

Being the ideal place to discover Oriental fashions, the bazaars encouraged the consumption of their merchandise in an exotic atmosphere. In the Cairo bazaar, where Nerval says that he bought Zeineb, a Javanese slave[49] who was central to his travel narrative, he also had the opportunity to observe and to admire clothing items, accessories, jewelry, furniture, and weapons. Moreover, during his visit to the famous grand bazaar in Constantinople, he admired the quantity and the quality of the fashion items exhibited: "Especially worthy of admiration are the dresses and slippers for women, the embroidered and pleated materials, shawls, carpets, furniture encrusted with gold, silver and mother-of-pearl, jewel-

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47 On the European consumption of manufactured goods see Maxine Berg, Manufacturing the Orient. Asian Commodities and European Industry, 1500 – 1800, in Simonetta Cavaciocchi (ed.), Prodotti e tecniche d'oltremare nelle economie europee, secc. XIII–XVIII. Atti della ventinovesima settimana di Studi, 14 – 19 aprile 1997 (Florence 1998), pp. 228 – 244.

48 Reinhold Schiffer discusses bazaars and their visitors: Oriental Panorama: British Travellers in 19th Century Turkey (Amsterdam et al. 1999), pp. 182 – 190.

49 In reality, it was his traveling companion Théodore de Fonfrède (fl. c. 1843) who bought Zeyneb. See Madeleine Dobie, Foreign Bodies: Gender, Language and Culture in French Orientalism (Stanford, Calif. 2001), pp. 121 and 144.

ry, and, more particularly, the weapons which are set out for sale in that part of the bazaar called *Besestain*."[50]

The exceptional richness of the bazaars of Constantinople and Cairo fascinated French travelers, who also visited bazaars in Ottoman provinces such as Aleppo, Beirut, and Damascus. In contact with a different philosophy of life, French travelers discussed the items' display and the interaction between merchants and customers. Their enumeration of the products offered for sale recreates the exotic ambiance of the bazaars, encouraging the readers to consume the articles mentally.

5 Tradition vs. modernity

One of the tropes of the Orientalist discourse was the image of an unchanging Orient, which was also confirmed by the persistent image of its traditional fashion. The Oriental's textual and visual representation in his traditional attire (*turban*, *şalvar*, *kaftan*, *cübbe*, or *yelek*) persisted even after the implementation of the Ottoman clothing reform by Sultan Mahmud II (1785–1839) in 1829, which was introduced to "replace ancient community and occupational signs of differentiation by dress."[51] The new dress code initially regulated the costume of imperial officials before establishing the fez as the national headdress for all religious communities and Western clothing for the Ottoman officials in 1832.

Stereotypical images of the local population in traditional dress prevailed in French travel accounts of the nineteenth century. During their journeys, travelers, who were looking for picturesque images, were often disappointed with the effects of Ottoman modernization. The gradual adoption of Western dress initially by officers and military personnel and then by the local population, mostly in Constantinople and in large urban centers, displeased foreign visitors in search of 'authentic experiences.' The Egyptian army's military uniforms, for instance, drew the attention of Goupil-Fesquet, who gave in his travelogue a general overview of their various types as well as indication of their recent changes.[52] To give his readers/spectators a precise description of the different items in the uniform, he also included a representation of the Egyptian Cavalry of Giza in its green uniform in a plate entitled *Cavalerie égyptienne, Gijeh*.

50 Nerval, The Women of Cairo, vol. 2, p. 165.

51 Donald Quataert, Clothing Laws, State, and Society in the Ottoman Empire, 1720–1829, in International Journal of Middle East Studies 29 (1997), pp. 403–425.

52 Goupil-Fesquet, Voyage d'Horace Vernet, pp. 23–25.

In French travelogues, otherness is often understood through the lens of cultural and sartorial difference. Théophile Gautier (1811–1872), visiting Constantinople in 1852, recognized easily the various ethnic groups gathered in the great square of Top Hané during the Ramadan thanks to their attire. In *Constantinople* (1853), Gautier frequently compared his experience in the Ottoman capital to Parisian cultural life, a strategy that made it easier for his audience to understand his descriptions. The diversity of the Ottoman costumes is compared to that of costumes used in the "divertissement" *Gustave III, ou le Bal masqué* by Daniel-François-Esprit Auber (1782–1871) which was presented for the first time on 27 February 1833 at the Paris Opera.[53]

> The bal-masqué in "Gustavus" does not exhibit a greater variety of costumes than the great square of Top-Hané in night of the Ramadan. The Bulgarians, with their huge overcoats and their fur-trimmed caps seem not to have changed their dress since leaving the banks of the Danube; Circassians with their slender waists and expanded chests; Georgians with short frocks girt by a metal belt, and patent leather caps; Arnaouts, wearing embroidered sleeveless jackets over their bare chests; Jews, distinguished by their robes open at the sides and their black skull caps bound with blue handkerchiefs; Greeks of the islands with their ample trousers, crimson sashes, and tarbouches with silken tassels.[54]

Although the comparison between the costumes of a masked ball and the reality of Ottoman clothes reduces to some extent the reliability of Gautier's description, it gives nevertheless a vivid image of his perception of Ottoman fashion. He was also interested in the Westernization of women's dress. In his description of women from the Christian minorities in Smyrna, Gautier complains that unfortunately "the local costume stops there; a dress of Lyons silk, and a shawl worn in the European fashion, completes the costume." More apparent in Smyrna and in the European part of Constantinople, Western fashion was not adopted in Scutari, which was inhabited mostly by Muslims: "The ancient peculiarity of costume, the overhanging turban, the long pelisse, and the light-colored caftan, are much more frequent here than in Istamboul [sic] proper. The 'Reform' seems not to have penetrate to Scutari."[55]

Travelers' narratives as well as illustrated accounts and costume books allow us to follow the propagation of clothing reform in the Ottoman Empire. The grad-

53 Robert Ignatius Letellier argues that *Gustave III, ou le Bal masqué* by Daniel-François-Esprit Auber was performed 168 times until 1853. See Robert Ignatius Letellier, The Ballets of Daniel-François-Esprit Auber (Cambridge 2011), introduction pp. xviii–xx.
54 Théophile Gautier, Constantinople of Today, translated by Robert Howe Gould (London 1854), p. 98.
55 Gautier, Constantinople of Today, p. 147.

ual replacement of the traditional Ottoman dress with European styles, which was perceived as an expression of the Ottoman's Empire Westernization, disappointed many travelers who were in search of otherness and cultural difference. Oriental dress as a sign of otherness served the East-West dichotomy in the era of colonial empires.

6 Cross-dressing: practical necessities and ethnomasquerade

In their textual and visual images, French travelers of the first half of the nineteenth century usually defined Orientals as the opposite of themselves using, among other strategies, costume descriptions to satisfy the public's expectations of the picturesque and the exotic. Travelers adopted Oriental costume principally for practical reasons because it enabled them to mingle unnoticed with local people and to travel without drawing attention. Travelers, who were passing as Muslims, were permitted entry to mosques and other places forbidden to Christians. Their Western clothing was in general perceived as a cultural barrier restricting their access to Oriental society, which had its own codes.[56]

François-René de Chateaubriand (1768 – 1848), in his travelogue *Itinéraire de Paris à Jérusalem* (1811), besides some references to Ottoman sartorial style, does not discuss fashion at length. However, he mentions that Ali Aga (around 1806), governor of Jericho, obliged them to "relinquish [their] Arabian attire, and resume the French dress; that dress, once so despised by the Orientals [which] now inspires respect and fear."[57] In his travelogue, donning the French costume becomes synonymous with France's political and cultural superiority in the Orient and in particular in the Holy Land, which was his principal destination.

Travelers' comments on their use of Oriental dress also offer new insights into diplomatic relations and the reception of Europeans in the Ottoman provinces. After informing his readers about the hostility of the population of Damascus towards the British vice-consul, Lamartine explained that his group

56 Dúnlaith Bird argues that "Clothing, as Eberhardt and Nerval demonstrate, can be both a cultural barrier which prevents the traveler from seeing clearly and a visual passport for those who wish to vagabond." Dúnlaith Bird, Travelling in Different Skins: Gender Identity in European Women's Oriental Travelogues, 1850 – 1950 (Oxford 2012), p. 138.

57 René de Chateaubriand, Travels in Greece, Palestine, Egypt and Barbary: During the Years 1806 and 1807, translated by Frederic Shobers (Philadelphia 1813), p. 261.

was clad in the "strictest Turkish fashion" because "the arrival of a European in the Frank costume would be the signal of a fresh rising."[58]

If cross-dressing helped travelers to avoid problems linked to their Western identity during their peregrinations, it seems that the practice also responded to their need for immersing themselves into the culture and adopting, even for a short time, a different cultural identity.[59] Travelers' temporary adoption of cross-cultural and cross-dressing practices, as in the case of Horace Vernet,[60] is defined by Kader Konuk as ethnomasquerade.[61] Nevertheless, in the case of long sojourns or permanent establishment, such as the establishment of Lady Hester Lucy Stanhope (1776 – 1839) in Lebanon, the use of Oriental fashion indicates the wearer's social and cultural integration in the community. Lamartine was particularly impressed with Stanhope who was wearing "a white turban, on her forehead a little fillet of purple wool falling on each side of the head upon the shoulders [...] a long shawl of yellow cashmere and an immense Turkish robe of white silk, with flowering sleeves."[62] Lamartine's picturesque portrait contributed to Stanhope's already established reputation in Europe.[63] Textual information provided by Lamartine and other travelers concerning her cross-dressing is apparently the source of Stanhope's imaginative portrait representing her on a divan, wearing her Oriental dress and a turban and holding a chibouk, a long-stemmed tobacco pipe (Fig. 6).[64]

Travelers' adoption of the Oriental costume as well as of habits and manners such as sitting cross-egged, drinking coffee, and smoking, was the expression of

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58 Alphonse de Lamartine, Travels in the East Including a Journey in the Holy Land (Edinburgh 1839), p. 122.

59 On the use of cultural cross-dressing in Orientalist paintings see for example Tara Mayer, Cultural Cross Dressing: Posing and Performance in Orientalist Portraits, in Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, series 3, 22 (2012), pp. 281 – 298.

60 For his portrait in Oriental attire see Costume de M[r] Horace Vernet pendant son voyage, in Goupil-Fesquet, Voyage d'Horace Vernet, p. 117.

61 Kader Konuk defines ethnomasquerade as "the performance of an ethnic identity through the mimicking of clothes, gestures, appearance, language, cultural codes, or other components of identity formation." Kader Konuk, Ethnomasquerade in Ottoman-European Encounters: Re-enacting Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, in Criticism 46 (2004), pp. 393 – 414.

62 Lamartine, Travels in the East, p. 41.

63 For a documented biography of Lady Hester Stanhope and her unconventional life see Kirsten Ellis, Star of the Morning: The Extraordinary Life of Lady Hester Stanhope (London 2008).

64 Her imaginative portrait in Eastern dress by the illustrator Robert Jacob Hamerton (fl. 1831–1858) was lithographed by Charles Joseph Hullmandel (1789 – 1850) in the 1830s. Stanhope's lithographed portrait is kept in the National Portrait Gallery in London. It is also used as frontispiece of Frank Hamel, Lady Hester Lucy Stanhope: A New Light on Her Life and Love Affairs (Cassel 1913).

Fig. 6: Lithography by Robert Jacob Hamerton, printed by Charles Joseph Hullmandel, published by Richard Bentley, *Lady Hester Lucy Stanhope*, after c. 1830s.
Source: © National Portrait Gallery, London.

their desire to don another's identity and to observe a foreign culture and space without being observed.

Nerval chose to stay in the Copt quarter of Cairo, took the Arabian costume, and had his head shaved in order to discover the real Oriental life.[65] Oriental dress could also blur the gender divide. Nerval described the Arabian robes offered for sale in the bazaar of Cairo as "things so seductive as to in man a feeling of excite coquetry entirely feminine."[66] Nerval's remarks on the feminine sensations produced by the Arabian dress reveal the cultural and gender differences

65 For more information on the literary construction of Nerval's encounter with otherness see Aki Taguchi, Nerval, recherche de l'autre et conquête de soi: Contribution au suivi d'une genèse du "Voyage en Orient" (Bern 2010).

66 Gérard de Nerval, The Women of Cairo (2 vols., New York et al. 1930), vol. 2, p. 66.

between East and West as expressed by fashion. In the Ottoman Empire the link between male fashion and national identity was a complex topic. Conservative cycles rejected the adoption of European fashion and "urban, upper-class men were frequently ridiculed because of their predilection of western commodities, especial clothes."[67] Cross-cultural dressing helped travelers to assume a different identity and to circulate easily in the Orient. Moreover, donning the Oriental costume gave them the opportunity to better understand ethnic, cultural, and religious otherness.

Epilogue

Published travel accounts and costume engravings played a vital role in the circulation of knowledge between different cultural universes. Fashion was an important component of exoticism and was significant for the French perception of the Orient and its populations. In the second half of the nineteenth century, new methods of studying human society were developed in the context of the foundation of scientific societies such as the Anthropological Society of Paris (1859). The work of anthropologists and ethnographers gradually replaced the empirical work of travelers and amateur scientists producing images of ethnic costumes that are in general perceived as an external marker of ethnicity.[68] Moreover, photography was used initially by Europeans and later by locals to represent the different ethnicities of the Ottoman Empire.[69] Albums such as Charles Lallemand's (1857–1938) *Galerie universelle des peuples* (1865) comprised images of 'ethnic types' of Egypt and Syria that were mostly identified by their dress. Victor

67 Katja Jana, Changing Heads and Hats: Nationalism and Modern Masculinities in the Ottoman Empire and the Republic of Turkey, in Pablo Dominguez Andersen and Simon Wendt (eds.), Masculinities and the Nation in the Modern World: Between Hegemony and Marginalization (Basingstoke 2015), pp. 217–242, p. 224.

68 Eminent French anthropologists such as Ernest Chantre (1843–1924) and Louis Charles Émile Lortet (1836–1909) used photography during their travels in the Orient. For more information on the relationship between anthropology and photography in nineteenth century France see Pierre-Jérôme Jehel, Une illusion photographique: Esquisse des relations entre la photographie et l'anthropologie en France au XIXe siècle, in Journal des anthropologues 80–81 (2000), pp. 47–70. See also Elizabeth Edwards (ed.), Anthropology and Photography, 1860–1920 (New Haven, London 1994).

69 For the use of photography in the representation of locals in the Orient see Ken Jacobson, Odalisques & Arabesques: Orientalist Photography, 1839–1925 (London 2007), chapter 4, "Growth of Skilled Imagery of Local People 1870–79", pp. 43–52, and chapter 9, "Social Documentation in the East", pp. 77–84.

Marie de Launay's (b. 1822/1823) *Les Costumes populaires de la Turquie* (1873) reproduced Pascal Sébah's (1823–1886) photographs and used them as a medium to distribute images of various ethnic groups in their traditional attire.[70] In current research on French travelogues, costume descriptions are an important source for understanding the mechanisms of the construction of Oriental identity and the categorization of its various ethnic and religious groups. Researchers considering them as secondary documentary sources see travelers' textual and visual material as offering information about various topics such as the integration of foreigners in Oriental societies or the increasing influence of European fashion on Ottoman society.

70 Ahmet Ersoy, A Sartorial Tribute to Tanzimat Ottomanism: the Elbise-i Osmaniyye Album, in Muqarnas 20 (2003), pp. 187–207.

III Discourses

Maria E. Dorninger

Perceptions of the "Unknown"? Medieval and Early Modern Accounts of Pilgrimage to Jerusalem

Introduction

In the medieval and early modern period, travel and adventure were closely linked to each other regardless of the nature of the journey. There existed numerous motives and several causes for travelling: for diplomatic relations, business, adventure, or for religious reasons. A significant number of medieval and early modern travel accounts describe the experience of Western Mediterranean or Oriental regions.[1] A widely practiced form of leisure travel consisted of pious travels such as pilgrimages. Motives were honoring God, repentance or the salvation of the soul, vows, or a substitute pilgrimage on behalf of a living or dead person.[2] Different motives were often combined. Among travelogues, accounts of pilgrimages form the largest part, and among them journeys to the Holy Land form the majority, almost amounting to a subgenre of pilgrim accounts. Thus, the large proportion of Jerusalem travels led Dietrich Huschenbett to the suggestion that one could regard them as a specific literary corpus, which he called *Palästina-Reiseberichte* (Palestine pilgrim reports). Due to the sensitive political situation in the Near East I will refer to these accounts as "Holy Land or Jerusalem pilgrim

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1 In a wider sense travelogues or travel accounts comprise all literature dealing with travel. For this definition of travelogue or travel account see Gero von Wilpert, Reiseliteratur, in Gero von Wilpert (ed.), Sachwörterbuch der Literatur, 7th ed. (Stuttgart 1989), pp. 759–762, here p. 759. In a narrower sense, travelogues may be defined according to Norbert Ott as "descriptions or reports providing information about specific destinations […] which merge the writer's own observations with traditional formats." Norbert Ott, Reisebeschreibungen, in Robert-Henri Bautier et al. (eds.), Lexikon des Mittelalters (9 vols., Munich 1995), vol. 7, pp. 678–679; Maria E. Dorninger, Travelogues, in Albrecht Classen (ed.), Handbook of Medieval Studies (3 vols., Berlin 2010), vol. 3, pp. 2102–2118, here p. 2103. For travelogues as testimonies of identity and self-portrayal see Winfried Schulze, Ego-Dokumente. Annäherung an den Menschen in der Geschichte? Vorüberlegungen für die Tagung Ego-Dokumente, in Winfried Schulze (ed.), Ego-Dokumente: Annäherung an den Menschen in der Geschichte (Berlin 1996), pp. 11–32, here p. 20.

2 Long distance travels or pilgrimages were also used as penalty. Norbert Ohler, Reisen im Mittelalter, 3rd ed. (Munich 1993), p. 243.

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accounts", which seem to be more neutral notions.[3] "Jerusalem pilgrim accounts" may be considered the most appropriate term for this genre. For Jerusalem had always been the most prominent and holiest pilgrimage destination, albeit for some time travel in and around Jerusalem or to other Christian sites in the Holy Land was expanded and the pilgrims moved on to the St. Catherine Monastery at Sinai, to Cairo, and Alexandria. A travel to Eastern Mediterranean biblical sites without visiting Jerusalem was difficult or hardly imaginable at that time.

Since the fourth century CE Western Christian pilgrim accounts have been transmitted, among them the one of the noble lady Egeria (fourth century) or bishop Arculf's account (seventh century), transmitted by Adamnanus (c. 628–704), abbot of Ione.[4] An important period for this genre of literature was the time from 1301–1540. About 262 Jerusalem pilgrim accounts were transmitted in the mentioned period, according to Ursula Ganz-Blätter.[5] For a distinction between pilgrim accounts and pilgrim guides as genres, Ursula Ganz-Blättler suggests stylistic criteria, particularly the performance of the author or narrator in the text. Contrary to pilgrim accounts, in pilgrim guides the narrator is present in the background. Both genres may overlap and integrate other features of different travel literatures, such as itineraries.[6] As the large numbers of manuscripts and early prints show, the genre proves appropriate and representative for stud-

3 Dietrich Huschenbett, *Diu vart hin über mer:* Die Palästina-Pilgerberichte als neue Prosa-Gattung in der deutschen Literatur des späten Mittelalters und der frühen Neuzeit, in Xenja von Ertzdorff (ed.), Beschreibung der Welt: Zur Poetik der Reise- und Länderberichte. Vorträge eines interdisziplinären Symposiums vom 8. bis 13. Juni 1998 an der Justus-Liebig-Universität Gießen (Amsterdam, Atlanta 2000), pp. 119–151, here p. 144. Holy Land: this term may be used in a broader sense today and was coined in a Christian context. For the specific notion '*Terra sancta*' see Othmar Keel, Max Küchler, and Christoph Uehlinger, Orte und Landschaften der Bibel (5 vols., Zürich 1984), vol. 1, pp. 285–287, and J. Cornelis de Vos, Heiliges Land, in WIBILex, accessed 19 May 2022, <https://www.bibelwissenschaft.de/stichwort/24593/>.

4 For medieval travelogues and pilgrim accounts and aspects of research history see Dorninger, Travelogues, pp. 2103–2117. See also Aetheria, Egeria, Reise ins Heilige Land, edited and translated by Kai Brodersen (Berlin et al. 2016), for Arculf see Herbert Donner (ed.), Der Bischof Arkulf und der Abt Adomnanus (um 680) (Adamnani de locis sanctis libri III), translation by Herbert Donner, in Herbert Donner (ed.), Die Pilgerfahrt ins Heilige Land: Die ältesten Berichte christlicher Palästinapilger (4.–7. Jahrhundert), 2nd ed. (Stuttgart 2002), pp. 296–394.

5 Ursula Ganz-Blättler, Andacht und Abenteuer: Berichte europäischer Jerusalem- und Santiago-Pilger (1320–1520), 3rd ed. (Tübingen 2000), p. 40. As Eliyahu Ashtor states, about 6,000 pilgrims were travelling by ship in the fifteenth century, i.e., an average of fifty to sixty pilgrims on board of every of the 110 documented ship passages in the Mediterranean Sea. Ganz-Blättler, Andacht, p. 6.

6 Ganz-Blättler, Andacht, pp. 41, 105–106.

ies of perceptions of the "unknown" or "foreign" and its relation to the concept of the "own," by referring to paradigms of almost all travel literature. Even the meaning of the term "pilgrim account" or "pilgrim" hints at the concept of foreignness or the "unknown" as "*peregrinus*" (the Latin adjective) means "being foreign" or "not knowing" or (as a noun) "stranger" and "non-citizen", whereas the verb "*peregrinor*" signifies "to travel" or just "wander (with or without destination)."[7] Therefore, the medieval and early modern term "pilgrim" in particular means a "traveler to the 'unknown' or to the foreign" in the literal sense. In the allegorical sense "*peregrinus*", via the concept of "*homo viator*", refers to the Christian condition of being a stranger on earth, one who is on the way to heavenly Jerusalem, to the real home for mankind.[8] Several representative Jerusalem pilgrim accounts are the basis for the present investigation of the perception of the "foreign" and "unknown" of travelers to the Near East, or rather Jerusalem. Among them are the ones by the citizen of Nuremberg, Hans Tucher (1428–1491, pilgrimage 1479/80), a well-known account in his time, and the *Pilgerbuch* of the Dominican monk and preacher from Ulm, Felix Fabri (1441–1502, pilgrimage 1480 and 1483/84). Pilgrim accounts such as the *Sionpilger* of Felix Fabri, that promote a virtual, spiritual journey to Jerusalem in one's mind, will not be considered here.[9] The subgenre of Jerusalem pilgrim accounts (as probably some other travel accounts) has specific features that may constitute challenges to research. One is the issue of authorship and, thus, of authenticity, caused by the use of different (unmentioned) oral or written accounts by earlier pilgrims as historical and literary sources. Nevertheless, perceptions of the "unknown" and the interrelation of the pilgrim's mind and perception can be observed and will pro-

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7 The term "*peregrinationes*", is even used in the more common or original sense, as a voyage to foreign countries, by the physician Leonard Rauwolf, who left for the Orient to study plants in 1573. Leonhard Rauwolf, Aigentliche beschreibung der Raiß, so er vor dieser zeit gegen Auffgang inn die Morgenländer, fürnemlich Syriam, Iudaeam, Arabiam, Mesopotamiam, Babyloniam, Assyriam, Armenia & c. [...] alles in drey vnderschidliche Thail [...] mit sonderem fleiß abgethailet [...], Faksimile der Ausgabe Lauingen: Reinmichel 1582 (Hannover 1977), dedication letter, fol.)(iij^r.

8 For Augustinus' concept of a (Christian) believer as a *peregrinus* in the world see De civ. Dei XV, 5. Aurelius Augustinus, Der Gottesstaat. De civitate Dei, Lat/Ge, translated by Carl Johann Perl (2 vols. Paderborn et al. 1979), vol. 1, pp. 11–13. In Augustinus' view the allegorical conception of human (Christian) existence or condition as a pilgrim, as a *homo viator*, did not exclude real pilgrimage. On the contrary, Augustine promoted pilgrimage even to the city of his own episcopal seat, Hippo Regius. See Martina Münkler, Erfahrung: Die Beschreibung Ostasiens in den Augenzeugenberichten des 13. und 14. Jahrhunderts (Berlin 2000), p. 130; Bernhard Kötting, Peregrinatio Religiosa (Münster 1980), p. 262.

9 Felix Fabri, Die Sionpilger, edited by Wieland Carls (Berlin 1999).

vide general information and eventually paradigms for the traveler's encounter with the "foreign" or "unknown".

1 Encounters with the "unknown": The mind of the traveler

1.1 Categories of knowledge, mental maps, and time levels

Travelers to foreign countries or to the "unknown" meet new situations, cultures, and landscapes. As Friederike Hassauer has demonstrated through the example of Santiago de Compostela pilgrims, travelers meet the "unknown" under certain conditions. They have at their disposal special categories of knowledge, which help them structure and conceptualize the new experience. Thus, Hassauer differentiates between two categories of knowledge and denotes them as: first, knowledge of topos and second, knowledge of observation or experience. Knowledge of topos represents authoritative knowledge, for example knowledge of the Bible or antiquity, and also literary knowledge.[10] Particularly with regard to Jerusalem pilgrims, knowledge of topos relates to varieties of knowledge in the context of Jerusalem and the Holy Land. The second category of knowledge denotes types of knowledge that might be regarded as (experienced) every-day-knowledge. The two categories may overlap, as they are transitional categories and they are modified continuously. This concept of knowledge categories may be linked to anthropological categories and relates to the concept of the mental map (sometimes denoted as "image"), a notion coming from the field of cognitive cartography.[11] It is related to cultural (religious, political, social, etc.) categories such as "experience," "learning," "imagination," and also "memory", which shape the individuals' perceptions, and are influenced by their own culture (re-

10 Friederike Hassauer, Volkssprachliche Reiseliteratur: Faszination des Reisens und räumlicher Ordo, in Hans Ulrich Gumbrecht, Ursula Link-Heer, and Peter-Michael Spangenberg (eds.), La littérature historiographique des origines à 1500 (Heidelberg 1986), pp. 259 – 283, here pp. 269 – 273. These categories partially coincide with and refer to the categories of *Speichergedächtnis* (store memory) and *Funktionsgedächtnis* (function memory). See Aleida Assmann, Erinnerungsräume: Formen und Wandel des kulturellen Gedächtnisses (Munich 1999), pp. 135 – 142.
11 Bernhard Jahn, Raumkonzepte in der Frühen Neuzeit: Zur Konstruktion von Wirklichkeit in Pilgerberichten, Amerikareisebeschreibungen und Prosaerzählungen (Frankfurt am Main et al. 1993), pp. 13 – 14.

ligion, society, and/or politics).[12] Consequently, every kind of travel to either a familiar or to a distant or unknown country and its perception is influenced or even shaped by the cultural mental mapping of the traveler, or, according to Friederike Hassauer, by his/her different categories of knowledge. Journeys to Jerusalem represent a special kind of travel to the "unknown" in a specific sense. First, as to the category of topos knowledge, there is widespread familiarity with the Holy Land provided in art, music, and authoritative (biblical) literature, by religious rituals, teaching, and in particular by the intense interwovenness of religion and medieval daily life. Second, Jerusalem pilgrims travelled to an unknown country and a city that had been changed and adjusted to Islamic culture and religion since the seventh century. Traveling there, pre-conceptions and concepts of a Christian Jerusalem as the center of the (Christian) world[13] met with actual historical conditions. These concepts were also present in maps related to salvation history, the *mappae mundi*, such as the London psalter map of about 1260 or the *Ebsdorf map* drawn some decades later. In the medieval and early modern time, Christian pilgrims encountered Islamic political realities of the Ottoman rule that controlled access to the most important holy sites. This led to a quasi-synchronous perception of a variety of different time levels[14] in the Holy Land: the time of the Old and New Testament, of Christian and Islamic history in the Holy Land.[15] Confronted with the actual present time, past and present, or old and new experience, the knowledge of topoi and of observation influence perception.

This experience is obvious in the pilgrim accounts of different travelers, such as, for example, Felix Fabri, who visited the site of the tomb of David at Mount Zion during his pilgrimage in 1483. His description shows how the mind recalls and imagines the (glorious) biblical events on the location of biblical historical sites, and contrasts the present-day destruction under the Mamluks' rule with a glorious past, thereby nearly simultaneously recalling or imagining different time levels. Thus, although destruction was real, (historical and biblical) knowledge prevailed and restored the glory of the past, allowing Felix Fabri the per-

12 For these categories and the discussion see also Münkler, Erfahrung, p. 153.

13 See also the introduction to the Holy Land, part of the account of the armchair traveler John de Mandeville (fourteenth century). John de Mandeville, Sir John Mandevilles Reisebeschreibung. In der Übersetzung von Michel Velser nach der Stuttgarter Papierhandschrift Cod. HB V 86, edited by Eric John Morrall (Berlin 1974), p. 2.

14 Maria E. Dorninger, Memory and Representations of Jerusalem in Medieval and Early Modern Pilgrimage Reports, in Bianca Kühnel, Galit Noga-Banai, and Hanna Vorholt (eds.), Visual Constructs of Jerusalem (Turnhout 2014), pp. 421–429, here pp. 425–426.

15 Dorninger, Memory, p. 427.

ception of a still existing and powerful Jewish and Christian world amid an Islamic historical reality. At times, this view and, through this, the imagined or remembered past, or even a biblical future, seems to have opened ways for paying homage to places forbidden to Jews and Christians, such as the burial site of Jewish kings linked to Jesus Christ. The urgent wish to enter this place and finally to achieve the fulfillment of this wish restores and confirms the Christian glory as perceived and imagined by the pilgrim, but (politically) not existent in the present, as Felix Fabri's description demonstrates:

> [...] there [at Mount Zion], at this place at the right hand is an iron door, there you enter the chapel, which the heathen seized a few years ago, and changed the chapel to a mosque. In this chapel is the site, where the holy King David, and Salomon, Roboam, Abia, Ezechias and other holy kings counted to the kinship of Christ are buried. Of their burial much is reported in the Book of Kings. The Jewish people would very much like to hold the chapel and promised the sultan many thousands of ducats for the chapel. But he neither wants to give it to them nor to us Christians. Up on the chapel was another chapel, where the Holy Spirit was sent to the disciples. Thus, the heathen broke this same chapel, lest we Christians would not walk with our feet on their mosque, for they do not like this. By no means, they are not allowing us to enter the mosque or church. Therefore, they make iron doors in front of it, but God arranged it, that some of us entered the mosque, where the abovementioned holy kings are buried and this happened that way: The heathen who had been charged to close the mosque disarranged the lock, thus he was not able to close it. Therefore, the door was shut but unlocked all time we stayed in Jerusalem and thus we entered in secret when the heathen were not present.[16]

16 "Bey dem orth zu der rechten handt ist ein eiserne thuer/ da gehet man in ein Capell/ die haben die Heiden ein=genommen in kurtzen Jaren/ vnnd haben ein Mueschke auß der Capell gemacht/ in der Capell ist die heilige Stadt an der/ der heilige Koenig Dauid/ vnd Salomon/ Roboam/ Abia/ Ezechias vnnd die andern Heilige Koenige von de=nen die sybb Christi gezelt wird/ sind begraben worden/ von der begrebniß stehet viel in der Koenig buechern geschrieben. Die Juden hetten die Capell fast gerne/ vnnd haben dem Soldan verheissen viel tausent Ducaten vmb die Capell/ aber er will sie weder jhnen noch vns Christen lassen/ Auff der Capell ist gestanden die Capell/ do der Heilig Geist/ ward den Juengern gesendet/ darumb haben die Heyden dieselbe Capell zerbrochen/ das wir Christen nicht mit fuessen auff jrer Mueschke giengen/ wenn sie/ moe=gens nicht leiden/ Sie lassen vns auch nicht vmb kein sach in jhr Mueschken oder Kirchen gahn/ Darumb machen sie eiserne thueren darfuer/ Doch so hats Gott gefueget/ dz vn=ser etzliche in die Mueschke kamen/ da die begrebnuß der obgenanten Heiligen Koenige ist/ vnnd das gab sich also/ Der Heide dem die Mueschke befolhen was zubeschliessen/ der hatte das Schloß verwirret/ das ers nicht kondt beschlies=sen/ Also stund die thuer zugethan vnbeschlossen/ als lange wir zu Jerusalem waren/ vnd also giengen wir drein heimlich/ wenn die Heiden nicht zu wege waren." Felix Fabri, [Pilgerbuch], Eigentlich beschreibung der hin vnnd wider farth zu dem Heyligen Landt gen Jerusalem, vnd furter [...] (Frankfurt am Main 1557), fol. 39v.

Approximately one hundred years later, with the Holy City now under Ottoman rule, the Lutheran physician and botanist Leonhard Rauwolf (1535/40 – 1596), travelled from Augsburg to the Near East to investigate new plants and drugs for the firm of his distant relative Melchior Manlich (1513 – 1576). While in the Orient for research and business reasons, he decided to travel to Jerusalem (1575). Contrary to Felix Fabri's description of Mount Zion, he emphasizes the present miserable condition of the site and interprets it as the inevitable result of Old-Testament prophecy. He draws a realistic image of the present state of the mountain:

> Since there is nothing on earth as powerful, magnificent, and safely preserved, which is not fading, also this earthly Mount Zion, together with the solid and strong buildings (which is more a type of the right rock in Zion, of Christ our Lord, of his heavenly kingdom, and the Christian church built above) is much destroyed and dilapidated. Thus, the larger and higher part outside the city (except the Turkish mosque, some small houses, and small fields thereby) is completely deserted, mostly covered with stones, and jagged rocks. It also shows what Micah 3 earlier prophesied when he speaks thus: Zion shall be ploughed as a field because of you: and Jerusalem will become a heap of stones and the temple will be a wild mountain height. And Jeremiah 5 in his lamentations: Foxes walk upon Mount Zion, for it is that desolate.[17]

Only from outside Rauwolf visited the mosque there, around twenty years before and at the time of Felix Fabri still a Christian church. It was built according to Nicephorus during the time of Empress Helena (248/50 – 330). Rauwolf identified the place where this former church stood as the site of the last supper and of the receiving of the Holy Spirit. The quotation of the prophetic verses above does not only hint at a fulfilled prophecy of a dark future in the author's view, but also implicitly alludes to a past reality of Jewish and Christian glory in present Jerusalem. His more pessimistic historical and pious approach to the site is due to

17 "Nach dem aber nichts so gewaltig/ herrlich vnd wol=uerwaret auff disem Erdboden/ das nit zergengklich/ ist auch dieser irdische Berg Sion, sampt dem vesten vnnd starcken gebaew (der mehr des rechten Felßens inn Sion, Christi vnsers Herren/ seines Himmlischen Reichs/ vnnd Christlichen Kirchen/ darauff erbawet/ ein fürbildung ge=wesen) dermassen verwuestet vnd verhoerget worden/ das der groesser vnd hoeher thail vor der Statt (ausser der Túrckischen Moscheen, etlichen heúßlein vnnd aeckerlein darbey) gar oede liget/ mit stainen vnnd schrofen zimlich bedecket. Er=uolget also was Micheas am 3 zuuor geweissaget: da er also spricht/ Sion wirt vmb ewret willen/ wie ain feld zu=pflieget: vnnd Jerusalem zum stainhauffen/ vnd der Berg des Tempels zu einer wilden hoehe werden: vnnd Ieremias im 5 seiner Klaglieder. Der berge Sion liget so wuest/ das die Füchse darüber lauffen." Rauwolf, Aigentliche beschreibung, pp. 334 – 335. For the verses see Micah 3,12 and Lamentations 5,18, The Holy Bible, King James Version, large print compact edition (Nashville 2005).

experience and the historical testimonies he drew upon, such as the writing of Nicephorus, and due to historical narratives of salvation, for instance from the gospels and the Acts of the Apostles.[18] This shows Rauwolf to have been a critical *scriptor doctus*, inclined to (historical) empirical scholarship and to upholding righteous Protestant piety focused on the New Testament as his interpretation of the rock in Zion demonstrates. Contrary to Felix Fabri, Rauwolf omits old Jewish history, but, like friar Fabri, the physician's descriptions of personal experience and/or different time levels rests on selections of his mental mapping, and thereby presents his own personality.

1.2 Points of reference and comparison

"Unknown" and "foreign": in order to grasp features of perceptions of the "unknown" in our narratives it is helpful to outline the meaning of the term and its semantic field. The notions of the "unknown" and the "other" are related to the category of the "foreign." Therefore, this study will also use this notion or "new" as synonyms for "unknown." The *Oxford English Dictionary* defines the adjective "unknown" as something "not known; that has not been learnt, ascertained, or comprehended; not identified or established as fact or truth" or "not previously encountered; unfamiliar; new, strange […] unprecedented; unheard of; what is not familiar or known." It is also associated with synonyms or notions within the semantic field such as "foreign," "obscure," "uncommon." Therefore, "foreign" can be defined as "outside, opposite to domestic. […] Excluded, kept away […] Belonging to other persons or things; not one's own […] Belonging to or coming from another district, country, society, etc. or connected to a country that is not your own" or "Something can be described as foreign to a particular person if they do not know about it or it is not within their experience." Other synonyms for "foreign" are "unknown" and "unfamiliar."[19] The relation of the "unknown," unexperienced by the mind of the traveler, is also addressed in Ortfried Schäffter's study of and approaches to the "foreign." He distinguishes between different forms or *modi* of experience of the foreign, thereby connecting

18 Rauwolf, Aigentliche beschreibung, p. 337. Nicephorus may be identified as Patriarch Nicephorus I (c. 758 – 828). For different time levels from the perspective of an art historian see Robert Ousterhout, Sweetly Refreshed in Imagination: Remembering Jerusalem in Words and Image, in Gesta 48 (2009), pp. 153 – 168.
19 "Foreign" and "unknown", in OED. Oxford English Dictionary online, accessed 19 May 2022, <https://www.oed.com/search?searchType=dictionary&q=foreign&_searchBtn=Search>, <https://www.oed.com/view/Entry/214945?redirectedFrom=unknown#eid>.

to concepts used by Friederike Hassauer. The “foreign” or “unknown” is not as much characterized through opposition to the familiar, but more through distance and difference and is linked to the notion of the “other.”[20] In this context “foreign” and “own” may be regarded as: first, existing on a common basis; second, as mutually incompatible, which strengthens the “own” identity; third, a learning curve leading to additional information; and fourth, as polyvalent notions, a kind of ‘mutual foreignness,’ allowing for mutual differences. Descriptions do not dissolve or overcome the foreign but lift it to a higher level of explicit knowledge. Therefore, the “unknown” is always perceived in relation to one’s own living environment and culture and is thus linked to familiar conceptions. Distance to the foreign is to be understood in terms of time, place, society, or culture. Therefore, as Jürgen Osterhammel has argued, images of the “foreign” develop “not in direct confrontation of an individual observer and the pure object of observation, but are culturally produced.”[21] However, the “foreign” or the “unknown” need methods for structuring and perceiving and require a point of reference, as Ortfried Schäffter explains.[22] In the literary tradition, these points of reference are expressed through established rhetoric devices such as metaphor, comparison, or analogy.

2 Comparison as a means of conceiving and perceiving the “foreign”

In travel accounts, as Arnold Esch has shown, comparisons are widely used to grasp unknown or new experience, as well as to describe and transmit this experience to others.[23] Through comparison, familiar or earlier mentioned details structure and explain new impressions. Thus, Felix Fabri used comparison to illustrate measures and sizes. Near the Dead Sea the pilgrims observed a lot of holes in the earth. They were told that snakes as long as arms and as wide as pig skewers would be living there.[24] Cities are compared to other cities to get

20 The “foreign” shows a structural closeness to the “other,” but is not identical with the “other,” because not everything “foreign” is “other” or “different”, and all “other” is not necessary “foreign.” Münkler, Erfahrung, p. 150.

21 For Osterhammel’s quotation see Münkler, Erfahrung, p. 150.

22 Münkler, Erfahrung, pp. 150, 153.

23 Arnold Esch, Anschauung und Begriff: Die Bewältigung fremder Wirklichkeit durch den Vergleich in Reiseberichten des späten Mittelalters, in Historische Zeitschrift 253 (1991), pp. 281–312. Esch also discusses different categories of comparison of size or beings.

24 Fabri, Pilgerbuch, fol. 103v.

an idea of the size and hence an impression of their strategic or economic importance. Thus, Alexandria is described as being as large as Cologne or Gaza and twice as big as Jerusalem.[25]

A special challenge is the description of animals. The young nobleman Arnold von Harff (1471–1505) started his journey in 1496 in Cologne. While on the isle of Rhodes, he saw a strange animal, previously unknown to him, an ostrich with two chicks, which he observed in the tree garden of the grandmaster of the Order of St. John. To grasp the shape of this animal and communicate this to non-travelers he compares the birds to better known species:

> These [the ostriches] are very strange birds. They may be as big as donkeys and have odd feathers. They also have two big wings, which they cannot lift to fly. They have long legs with split hooves like deer. They also lay very big eggs, in size as large as children's heads. When this bird has laid eggs in hot sand, he breeds the young ones only by using his sharp eyesight. I also was told, they would digest steel and iron, but I myself did not observe this.[26]

However, the description of Arnold von Harff is fairly skeptical of the reported abilities of this newly observed bird.[27]

In the Near East, the exotic fauna also fascinated Bernhard of Breydenbach, dean of Mainz (1440–1497, pilgrimage 1483/84). On his journey, he was accompanied by Erhard Reuwich (1445–before 1505), who illustrated the later successful printed pilgrim account, which had been translated into several European

25 Fabri, Pilgerbuch, fol. 121r., 193r.

26 "[…] dit sijnt gar wunderlijche foegell. Sij sijnt wael so hoich as esell ind hauen gar wunderlijche feederen. Ouch hauen sij tzweyn grosse vloegel, der sij neyt off geheuen en konnen zo fliegen. Ouch hauen sij lange beyn mit einem ghespalden voisse wie ein hyrtz. Item sij legen ouch gar groisse eyer die so dick sijnt as junge kynth houffder. Wan dese vogel die eyer gelaicht hait in den heyssen sandt alleyn mit sijnen scharpen gesicht bruet hee die jungen her vss. Ouch waert mir gesaicht sij verdeuweden stayll ind ijser, des ich aber neit gesiene en hain ind sijnt gestalt in deser formen." Arnold von Harff, Die Pilgerfahrt des Ritters Arnold von Harff von Cöln durch Italien, Syrien, Aegypten, Arabien, Aethiopien, Nubien, Palästina, die Türkei, Frankreich und Spanien, wie er sie in den Jahren 1496 bis 1499 vollendet, beschrieben und durch Zeichnungen erläutert hat. Nach den ältesten Handschriften, edited by Eberhard von Groote (Hildesheim et al. 2008), p. 71.

27 There could also be another interpretation of this last sentence of the quotation: The presumed ability of the ostrich to digest steel and iron might allude to diverse medieval historical methods of steel processing, like the one mentioned in the context of the Nibelungen myths. Mimung, the sword by Wieland the smith, was produced with metal from chicken manure, that means from the manure of fowl that had been fed with ground steel and iron. By this method, called nitriding, stronger steel was produced. Nevertheless, Arnold von Harff's remark hints at the desire for empirical experience.

languages.[28] The famous woodcuts include one plate showing exotic animals such as a giraffe and a crocodile, and among them a unicorn.[29] This mythic animal was also observed by the pilgrims on their way to the Sinai and St. Catherine's Monastery, as Bernhard von Breydenbach tells: "Item, there we watched a big animal, which was much bigger than a camel and our guide told us, this would verily be a unicorn."[30] It is not sure which animal the pilgrims saw from afar, maybe some kind of antelope such as the East African oryx. The probability expressed by "would [...] be" in the quoted passage hints at the doubt and the skepticism on the pilgrims' side. On the way to Sinai it is imaginable that the clever local guide knew the expectations of the pilgrims and showed them exactly what they wished to see, thereby feeding their imagination. By watching the alleged unicorn, the observed reality was also perceived, compared to, and formed by authoritative knowledge. However, whatever animal the pilgrims may have seen, the woodcut in Breydenbach's account presents the traditional sketch of a unicorn, showing its physical size without the horn as tall as a camel. Furthermore, to mention a unicorn in a pilgrim account and to offer its illustration, may have also met the expectations of the readers, just like the Muslim guide to Sinai had also responded to the pilgrims' expectations.

Even Leonhard Rauwolf in the sixteenth century still suggested that unicorns existed. Maybe he misunderstood or was seduced by scholarly argument and deduction as he met an educated Persian in Baghdad. The latter told him of unicorns being kept by the king of Persia. The Persian's scholarly knowledge of plants that Rauwolf could verify through his knowledge of appraised authors such as Theophrastus (c. 371–c. 287 BCE) or Pliny the Elder (23/24–79), impressed the traveler. This knowledge guaranteed Rauwolf the truth of his infor-

28 Bernhard von Breydenbach, Die Reise ins Heilige Land, Erste deutsche Ausgabe von Breydenbachs Peregrinatio in terram Sanctam, Mainz 1486, Faksimile. Mit einem Beitrag von Andreas Klußmann (Saarbrücken 2008); Frederike Timm, Der Palästina-Pilgerbericht des Bernhard von Breidenbach und die Holzschnitte Erhard Reuwichs. Die 'Peregrinatio in terram sanctam' (1486) als Propagandainstrument im Mantel der gelehrten Pilgerschrift (Stuttgart 2006), pp. 80–95.

29 Breydenbach, Reise, fol. 188v–189v. The woodcuts are outstanding book illustrations at Middle Rhine-area in the fifteenth century. See Reimar Fuchs, Breidenbach, Bernhard von, in Neue Deutsche Biographie 2 (1955), p. 571, online version, accessed 19 May 2022, <https://www.deutsche-biographie.de/pnd118660047.html#ndbcontent>. For the the illustrations see also Michael Herkenhof, Die Darstellung außereuropäischer Welten in Drucken deutscher Offizinen des 15. Jahrhunderts (Berlin 1996), pp. 182–183.

30 "Item da selbst sahen wir eyn grosz thyer was vil grosser dan eyn kem=melthyer. Vnnd saget vns vnser gleytzman daz esz warlich were eyn eynhornn." Breydenbach, Reise, fol. 118v.

mation and convinced him of the existence of unicorns.[31] However, the Persian perceived Rauwolf as an exponent of Western culture via his own mental mapping and his own knowledge paradigms. He met, bowed to, and played with Western expectations by telling of this mythical animal, whereas Rauwolf, influenced by European cultural traditions, visited the Orient prepared to investigate, but also to confirm Western imagination. Apart from the scholarly conclusion drawn by Rauwolf, the discussion between him and the Persian illustrates how perceptions of new encounters between exponents of different cultures are influenced by cultural (transmitted) knowledge or knowledge topoi.

3 Hans Tucher: Comparison as a device for representations of the "new" or "unknown"

Hans Tucher, member of a prominent patrician merchant family in Nuremberg, shows another feature of the perception of the "unknown" by using extended comparison in his pilgrim account. He had travelled to Jerusalem in 1479–1480. His pilgrim account was a success, widely circulated, and frequently printed already in the year of its first publication, 1482.[32] Produced in a format that easy to handle, Tucher's account was used by many prominent travelers, apart from Breydenbach, for information and/or as source for their own writings. Among them were Felix Fabri and the Swiss traveler Ludwig Tschudi (1495–1530, pilgrimage 1519).[33] Tucher does not only give short analogies to explain

31 Rauwolf, Aigentliche beschreibung, pp. 231–232.

32 The account was published in 1482 in Augsburg and Nuremberg. Ninety-two incunabulae are known. Tucher's account and transmission are accessible through the thorough investigations and documentation of Randall Herz. See Randall Herz, Die "Reise ins gelobte Land" Hans Tuchers des Älteren (1479–1480). Untersuchungen zur Überlieferung und kritische Edition eines spätmittelalterlichen Reiseberichts (Wiesbaden 2002), study, pp. 1–323, edition, pp. 325/337–639, here: pp. 229–250 (hereafter quoted as Tucher, Reise); Randall Herz, Studien zur Drucküberlieferung der "Reise ins gelobte Land" Hans Tuchers des Älteren. Bestandsaufnahme und historische Auswertung der Inkunabeln unter Berücksichtigung der späten Drucküberlieferung (Nuremberg 2005).

33 For Breydenbach see Herkenhoff, Darstellung, pp. 186–190. During his pilgrimage, Tucher sent letters home. These letters (e.g., the one dated 8 August 1479) add to the understanding of the process of writing his account, see Tucher, Reise, pp. 649–654. For this issue, see the forthcoming article by M[aria] E. Dorninger, A Singular Experience of Jerusalem, in Bianca Kühnel, Renana Bartal, and Neta Bodner (eds.) [Jerusalem Translations, pp. 165–189]. Tucher also mentions some of his sources, such as a Chronicle of the Franciscan Monastery at Mount Zion in Jerusalem (Tucher, Reise, p. 472), but omits others such as the accounts of his fellow pilgrim Se-his impressions of the "unknown" to himself and to the ones at home. He also uses a particular extended one, comparing the most important church of Christianity, the Church of the Holy Sepulcher in Jerusalem, its sites, and their distances, to the ones of St. Sebald Church in Nuremberg, as his foremost point of reference.[34] Although the dimensions were not the same in detail, the churches had a similar structure.[35] The ten main sites, their location, and the distances between them are compared and described, giving a complete description of the pilgrims' procession in the church in Jerusalem and allowing a "step by step imitation" at home.[36] Thus, Arnold Esch remarks: "Salvation history [becomes] walkable."[37] Although Tucher announces the St. Sebald Church as point of reference, twice he goes beyond and integrates other points of reference, for example the Twelve Brothers Church in Nuremberg.[38] Particularly interesting is Tucher's presentation of the Holy Tomb. Tucher describes the Holy Tomb or aedicule in the Church of the Holy Sepulcher three times in his account.[39] Twice, in two descriptions, he draws comparisons and applies the two same points of reference.

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bald Rieter the Younger (1426 – 1488) and of Rieter's ancestors. See Reinhold Röhricht and Heinrich Meisner (eds.), Das Reisebuch der Familie Rieter (Tübingen 1884). For Ludwig Tschudi see Melchior Tschudi (ed.), Reyss vnd Bilgerfahrt zum Heyligen Grab. Dess Edlen vnd Gestrengen Herren Ludwigen Tschudis von Glarus Herren zu Greplong [et]c. Ritters (Rorschach 1606).

34 In the time prior to Tucher or approximately the same time, similar features of and approaches to an extended comparison may be discovered in the Jerusalem accounts of Gabriele Capodilista of Padua (d. 1477, pilgrimage 1458) and Santo Brasca of Milan (1444/45 – 1522, pilgrimage 1480), which allow readers to imitate or trace parts of the path of the pilgrims in their church at home. See Dorninger, Singular Experience, p. 186; Esch, Anschauung, pp. 306 – 307. Both accounts are very likely not to have influenced Hans Tucher.

35 In Tucher's view the St. Sebald Church was a little longer and wider. See Tucher, Reise, p. 391.

36 Tucher, Reise, pp. 390 – 405. This analogy is anticipated in a letter of Hans Tucher (6 August 1479, Jerusalem) to his brother Endres, a Carthusian monk. The letter was published by Randall Herz, Tucher, Reise, pp. 649 – 655; the entire analogy is rendered in English in Maria E. Dorninger, St. Sebald Church and the Church of the Holy Sepulchre: Retracing the Path of Jerusalem's Holy Places in Nuremberg, in Bianca Kühnel and Pnina Arad (eds.), Jerusalem Elsewhere: The German Recensions (Jerusalem 2014), pp. 83 – 90.

37 "Heilsgeschichte [wird] abschreitbar." Esch, Anschauung, p. 294. For a comparative table of sites see Dorninger, Singular Experience, p. 189.

38 The dimensions of the Chapel of Apparition in the Church of the Holy Sepulcher were compared to this Nuremberg Church. The Twelve Brothers Church, no longer extant, was founded at the end of the fourteenth century as a charitable establishment and served retired craftsmen. See the commentary by Randall Herz, in Tucher, Reise, p. 393.

39 Tucher, Reise, pp. 393, 402 – 403, 617 – 618. The Holy Tomb, without direct comparison, is also mentioned in Tucher's letter (dated 6 August 1479) to his brother Endres. See Tucher, Reise, p. 651.

The first is the West Choir (Choir of St. Catherine) in the Church of St. Sebald with regard to location. Then, Tucher compares the size and shape of the Rotunda (the Chapel around the Holy Tomb) and the aedicule to the Holy Cross Church in Eichstätt, including a copy of the Holy Tomb situated in its center. This famous Eichstätt copy was built in the twelfth century.[40] The most fascinating reference to Eichstätt is the very first one, which is part of the description of holy sites the pilgrims passed after they entered the Church of the Holy Sepulcher and walked to the Chapel of Apparition, the starting point for the procession. Tucher describes the location of the Holy Tomb in relation to the St. Sebald Church. This is also the only time when Tucher explicitly compares the Rotunda and the aedicule to the sites in Eichstätt: "Item, then, if you would go from the same place [in the St. Sebald Church, near the Calvary canvas] to St. Catherine's Choir, at the back of the church, at the same place in the Temple [= in the Church of the Holy Sepulcher] there is a wide, rotund church, identical in size and width to the church at Eichstätt in front of the city, which is called [Church] of the Holy Cross. A bishop of Eichstätt built [in Eichstätt] this [church] like that [in Jerusalem]. In the midst of the same rotund church or chapel itself is situated the Holy Sepulcher [in Jerusalem], which is then very much alike the one at Eichstätt."[41]

Tucher's use of the subjunctive and indicative is typical for the analogy of the pilgrims' procession. The subjunctive stresses and signals the point of reference, whereas the indicative mode traces the pilgrims' way in the Church of the Holy Sepulcher. In his use of the analogy and comparison to the size of the Rotunda Tucher is very aware of the copy in Eichstätt. There is no doubt about the point of reference and the relation of original and copy. However, when he continues to compare the Holy Tomb to the copy in Eichstätt, the positions of original and copy seem to switch. The reader would expect a verbalization that explicitly and unmistakably hints at Jerusalem as original architecture, such as "The holy Sepulcher [in Jerusalem] to which the one in Eichstätt is very much alike." Instead, the syntax confuses and Tucher writes: "The Holy Sepulcher

40 Today, the Holy Tomb is located in the Church of the Capuchin Friars in Eichstätt. For the Holy Tomb copy in Eichstät see Thomas Rüdiger, Nachbauten des Heiligen Grabes in Jerusalem in der Zeit von Gegenreformation und Barock: Ein Beitrag zur Kultgeschichte architektonischer Devotionalkopien (Regensburg 2003), p. 86. The study focusses on copies of the Holy Tomb in Germany and Austria.

41 "Jtem darnach so man von derselben stat gyng zu Sant Katherina kor hyntten jn die kirchen, an derselben stat jm temple, do stet ein weite, runde kirchen gleich jn der größ vnd weyt als die kirch zu Eystet vor der stat, die zu dem Heiligen Creucz gena*n*t ist, die ein bischoff von Eystett nach dieser hat pawen lassen. Mitten jn derselben runden kirchen, oder cappellen, do stet das Heilig Grab, das dan*n* auch dem zu Eystet seer geleichet." Tucher, Reise, pp. 392–393.

[in Jerusalem], which is then very much alike the one at Eichstätt." Tucher compares the original to the copy, and not as habitually the copy to the original. Thus, in this one moment the original monument and the copy seem to have changed position in Tucher's version. The familiar architecture prevails over the perception of the newly encountered original, which gains similar status to Eichstätt, i.e., the status of a copy. The knowledge, recollection, and imagination of the familiar building surpasses the authenticity of the encountered original and changes the hierarchy of original and copy. Thus, Tucher's verbalization allows a special insight into his perception of the yet "unknown" and into the extent to which his mental map is formed by his own cultural imprint, literary knowledge, and experience. It also shows how much, using the terms of Friederike Hassauer, these bodies of knowledge influence and form the perception of the new. Although Tucher encounters a quasi-familiar monument, the originality is new and a comparison necessary. At the same time, Tucher's description tells of the struggle between the intellect and emotion at this moment and its role in the encounter of the "new" or "unknown."[42] Whereas the intellect experiences the Holy Tomb in Jerusalem as the original, the emotion ties to the familiar object in Eichstätt, which therefore gains almost a primary and quasi-original status. Thus, it is through emotion that the experience of the Holy Tomb seems to be primarily perceived or at least influenced. In Tucher's phrasing only the added "*dann*" (then) corrects the emotion and explicitly hints at the real relation of original and copy. At the same time, the original in Jerusalem assures the "originality" of the copy in Eichstätt among existing Holy Tomb models of different shapes in the German-speaking area. Even in Nuremberg another model of the Holy Tomb existed at the Heilig-Geist-Spital, which was donated by the pilgrim Jörg Ketzel (1423–1488) who had travelled to Jerusalem in 1453. However, Tucher does not mention this copy, modeled after the one in Aquileia, in his account. The commonly accepted authentic and prominent copy of the Holy Tomb within Bavaria seems to have been the one in Eichstätt in his time.[43]

42 Dorninger, Singular Experience, p. 182.

43 For Jörg Ketzel's copy see Rüdiger, Nachbauten, p. 13. For Ketzel see Randall Herz, Hans Tuchers d. Ä. "Reise ins Gelobte Land", in Klaus Arnold (ed.), Wallfahrten in Nürnberg um 1500. Akten des interdisziplinären Symposions vom 29.–30. September 2000 im Caritas Pirckheimer-Haus in Nürnberg (Wiesbaden 2002), pp. 79–104, 82, notes 9–10. The omission of Ketzel's Holy Tomb copy in Tucher's account may be explained by different reasons. One of them certainly had been the prominence and the fame of the Eichstätt copy. Moreover, some kind of rivalry between Tucher and Ketzel may not be excluded, as Tucher was of higher social rank, yet the other man had founded and donated a copy of the Holy Tomb.

Conclusions

The mental map or mental imprint as described in different theoretical approaches influence the perception of the "unknown". As for the categories applied by Friederike Hassauer, such as the topoi of knowledge and observation, that may also be linked to other theories and categorizations, the "unknown" is filtered, structured, grasped, perceived, or explained by these topoi. This is demonstrated through comparison in travelogues, more specifically in pilgrim accounts. There perceptions of the "unknown" are to be integrated in and added to already acquired knowledge, as shown by the example of Hans Tucher among many others. Simultaneously, this procedure reveals the author's own cultural imprint.

Furthermore, there is another category to consider with regard to the accounts, i.e., *gedechtnuß*, memory, that is present in every travelogue and to which Hans Tucher and Leonhard Rauwolf explicitly refer. Hans Tucher applies the term to explain his extended analogy of the Church of the Holy Sepulcher and St. Sebald. He wrote, so he states, the analogy to better recall or memorize the (visited) sites,[44] thus referring to the art of memory and to rhetorical means for memorization that Roman rhetoricians highly recommended.[45] At the same time, the notion of *gedechtnuß* relates to *memoria,* meaning remembrance and practices of commemoration, which alludes to fame and glory.

Tucher wishes to write what he has observed and seen, experienced and investigated in person: what he "clearly and truly perceived, experienced, and explored." [46] While travelling he took notes, as he alludes to his brother Endres in a letter.[47] Similarly, Leonhard Rauwolf tells in his preface that he recorded his experience, what he saw and experienced, in a small travelogue that becomes a document of memory, a "memorial." Both authors revised their notes, chose

44 "[D]arumb, das die heiligen stet jm tempel einem desterpaß jngedenck sein zu mercken, so hab jch dise gelichnuß fur mich genomen." Tucher, Reise, p. 391. For the relation of memory and rhetoric see Dorninger, Singular Experience, pp. 182–183, note 48. Aleida Assmann distinguishes between "*ars*" (mnemotechnics) and "*vis*" (different forms and functions of memory). See Assmann, Erinnerungsräume, pp. 27–32. On recollection and identity see Assmann, Erinnerungsräume, pp. 95–100.

45 For the medieval art of memory see Mary J. Carruthers, The Book of Memory: A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture (Cambridge 1994).

46 "sichtiglich vnd eigentlich gesehen, erfaren vnd erkundigt." Tucher, Reise, p. 340.

47 Tucher, Reise, p. 653.

what they remembered, and published their accounts.[48] Thus, the writers' notes are closer to their "first" impression of the encounter with the "unknown." Glimpses of this first encounter may still show through the text, as, for example, in Tucher's changing of copy and original in the comparison of the Holy Tomb to the copy in Eichstätt. Consequently, one may question whether the printed or official accounts really represent the experience of the way into the "unknown" in a stricter sense. It may be argued that these new experiences had already been structured and ordered via the individual traveler's mental map and added to his knowledge. Thus, in a strict sense, it ceased to be the "unknown" for the writer, but definitely not so for the reader as he or she starts reading the account for the first time.

48 Dedication letter of September 1581, Rauwolf, Aigentliche beschreibung, fol.)()(. For the notion of "memorial," see Rauwolf, Aigentliche beschreibung, fol.)(iij^{v}. For the author's selection see also Ousterhout, Sweetly Refreshed, pp. 153–168. For memory and identity see Assman, Erinnerungsräume, pp. 95–100.

Anders Ingram

"The Barbarousnesse of Turkes and Time": Discourses of Travel and History in Seventeenth-century Eastern Travelogues

> In all this Country of Greece I could finde nothing to answer the famous relations, given by ancient Authors of the excellency of that land, but the name onely; the barbarousnesse of Turkes and Time, having defaced all the Monuments of Antiquity: No shew of honour, no habitation of men in an honest fashion, nor possessours of the Countrey in a Principality, But rather prisoners shut up in prison, or addicted slaves to cruell and tyrannicall Masters.[1]

This passage from *The Totall Discourse, Of the rare Adventures, and painefull Peregrinations of long nineteene years Travailes from Scotland, to the most famous Kingdoms in Europe, Asia, and Affrica* by William Lithgow (1582 – in or after 1645) brings together the key themes of this chapter: travel, history, and the overlap of these discourses. Occurring in a travel narrative, and ostensibly framed as an eyewitness report, these lines are informed by both previous travel writing and a profound historical consciousness. This passage is a close paraphrase of the description of Cyprus given in Anthony Sherley's (1565 – 1635?) *Relation of his Trauels into Persia* (1613).[2]

A historical sensibility informs Sherley and Lithgow's expectations of the lands of classical antiquity, as much as the pithy pairing of "the barbarousnesse of Turkes and Time". Certainly, lamenting the decay of the lands of classical and biblical antiquity is a common trope in other comparable early modern travel accounts. For example, George Sandys (1578 – 1644) pines ostentatiously over the condition of these "most renowned countries and kingdoms […] now through vice and ingratitude, become the most deplored spectacles of extreme miserie: the wild beasts of mankind hauing broken in vpon them"[3]. However, alongside

1 William Lithgow, The Totall Discourse, Of the rare Adventures, and painefull Peregrinations of long nineteene years Travailes from *Scotland*, to the most famous Kingdoms in *Europe*, *Asia*, and *Affrica* […], (London 1640), pp. 71 – 72.

2 Anthony Sherley, Sir Antony Sherley his Relation of his Trauels into Persia (London 1613), pp. 6 – 7: "We found nothing to answer the famous relations given by ancient Histories of the excellency of that island, but the name only (the barbarousness of the Turk, and time having defaced all the Monuments of Antiquity), no shew of splendour, no habitation of men in a fashion, nor possessors of the ground in a Principality; but rather Slaves to Cruel Masters". Note Lithgow's additions of 'Greece' and 'tyrannicall'. Many thanks to Dr Kurosh Meshkat and Dr Eva Johanna Holmberg for making me aware of this connection.

3 George Sandys, A Relation of a Iourney begun An: Dom: 1610 […] (London 1615), pp. A2r–v.

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this trope both Lithgow and Sherley also display a vivid awareness of the previous two centuries of Ottoman expansion, conquests, and rule in formerly Christian lands, as well as, I would suggest, the contemporary English and European discourse on Turkish history, which described and accounted for these events. Indeed, Lithgow imports a central commonplace from this literature – the depiction of the "Turkes" as "cruell and tyrannicall Masters" – along with its structuring function as an explanation for his characterization of the dilapidated and debased condition of Greece and its people.

This chapter will focus upon late sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century English Eastern travelogues and explore how they overlapped with, borrowed from, and shaped, the related discourses of Turkish history, and *ars apodemica* (the humanistic theory of travel as a pedagogical or philosophical activity). Although the discussion in this chapter is a case study of English travel to the eastern Mediterranean and of historical works responding to the Ottoman advance into Europe, these discourses (*ars apodemica* and "Turkish history") are European phenomena. As such, while my discussion will revolve around English authors and contexts, I hope that what I have to say will reward comparison with the overlap of early modern travelogue, history, and contemporary theories of travel and travel writing, in wider European contexts.

The travel accounts I shall be exploring shared material as well as intellectual and cultural contexts. The late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries saw a spate of descriptions of the eastern Mediterranean and northern Africa in the wake of, on the one hand, the onset of formalized Anglo-Ottoman trade and diplomacy in 1580, and on the other, the end of the nineteen-year Anglo-Spanish conflict with the Treaty of London in 1604. Both the relative security of peace and the growth of trade and diplomacy – along with the shipping routes, factors, and resident diplomats it required – stimulated the voyages (and thus published narratives) of a succession of gentleman travelers. These included Fynes Moryson (1565/66 – 1630), George Sandys (1578 – 1644), the Scot William Lithgow (1582 – in or after 1645), Thomas Coryate (c. 1577 – 1617), and, slightly later, Henry Blount (1602 – 1682). Comparable accounts were also written and published by a number of Levant Company chaplains including William Biddulph (fl. 1599 – 1609), Charles Robson (fl. 1628), and Thomas Smith (1638 – 1710).

However, it was not only these chaplains who relied upon the routes and infrastructure the trade had developed. This is demonstrated by the number of travelers who visited and enjoyed the hospitality of the resident English ambassador at Constantinople. For example, when visiting Constantinople in 1597 Moryson lodged with Ambassador Edward Barton (1562/63 – 1598). Thomas Glover (fl. 1606 – 1611) hosted Sandys for four months in 1610, and then Lithgow for three months in 1611. Similarly, Coryat arrived in Constantinople in late March

1613 with letters of introduction to Sir Paul Pindar (1565–1650), ambassador from 1611 to 1620, with whom he stayed for ten months. The accommodation and orientation successive ambassadors offered these travelers is reflective of their more general frequent recourse to English (and European) factors, merchants, and ships, throughout their journeys, and also serves as a reminder of the general expansion of international English trade in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century.

The books these travelers published met with varied degrees of success and popularity. At one end of the spectrum Sandys' *Relation of a Journey begun an: dom: 1610* (1615) went through eight editions; while Fynes Moryson's *Itinerary* (1617) appeared some twenty years after his voyage and was not successful enough to warrant the publication of the entirety of the longer geographical and historical information he had collated.[4] These books were published into a market hungry for English works on the Ottoman world. As I have written elsewhere, the 1590s and first decade of the 1600s were a period of peak intensity in English publishing on the Turks.[5] Furthermore, this period saw a mass of published literature on English travel and trade (as well as early imperial expansion in Ireland and America), including the large collections of Richard Hakluyt (1552–1616) and Samuel Purchas (1577–1626), published by some of the most successful and eminent men in the book trade respectively.[6] The travel accounts explored in this chapter draw together all of these threads: peace with Spain; Ottoman expansion and the related English interest in the Ottoman world; England's own nascent commercial and imperial expansion; the material contexts of travel, trade, and diplomacy; and the book market in which these texts were produced.

The first half of this chapter will be methodological. I will first present a critique of "the other", as the dominant (though much debated) model used to frame current scholarly discussions of early modern English writing on "the East", including travel accounts.[7] As an alternative I will conceptualize early

4 Sandys' *Relation* has two separate 'sixth' editions.

5 Anders Ingram, Writing the Ottomans: Turkish History in Early Modern England (Basingstoke, New York 2015), pp. 7–9. This peak occurred broadly in response to the Ottoman Habsburg "Long War" of 1593–1606.

6 Richard Hakluyt's *Principal Navigations* was published by George Bishop (d. 1611) and Ralph Newberry (b. in or before 1536, d. 1603/4) joined by Robert Barker (c. 1568–1646). Samuel Purchas's publishers were William Stansby (bap. 1572, d. 1638) and Henry Featherstone (1565–1635).

7 Use of this formulation is too widespread to catalogue here. However, for examples of scholarship using or critiquing "the other" as a framing device for early modern English accounts of the Ottoman world (including travel) see Richmond Barbour, Before Orientalism: London's Theatre of the East, 1576–1626 (Cambridge 2003); Matthew Dimmock, Early Modern Travel, Convermodern travel writing as a "discourse", a model drawing heavily on the work of the intellectual historians J. G. A. Pocock and Quentin Skinner, as well as my own *Writing the Ottomans: Turkish History in Early Modern England* (2015). The purpose of this reframing is to historicize these authors and draw out some of the contemporary concepts, conversations, and literatures that they engaged with and contributed to.[8] For example, I will show that the body of Eastern travelogues which I have taken as my topic was – at least by the mid-seventeenth century – self-consciously recognized and commented upon by English authors and readers (and is therefore not merely my own construction as a modern critic).[9]

The second half of this chapter will then draw some points of contiguity between the travel narratives of the authors outlined above and the related discourses of histories of the Turks and *ars apodemica*. These borrowings, references, and overlaps (i. e., influences) occur not merely in incidental details such as anecdotes, dates, names, etc. (although these elements are common), but also more fundamentally as underpinning concepts, assumptions, and values. While these travel accounts are ostensibly individual "eyewitness" accounts of travels in the eastern Mediterranean, they are also highly generic, literate, and literary works, engaged with a broad range of contemporary and classical literature about this region and its peoples. Therefore, our interpretation requires de-

sion, and Languages of "Difference", in Journeys 14/2 (2013), pp. 10 – 26; Norman Housley, Religious Warfare in Europe, 1400 – 1536 (Oxford 2002); Gerald MacLean, Looking East: English writing and the Ottoman Empire before 1800 (New York 2007); Daniel J. Vitkus, Turning Turk: English Theatre and the Multicultural Mediterranean, 1570 – 1630 (New York 2003); M. E. Yapp, Europe in the Turkish Mirror, in Past and Present 137 (1992), pp. 134 – 155. For comparable discussions of identity and depictions of the Ottomans in German contexts see for example Almut Höfert, Den Feind beschreiben. "Türkengefahr" und europäisches Wissen über das Osmanische Reich, 1450 – 1600 (Frankfurt am Main 2003); and Martin Wrede, Das Reich und seine Feinde. Politische Feindbilder in der reichspatriotischen Publizistik zwischen Westfälischem Frieden und Siebenjährigem Krieg (Mainz 2004). For the French Orientalist tradition see Pascale Barthe, French Encounters with the Ottomans, 1510 – 1560 (New York 2016); and Frédéric Tinguely, L'écriture du Levant à la Renaissance: Enquête sur les voyageurs français dans l'Empire de Soliman le Magnifique (Geneva 2000). Finally, for a broader pan-European perspective see for example, Bodo Guthmüller and Wilhelm Kühlmann (eds.), Europa und die Türken in der Renaissance (Tübingen 2000); and Marcus Keller and Javier Irigoyen-García (eds.), The Dialectics of Orientalism in Early Modern Europe (London 2017).

8 To borrow Quentin Skinner's admirably concise formulation the "general social and intellectual matrix out of which their works arose". Quentin Skinner, The foundations of modern political thought (2 vols., Cambridge 1978), vol. 1, p. x.

9 In Pocock's terms this might be conceptualized as a "moment". J. G. A. Pocock, The Machiavellian moment: Florentine political thought and the Atlantic republican tradition, 2^{nd} ed. (Princeton 2003).

tailed engagement with their intellectual contexts, theories and systems of knowledge, textual organization, literary sources, and rhetoric.

1 Critique

The "other" as a model for describing the underlying psychological mechanisms of depictions of cultural difference has been adapted by postcolonial criticism from its origins in the psychoanalytical theories of Jacques Lacan.[10] The application (and critique/adaption) of the "other" as a model for thinking about European perceptions of the Turks – or even the "East" more generally – can be seen partly as a reaction to critiques of Edward Said's "Orientalism" thesis (particularly given the ill fit of aspects of Said's model to periods earlier than the late eighteenth century), and the perceived need for an alternative model. Indeed, in the nuanced versions advanced by Vitkus, Maclean, and others, the "other" has some strengths as a framework.[11] It connects and provides a point of comparison from this scholarship to a broader range of subjects and disciplines, such as postcolonial studies, literary criticism, and anthropology. It is general enough to reflect, if perhaps not quite accommodate, the intrinsic complexity of a topic as large as English (or European) writing on the Turks (or "the East"), and it provides a schema in which to consider some of the commonplace tropes and features of this writing. Above all, it is a useful tool for describing and deconstructing the multivalent meanings which were attributed to the figure of the Turk in early modern polemical writing from the Reformation onwards – and to construct arguments about identity (e.g., European identify, English identity, Protestant identity, etc.) in these terms.[12]

However, the "other" also has weaknesses as a model. While it provides a convenient umbrella under which to shelter the massive and complex topic of European accounts of the Turks, we need to consider if applying a single approach to this dizzying volume of material obscures more than it reveals. The

10 For examples of the centrality of the concept of "the other" in postcolonial writing see Malek Alloula, The Colonial Harem, translated by Myrna Godzich and Wlad Godzich (Manchester 1987); Homi K. Bhabha, The Location of Culture (London, New York 1994), pp. 94 – 120; Satya P. Mohanty, Epilogue. Colonial Legacies, Multicultural Futures: Relativism, Objectivity and the Challenge of Otherness, in Publication of the Modern Languages Association 110/1 (1995), pp. 108 – 118.

11 See for example MacLean, Looking East, pp. 1 – 23; Vitkus, Turning Turk, pp. 1 – 3.

12 See for example Matthew Dimmock, New Turkes: Dramatizing Islam and the Ottomans in Early Modern England (Aldershot 2005), pp. 20 – 86; Housely, Religious Warfare, pp. 131 – 159.

"Turk" was a ubiquitous figure in early modern writing, occurring in thousands of separate English works alone.[13] Over roughly the last two decades a growing scholarship has shown the volume and complexity of this material.[14] Can a single heuristic model really usefully identify the central features in all of this without reductivism? Or is it possible that seeking a single unifying approach can serve to limit us to talking about the source material in rather general and superficial terms? While it is hard to disagree with the observation that early modern English reactions to the Ottomans were characterized by both fear and fascination, or that the "Turk" sometimes served as a contrasting cultural reference point (i.e., a "them" to the English "us"), there is a lot more to say in specific terms about this vast and varied corpus. These problems are only amplified if the subject is "European" writing on the "East" rather than "English" writing on the "Turk". A further problem is that the widespread usage of the "other" in postcolonial studies creates a difficulty in applying this concept to the early modern period without teleology. It is hard to separate this model from a range of deeply anachronistic comparisons to later eighteenth-, nineteenth-, twentieth-, and indeed twenty-first century European imperialist involvement in the Islamic world and modern Middle East, and this represents a serious distortion of the earlier period (i.e., in the manner of Said's *Orientalism*).

Most critically, however, for the argument at hand, the "other" does nothing to draw us towards the contemporary debates, concepts, and contexts through which early modern English authors engaged with, thought about, and depicted the expansion of the Ottoman Empire from the mid-fifteenth to the late seventeenth centuries. It does not require us to ask about the contemporary genres and forms of writing through which English authors understood "the Turks" (or the other peoples of the Ottoman world), or how generic rhetorics and conventions shaped these accounts (and they *did*). Rather than seeking a historicized understanding of how these contexts shaped the written interventions of historical actors, "the other" offers an explanation grounded in a psychological mechanism (indeed a psychoanalytical mechanism, in that it relates to unconscious processes), which ignores the terms in which contemporaries themselves understood their actions. This is a particularly key point when working on travelogues because, as I have said, they are emphatically *not* simply eyewitness ac-

13 See MacLean, Looking East, pp. 6–8.
14 On the ubiquity of the term "Turk" in early modern writing see Ingram, Writing the Ottomans, pp. 7–9. For an alternative view see Helen Baker, Tony McEnery, and Andrew Hardie, A Corpus-Based Investigation into English Representations of Turks and Ottomans in the Early Modern Period, in Michael Pace-Sigge and Katie J. Patterson (eds.), Lexical Priming: Applications and Advances (Amsterdam, Philadelphia 2017), pp. 41–66.

counts of travel and life in the Ottoman world, but rather highly structured literary works which draw upon very specific intellectual contexts, concepts, and an often broad range of textual sources.

2 Eastern travelogues as "discourse"

As I have indicated already, published works of gentlemanly travelers such as Sandys, Moryson, Coryate, Lithgow, Blount, Biddulph, and others, form a coherent and identifiable subset of English writing on the Ottoman Empire, sharing significant material, cultural, and intellectual contexts. For example, they draw on a shared sense of the classical and biblical heritage of these regions from the biblical descriptions of the life of Jesus, to St. Paul's (c. 10 BCE – 60 CE) travels in western Anatolia, and classical works such as the *Aeneid*. Beyond these basic reference points, they also engaged with an English (and in fact European) discourse of Turkish history, which described the events and significance of the seemingly unstoppable Ottoman expansion through the eastern Mediterranean, North Africa, and Europe over the previous century (and more). Along with narrating the events of these conquests this historical literature formulated and presented prevailing European ideas about the structure and nature of the Ottoman polity, as well as related and overlapping ideas about Islamic history and religious practice (particularly through polemical lives of the prophet – itself a historiography with a very long tradition).

From the Ottoman conquest of Constantinople in 1453 – which had prompted an outpouring of humanist historiography on the origins and character of the Turks – an extensive and sophisticated European literature on "Turkish history" had evolved.[15] By the mid-sixteenth century a flood of new works responded to the disconcerting Ottoman conquest of large parts of Europe with the capture of Belgrade (1521), the Kingdom of Hungary following the battle of Mohács (1526), and Buda (1541). This increasingly included widely read and translated shorter or vernacular works by the likes of historian Paulo Giovio (1483 – 1552), as well as the works of the former captive Bartholemej Georgijevic (1510 – 1566).[16] By the

15 Nancy Bisaha, Creating East and West: Renaissance Humanists and the Ottoman Turks (Philadelphia 2004); James Hankins, Renaissance Crusaders: Humanist Literature in the Age of Mehmed II, in Dumbarton Oaks Papers 49 (1993), pp. 111 – 207; Margaret Meserve, Empires of Islam in Renaissance Historical Thought (Cambridge, Mass., London 2008).

16 Works of both these authors were translated into English. Paulo Giovio's *Commentario de la cose de Turchi* (Rome 1532) appeared in print in English as *A Shorte Treatise Vpon the Turkes Chronicles* (London 1546), itself translated from Francesco Negri's Latin edition *Turcicarum*

later sixteenth century a vast scholarly (and of course popular) literature describing the Ottoman advance, the origins of the "Turks", and their wider history had developed. This broadly historical discourse (though of course too large to adequately catalogue here) drew material, concepts, and details from a deep well extending through Byzantine historians such as Theophanes (752–817), Joannes Zonoras (zwelfth century), and Laonikos Chalkokondyles (c. 1423–c. 1490), to late humanists such as Flavio Biondo (1392–1463), and early to mid-sixteenth century historians such as Marcantonio Sabellico (1436–1506), Andrea Cambini (c. 1460–1527), Francesco Sansovino (1512–1586), and Marino Barlezio (c. 1450–1512). Proliferating composite chronicles of author/editors such as those of Philipp Lonicer (1532–1599) or Johann Leunclavius (c. 1533–1593), compiled these sources (and many more) into longer accounts.[17] We could also include in, or adjacent to, this European discourse widely read diplomats such as Nicolas de Nicolay (1517–1583) and Ogier Ghislain de Busbecq (1522–1592), and even the shorter more topically focused news books and reports of specific events in a number of formats.[18] In late sixteenth and early seventeenth century England a flurry of English works on Turkish history (and numerous translations of continental works on the topic) were published. However, particularly notable is the work of the historian Richard Knolles (1545–1610) who synthesized a great deal of this European literature into *The Generall Histoire of the Turkes* (1603), a rhetorically polished, comprehensive, and coherent form, which was to prove influen-

rerum commentarius (Strasbourg 1537). Henry Parker, Lord Morley (1476–1556), made a presentation to King Henry VIII (1491–1547) of his own manuscript translation "Commentarys of the Turke" as a New Year gift between 1536 and 1541. Georgijevic's *De Turcarum moribus epitome* (Lyon 1553) appeared in print in English as *The Ofspring of the house of Ottomano and officers pertaining to the Greate Turkes court* (London [1569]). However, from the evidence of contemporary English citations of these authors it is strongly likely they were primarily read in England in their own languages. On Georgijevic see Almut Höfert, Batholomaeo Georgius, in David Thomas and John A. Chesworth (eds.), Christian-Muslim Relations. A Bibliographical History (16 vols., 2009–2020), vol. 7 (2015), pp. 321–330.

17 On Leunclavius' edited versions of texts, seemingly translated and compiled from Ottoman chronicles, see Pál Ács, *Pro Turcis* and *Contra Turcos:* Curiosity, Scholarship and Spiritualism in Turkish Histories by Johannes Löwenklau (1541–1594), in Acta Comeniana 25 (2011), pp. 1–22; Nina Berman, German Literature on the Middle East: Discourses and Practices, 1000–1989 (Ann Arbor 2011), pp. 87–88.

18 For surveys of national European literatures on the Turks see Clarence Dana Rouillard, The Turk in French history, thought, and literature: 1520–1660 (Paris 1941); and Carl Göllner, Tvrcica: Die europäischen Türkendrucke des XVI. Jahrhunderts (2 vols., Bucharest 1961); Charlotte Colding Smith, Images of Islam, 1453–1600: Turks in Germany and Central Europe (London, New York 2014).

tial on the views of educated Englishmen on the history of the Turks for the following century and beyond.

Thus, beyond common literary sources – be they Ovid (43 BCE – 17/18 CE) or the Bible – the early seventeenth-century travelogues of Sandys, Moryson, Lithgow, et al. drew on an already developed and sophisticated English (and indeed European) literature on the history, character, and significance the Ottoman Empire, its state, territories, and its expansion over the preceding century. In drawing upon details and ideas from this material – while also serving as sources themselves for subsequent English scholarly writing on Ottoman lands – these travelogues engaged with and contributed to a series of established but wider ongoing debates and conversations about the eastern Mediterranean, its peoples, polities, and histories. Furthermore, they did so through specific terminology, images, concepts, and forms.

Indeed, by the mid- to late-seventeenth century several English authors self-consciously describe such Eastern travel writing as a discreet form. For example, Levant Company Chaplain Thomas Smith (1638 – 1710) commented on the saturation of this genre in 1678:

> The curious surveys every where extant of *Bethlehem*, *Nazareth*, and *Jerusalem*, places so famous for the birth, education, and sufferings of our *Blessed Saviour*, (which are owing to the industry and learning and curiosity of devout Pilgrims, who […] have visited mount *Calvary* and the *holy Sepulchre*) suffer us not to be unacquainted with their situation and state: every one, who has but the least gust for Antiquity, or History, or Travel, or insight into Books, greedily catching at such relations.[19]

While this passage reflects the continuing importance of pilgrimage as a model for travelers to the eastern Mediterranean – both in that many of these travelers visited Jerusalem and other biblical sites, and as template for visiting secular sites of cultural importance such as the supposed site of Troy – it also speaks to the saturation that Eastern travel writing had achieved that the category of "Travel" could sit comfortably alongside "Antiquity" and "History" as a topic greedily consumed by those with "gust" for books.

In 1666 the diplomat Paul Rycaut (1628 – 1700) had sought to set his work of political economy *The Present State of the Ottoman Empire* apart from precisely such Eastern travel accounts:

> I Present thee here with a true Systeme or Model of the Turkish Government and Religion; not in the same manner as certain ingenious Travelers have done, who have set down their

19 Thomas Smith, Remarks Upon the Manners, Religion and Government of the Turks (London 1678), p. 205.

> Observations as they have obviously occurred in their Journeys; which being collected for the most part from Relations, and Discourses of such who casually intervene in company of Passengers, are consequently subject to many errours and mistakes […].[20]

The diplomat Rycaut sets himself apart from the superficial “Observations” of travelers – but in doing so he also defines a coherent body of travel writing on the East. This body of works, or “discourse”, shared more than topic. To borrow J. G. A. Pocock’s terminology of “discourse” it shared a “language” made up of elements such as: “facts” (in the sense of discrete details accepted to be true and widely repeated); “ideas” (in the sense of normative or structuring assumptions); and the rhetorical figures through which these were often expressed.[21] These building blocks were widely drawn on by travel writers who mixed them freely with other elements, details from unrelated literary sources, or personal observations and anecdotes, in ways that reflected their specific social and intellectual contexts and historical *milieu*.

For example, Sandys’ *Relation* pauses its travel narrative proper to give a substantial account of Constantinople, followed by a general description of the Ottoman Empire under heads such as “history”, “policy”, “forces”, “Mahomet”, “the Mahometan religion”, “Clergie”, “the Turkes, their manners etc.” A great deal of this is identifiably drawn from the second edition of Richard Knolles’s *Generall Historie of the Turkes* (1610). Just like Knolles, Sandys starts with a pre-Ottoman history of the Turks whose narrative, names, dates, and incidents, (“facts” in Pocock’s sense) are abridged from his source. Drawing on such textual sources in preparing a travel account was common practice. Moryson tells us that before writing his *Itinerary* he spent three years abstracting “The Histories of these 12 Dominio[n]s thorow which I passed, with purpose to ioyne them to the Discourses of the seuerall commomwealths for illustration and ornament”. However, finding that they ran to great length, he omitted them from his travel narrative.[22]

20 Paul Rycaut, The Present State of the Ottoman Empire […] (London 1668), A4r.

21 J. G. A. Pocock, The Reconstruction of a Discourse: Toward the Historiography of Political Thought (1981), in J. G. A. Pocock, Political Thought and History. Essays on Theory and Method (Cambridge 2009), pp. 67–86, here p. 67.

22 Fynes Moryson, An Itinerary written by Fynes Moryson, Gent. First in the Latine Tongue, and then translated by him into English. Containing his ten yeeres travell through the twelve dominions of Germany, Bohmerland, Sweitzerland, Netherland, Denmarke, Poland, Italy, Turky, France, England, Scotland, and Ireland (London 1617), to the reader [ii]. These unpublished chapters survive in MS form (Corpus Christi College, Oxford, MS xciv) and were published in part as Charles Hugh (ed.), Shakespeare’s Europe; unpublished chapters of Fynes Moryson’s Itinerary (London 1903).

However, historical writing on the Ottomans did not just provide authors like Sandys or Moryson with anecdotal details ("facts") but also with conceptual frameworks and ideas ("normative assumptions"). A common such normative assumption was that the contemporary Ottoman advance into Europe (and the dynastic history of the Ottoman family) was part of a wider historical continuum stretching back to the crusades, into the *Seljuk* period, and ultimately even further to the Scythians described by Herodotus (c. 485 – 424 B.C.) – hence "Turkish history" – as a European construction – rather than, say, Ottoman dynastic history. This "Scythian" trope had its origins in late fifteenth-century humanist orations responding to the Ottoman capture of Constantinople but became a staple of "Turkish history" as it evolved in the sixteenth century, and from there appears commonly in travel accounts. For example, these lines of doggerel summarize the contents of the section on Turkey in Lithgow's *Total Discourse* (1640):

> The Turkish custome and their manners rude,
> And of their discent from the Scythian blood:
> Their harsh Religion, and their sense of Hell,
> And Paradice: their laws I shall you tell:
> Then last of Mahomet, their God on earth
> His end, his life, his parentage, and birth.[23]

The historical commonplace of Scythian ancestry appears alongside a roll call of standard elements of the kind of summary accounts of "the Turks" that travel accounts such as Lithgow's generally contained: i. e., manners and customs, history, religion and theology, and a life of the prophet (note that, manners aside, these are all subjects primarily drawn from textual sources). The Scythian descent of the Turks was so thoroughly digested into Western European historical traditions that English travel authors might draw on it from a number of sources. Clergyman William Biddulph's *Travels of certaine Englishmen* (1609) frames his "discourse and description of Syria" – or at least of the inhabitants thereof – through reference to the Table of Nations contained in Genesis 10. This framing has an explicitly eschatological overtone. Biddulph presents the Scythians and Turks as the descendants of Noah's son Japheth through his son Magog – best known from the apocalyptic prophecies of Revelation, which feature Gog and Magog as the archetypal enemies of God.[24] Biddulph's follows this section

23 Lithgow, Totall Discourse, p. 131.
24 William Biddulph, Travels of certaine Englishmen into Africa, Asia, Troy, Bythinia, Thracia, and the Blacke Sea. And into Syria, Cilicia, Pisidia, Mesopotamia, Damascus, Canaan, Galile, Samaria, Iudea, Palestina, Ierusalem, Iericho, and to the Red Sea: and to sundry other places. […] (London 1609), p. 46.

with a brief polemical account of Islam focusing on a pejorative life of the Prophet, which he prefaces with the apocalyptic biblical prophecy of Daniel ("Diuers Prophets haue foretold of the wickednesse and tyrannie of the Turkes: but I will only recite the Prophecie of Daniell").[25] Thus Biddulph's characterization of the Turks as descended from Magog fits his tone well. The addition of the Turks to the descendants of Japheth is not Biddulph's innovation, being present in the English Bible at least as far back as *The Bible and Holy Scriptures* (1561).[26]

In contrast Sandys – drawing upon historiographical rather than biblical sources – uses the Scythian commonplace to transition from his description of Constantinople to his short overview of Turkish history (though the figure of the Scythian ultimately still serves a framing function): "The *Turkes*, now Lords of this Imperiall Citie, (together with the goodliest portion of the earth) arriued at this height of dominion from so obscure an original, as the same is rather coniectured at, then positiuely deliuered by any. But certaine it is, they were a people of *Scythia* […]."[27]

In contrast to Lithgow's crude but vivid rhymes, or Biddulph's biblical eschatology, Sandys' hedged usage ("rather coniectured at, then positiuely deliuered") reflects a long established and historical literature which had debated the origins of the Turks since the mid-fifteenth century (as digested through his primary historical source, Knolles, who also equivocates). Other travelers draw on this normative assumption in more passing ways. Thomas Smith simply notes: "They [the Turks] are ashamed of their Scythian original; it does not comport with their present grandeur, to look back and remember what poor vagabond lives their Ancestors lead."[28] Fascinatingly, Moryson does not relate the Turks to the Scythians at all, claiming instead: "some of the Irish are of the race of Scythians, comming into Spaine, and from thence into Ireland," a statement which conforms strongly to Moryson's presentation of the "wild irish" as the epitome of barbarism throughout the *Itinerary.*[29] Applying this lineage to the Irish may indeed be intended to convey to his readers that they are even *more* barbaric than the more commonly "Scythian" Turks.

A further ubiquitous normative assumption in accounts of the Ottoman Empire, which also has its roots in the European genre of Turkish history, was that

25 Biddulph, Travels, p. 47.
26 See Meserve, Empires of Islam, p. 255. For The Bible and Holy Scriptures conteyned in the Olde and Newe Testament (Geneva 1561) see STC 2095. The association of Magog with the Scythians goes back to at least Josephus in the first century.
27 Sandys, Relation, p. 42.
28 Smith, Remarks, pp. 24–25.
29 Moryson, Itinerary, p. 163.

the Ottoman polity was a “tyranny”. This was not simply a term of abuse, though it was of course pejorative. Rather, as a neo-classical political category, “tyranny” implied a matrix of underlying structural relationships that profoundly shaped and ordered descriptions and observations of the Ottoman Empire and its peoples throughout the period. Tyranny in this sense could be defined as a polity which is sustained by force instead of law, severity instead of justice, and slavery instead of freedom, or, in Aristotelian terms, as a polity modelled on the relationship of a master and slave, instead of the head of a household to his children. Fynes Moryson’s *Itinerary* (1617) is a good example of how this idea might play out in a travel account. We will begin with his general description of the nature of the Ottoman polity:

> All that liue vnder this Tyrant, are vsed like spunges to be squeased when they are full. All the Turkes, yea the basest sort, spoile and make a pray of the Frankes [...] and in like sort they spoile Christian Subjects. The soldiers and officers seeking all occasions of oppression, spoile Common Turkes, and all Christians. The Gouernors and greatest Commaunders make a pray of the very souldiers, and of the Common Turkes, and of all Christians, and the superiors among them vse like extortion vppon the Inferiors, and when these great men are growne rich, the Emperour strangles them to haue their treasure.[30]

Moryson extends the principle of tyranny from the top down like a pyramid, right through Ottoman society, with Christian subjects and Western visitors firmly at the bottom. This concept is then actively used by Moryson to frame and interpret his own experiences travelling in the Ottoman Empire. For example, this is his account of his arrival in Constantinople:

> Hauing cast anchor [...] in the Port of *Constantinople* [...] many companies of Turkes rushing into our Barke, who like so many starued flies fell to sucke the sweete Wines, each rascall among them beating with cudgels and ropes the best of our Mariners [...] till within a short space the Candian Merchant hauing advised the Venetian Ambassadour of their arriuial he sent a Ianizare[31] to protect the Barke, and the goods; as soone as he came, it seemed to me no lesse strange, that this one man should beate all those Turkes, and driue them out of the Barke like so many dogs, the common Turkes daring no more to resist a souldier, or especially a Ianizare, then Christians dare resist them [...] such is the tyranny of the Turkes against all Christians aswel their subiects as others.[32]

Here is the pyramid model of tyranny writ large into Moryson’s narrative: the Turks preying on the Christian mariners only to be beaten by the “Ianizare”, ex-

30 Moryson, Itinerary, p. 12.
31 Janissary.
32 Moryson, Itinerary, pp. 259 – 260.

plicitly framed as an example of the logic of "tyranny". A key point here is that although this episode is presented as an eyewitness account, in practice his experience is impossible to separate from the normative category of "tyranny" which frames and presents these events. To understand this passage – and Moryson's account in general – we must explore its intellectual contexts and the concepts that he engages with.

Although Moryson is particularly explicit in relating the tyrannical structure of the Ottoman polity to its current state and his experiences there, both the concept of tyranny, and rhetorical figures expressing this idea are common in the writing of contemporary travelers. For example, the allegorical frontispiece of Sandys' *Relation* is flanked on the left side by the figure of the reigning Turkish Sultan "Achmat, Sive Tyrannvs" ("Ahmed I, or the Tyrant", 1590–1617) holding a globe to signify dominion over the world and a yoke to symbolize slavery. He is standing on the broken scales of justice and a trampled book to represent the neglect of law and learning. These themes of a state supported by military power and slavery (often coupled in accounts of the Janissary corp and *devşirme*), the severity of law, the neglect of good governance, and the subsequent dilapidated state of the country are commonly commented on by travelers, even if they do not explicitly state that the Ottoman polity is a "tyranny". For example, although Lithgow does not give as structured an account of Ottoman tyranny as Moryson he reports that "[t]he puissance of the great Turke is admirable, yet the most part of his Kingdomes in Asia, are not well inhabited, neither populous", and repeats other tropes relating to a European discourse about the Ottoman state with the concept of "tyranny" at its heart.[33]

3 Related discourses: history and *ars apodemica*

History was not the only discourse which influenced the travel accounts written by early modern Englishmen. *Ars apodemica* ("the art of travel") was a European genre of advice literature with roots in humanist attempts to codify and improve travel practice on pedagogical and often classical precedents. From longer attempts to systematize and model the knowledge acquired through travel such as Theodor Zwinger's (1533–1588) *Methodus apodemica* (1577), to shorter humanist orations or essays, these ideas spread across Europe and became part

33 William Lithgow, A most delectable and true discourse of an Admired and Painefull Peregrination from Scotland to the Most Famous Kingdomes in Europe, Asia and Affricke [...] (London 1616), pp. 60–61. Lithgow's brief potted description of "Turkish history" and the Ottoman state follows his account of Islam.

of aristocratic travel and educational practices, becoming naturalized in England by the late sixteenth century.[34] For example, the *First Letter of Advice to the Earl of Rutland* (Roger Manners, 1576–1612) by the Earl of Essex, Robert Devereux's (1565–1601), shows the apodemic praise of travel in moral and education terms flourishing at the highest levels of English aristocratic society.[35] By the seventeenth century apodemic essays "of travel" had become a mainstay of English pedagogical works such as the *Compleat Gentleman* (1622) by Henry Peacham (1576–c. 1643). This also prefigured the development of later "Grand Tour" practices: for example, the *Voyage of Italy* (1670) by Richard Lassels (c. 1603–1668) begins with an apodemic preface "Concerning Travelling."[36]

Apodemic literature is particularly interesting (in the context of this chapter) as an example of the generic closeness of historical and travel writing. As we shall see, a major recommendation of much apodemic writing was that travelers ought to read the history (and cosmology) of lands they travelled to. More fundamentally, history, travel, and cosmology or geography, all shared similar conceptual categories for describing a country's state: its people and their origins and history; its natural and human geography; its produce, trade and manufacture; its laws, polity, and military; its religion, customs and manners, etc. It was these categories themselves, as much as the specific details of a particular country, which were important to the traveler. History provided a conceptual frame-

34 The classic accounts of *ars apodemica* are Justin Stagl, Apodemiken: Eine räsonnierte Bibliographie der reisetheoretischen Literatur des 16., 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts (Paderborn et al. 1983), and Justin Stagl, A History of Curiosity: The Theory of Travel 1550–1800 (London, New York 1995). More recently the Art of Travel, 1500–1850, a project at the National University of Ireland, Galway, has sought to reconstruct the transnational genre of travel advice literature, exploring its intellectual and cultural contexts, and illustrating its lasting importance. See Daniel Carey, Gabor Gelléri, and Anders Ingram, The Art of Travel (1500–1850) database, in Viatica 7 (2020), and the project's online database, accessed 16 May 2022, <https://artoftravel.nuigalway.ie/>.

35 MS, BL, Harl., 6265, fols. 115r–17r. Other contemporary English examples would be Hubert Languet's (1518–1581) letter to Phillip Sidney (1554–1586) "On Traveles" (18 December 1573) or Sidney's own similar apodemic letter of 18 October to his brother Robert (1563–1626). See Hubert Languet, Epistolae Politicae et Historicae, Scriptae quondam Ad Illustrem, & Generosum Dominum Philippum Sydnaeum (Frankfurt am Main 1633), and Arthur Collins, Letters and Memorials of State: In the Reigns of Queen Mary, Queen Elizabeth, King James, King Charles the First, Part of the Reign of King Charles the Second, and Oliver's Usurpation (London 1746). Links to both letters can also be found at the online database of the project the Art of Travel, 1500–1850, accessed 16 May 2022, <https://artoftravel.nuigalway.ie/>.

36 The term "Grand Tour" was of course not in usage in this period.

work that could be used to structure and frame observations and descriptions of foreign lands.[37]

Contemporary English travelogues contain both numerous examples of the use of such categories to structure their descriptions, and explicit references to apodemic theories as a justification of this practice. Thomas Coryate, for example, includes a translation of an *apodemic* oration in the prefatory material of his *Coryate's Crudities* (1611). The original of this essay is by Hermann Kirchner (1562–1620), a Professor of Poetry and Rhetoric at Marburg, and had appeared in Latin in 1599 (Coryate's text also includes a second Kirchner oration from 1607, only a few years before the *Crudities* was published).[38] Drawing on classical precedents Kirchner describes how the process of travel adds practical knowledge to the theoretical learning of the humanist education, and prepares the gentleman for public service:

> For no man can be fitter and with greater praise advanced to the sterne of a Common weale [...] then he that hauing before travelled much and long with Vlysses, hath seene the diuers manners and rites, and the beautifull Cities of many people: knowen the ordinances and decrees of many Common-weales: noted their customes: searched their lawes: sought for the originals and increase of Kingdoms: scanned the causes of the translations and ouerthrowes thereof [...] [hath seen] what againe in all their distinct Offices, in their Tribes, in their Arts, in their Seruices, and manuarie trades: hath also noted what is worthy [...]

37 Joan-Pau Rubiés has explored the connected intellectual histories of humanism, travel writing, and cosmography in detail in a series of publications including: Joan-Pau Rubiés, Travel Writing and Humanistic Culture: A Blunted Impact?, in Journal of Early Modern History 10/1 (2006), pp. 131–168; Joan-Pau Rubiés, From the 'History of Travayle' to the History of Travel Collections: The Rise of an Early Modern Genre, in Daniel Carey and Claire Jowitt (eds.), Richard Hakluyt and Collected Travel Writing in Early Modern Europe (London 2012), pp. 25–41; Joan-Pau Rubiés, Comparing Cultures in the Early Modern World: Hierarchies, Genealogies and the Idea of European Modernity, in Renaud Gagné, Simon Goldhill, and Geoffry E. R. Lloyd (eds.), Regimes of Comparison: Frameworks of Comparison in History, Religion and Anthropology (Leiden, Boston 2019), pp. 116–176.

38 See Peregrinandum esse aldolescentibus ac omnibus qui eruditionis & rerum gerendarum tum domi tum foris laudem consectantur, in Hermann Kirchner, De Gravissimis Aliquot Cum Juridicis Tum Politicis Quaestionibus in utramque partem discussis, Orationes ([Frankfurt] 1599). The second Kirchner oration – which Coryate integrates into his text as An Oration in praise of the trauell of Germany in particular – is drawn from Hermann Kirchner, Henry de Stangi, De Germaniae Perlustratione Omnibus Aliis Peregrinationibus anteferenda: Oratio Directore [...] Hermanno Kirchnero [...] In Conventu Academiae Marburg: habita ab Henrico De Stange Silesio ([Marburg] 1607). On the original context of these orations see Stagl, Apodemiken.

> in the mustering of their Armies [...] in the ordering of their forces [...] surely this is the man whom Plato [428/27–348/47 BCE] doth call a Philosopher.[39]

The model of travel presented by Kirchner (and apodemic authors generally) is not just about going places; at a fundamental level it is also reading about them. Kirchner's praise of the traveler who has "sought for the originals and increase of Kingdoms: scanned the causes of the translations and ouerthrowes thereof" makes clear that what he has in mind is not merely physical travel but also a scholarly and indeed specifically historical *travail* (effort or exertion). These literary efforts are identifiable in many early English travel accounts of the Ottoman Empire. For example, Lithgow's *Totall Discourse* (1640) begins with a lengthy account of Constantinople, followed by a life of Mahomet, and then accounts of Islam, Turkish customs, origins of the Turks, their empire, trades and revenues, polity, military, etc. all presented in categories very similar to those which structure Sandys' account discussed above. Lithgow seems to have drawn much of these sections from textual sources which he combines with his own first-hand observations (e. g., of Constantinople).

Coryate is however, not the only one of our travelers to include an explicitly apodemic section. Moryson's *Itinerary* includes two apodemic chapters. The first is an essay on the stock subject of the moral benefits and dangers of travel ("That the visiting of forraigne Countries is good and profitable") drawing on numerous classical quotations and vernacular proverbs.[40] The second – "Of Precepts for Trauellers" – is a lengthy apodemic discourse (addressed to an idealized male gentleman traveler) where moral advice on the practice of religion, and practical advice on, for example, hiring a Janissary through the mediation of Christian consuls or ambassadors, sit alongside a programmatic method for how to prepare for and profit from travels.

Moryson places an emphasis on the *forms* of knowledge the traveler is to acquire through observation and note taking. After stipulating a long list of categories to be observed or visited, from the produce of crops and goods, to natural

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39 Thomas Coryate, Coryats Crudities hastily gobled vp in five moneths trauells in France, Sauoy, Italy, Rhetia co[m]monly called the Grisons country, Heluetia aliàs Switzerland, some parts of high Germany, and the Netherlands; newly digested in the hungry aire of Odcombe in the county of Somerset, & now dispersed to the nourishment of the trauelling members of this kingdome (London 1611), pp. B8r–v.

40 The moral essay on the virtues and vices of travel was a common topic of sixteenth-century humanist orations. See Daniel Carey, Advice on the Art of Travel, in Nandini Das and Tim Youngs, The Cambridge History of Travel Writing (2019), pp. 392–407.

and human geography, manners, institutions (universities, libraries, etc.), and people notable for learning, or civic or martial virtue, he concludes:

> The Traueller shall further obserue the policy of each State, and therein the Courts of each King or Prince, with the Courtiers entertainements, fees, or offices, the statures of the Princes, their reuenewes, the forme of the Commonwealth, whether the Prince be a Tyrant, or beloued of the people, what Forces he hath by Sea or Land, the military discipline, the manners of the people, their vices, vertues, industry in manuall Arts, the constitution of their bodies, the History of the Kingdome, and since the soule of each man is the man, and the soule of the Commonwealth is Religion, he shall obserue the disposition of the people, whether it be religious, superstitious, or prophane, and the opinions of Religion differing from his, and the most rare Ceremonies thereof.[41]

As with Kirchner, this model of travel is as much a literary and intellectual affair as a physical peregrination, and includes a comprehension of the history, polity, laws, constitution, military, religion, etc., of foreign lands. Indeed, Moryson is explicit about the need for the traveler to acquire this knowledge through careful directed reading: "That hee [i. e. the traveller] may the better premeditate those things which formerly I aduised to bee [sic] obserued by him, and the like, he shall doe well before he set forth, to get some skill (at least superficiall) in the Art of Cosmography [...] I containe vnder this Art, Corography, and the knowledge of those Kingdomes which he is to passe [...]."[42]

Moryson's insistence on the need for the traveler to gain "some skill" in "cosmography", "Corography" (i. e., Chorography, or the description of the natural features and history of a region or part of a map or chart), and "knowledge of Kingdomes" of course encompasses precisely the categories outlined in the discussion above. We can observe Moryson following these precepts himself in book three of the *Itinerary* which provides a section of chorographical descriptions of the lands he has travelled through. The section on "Turkey", for example, gives a long account of the provinces of the Ottoman Empire which also describe their ancient history, geography, commodities and trades, diet and means of life. In this sense just as his historical reading shaped his conception of the Ottoman state as a tyranny, apodemic theory also served to structure and frame his account of the Ottoman world.

Moryson's method for travel does not only include this literary preparation and the physical journey itself, but also looks forward to the traveler using the

41 Moryson, Itinerary, book three, p. 10.
42 Ibid.

knowledge he has acquired through a process analogous to commonplacing (if you will, a commonplacing of the world):[43]

> And because the memory is weake […] let him constantly obserue this, that whatsoeuer he sees or heares, he apply it to his vse, and by discourse (though forced) make it his owne […]. In the meane time, though he trust not to his papers, yet for the weakenes of memory, let him carefully note all rare obseruations […]. Let him write these notes each day, at morne and at euen in his Inne, within writing Tables carried about him, and after at leasure into a paper booke, that many yeers after he may looke ouer them at his pleasure.[44]

Through internalizing the details of his observations and using these examples in his own spoken discourse until he becomes able to recall them comfortably, the traveler will acquire a body of practical knowledge which completes his assumed humanist education (and possibly equips him for public service). This process is assisted by a disciplined process of note-taking as much as the reading of histories and cosmologies before and after travel. In a sense, Moryson's method also anticipates the travelers' own literary productions; this was precisely the process he followed himself.

4 Travelogues as sources

If Eastern travelogues drew upon history and apodemic writing for details, anecdotes, and concepts to frame and construct their narratives, travel authors were also widely drawn on by later authors writing on the Turks, the Ottoman lands, and related topics (such as the contemporary state of the Holy Land). For example, Sandys – to take one prominent example – was cited and appropriated by a wide variety of authors. These included historical works such as Thomas Fuller's (1608 – 1661) *The Historie of the Holy War* (1639), which quotes Sandys on the Jews of Thessalonica, Jerusalem, and contemporary names of biblical sites. However, it was geographical authors such as Peter Heylyn (1599 – 1622) and Purchas who cited Sandys with the greatest frequency, treating the *Relation* as a ready store of contemporary information on lands Sandys had travelled to. This is particularly clear in Purchas' massive cosmology *Purchas his Pilgrimage*, which ap-

43 On commonplacing see Peter Beal, "Notions in Garrison": The Seventeenth-Century Commonplace Book (s. n. 1987); Ann Moss, Printed Commonplace-Books and the Structuring of Renaissance Thought (Oxford 1996); Fred Schurink, Manuscript Commonplace Books, Literature, and Reading in Early Modern England, in Huntington Library Quarterly 73/3 (2010), pp. 453 – 469.

44 Moryson, Itinerary, book three, p. 10.

peared in updated editions in 1613, 1614, 1617, and 1626. The edition of 1617 refers extensively to the *Relation*, published two years earlier, indicating that Purchas read Sandys to update his work between editions. He references Sandys on diverse topics, but particularly on Turkish dress and manners, where the *Pilgrimage* lifts an entire section of the *Relation* word for word.[45] In Pocock's and Skinners' terms, Sandys contributed a whole range of new anecdotes, details, places, names, and "facts" to the "language" in which contemporary English discourse about the Ottoman Empire was conducted.

Sandys was also read himself as an authority on the Turks – and is therefore analogous to someone like Knolles. For example, the diary of Lady Anne Clifford (1590–1676) records: "Upon the 9th I went up to see the things in the Closet & began to have Mr Sandy's [sic] Book read to me about the Government of the Turks, my Lord sitting the most part of the Day reading in his Closet."[46] Perhaps most interesting is here the identification of the topic of the *Relation* as "the Government of the Turks" rather than as a travel account, or a description of any of the other lands Sandys travelled to – a slippage which points to the connections between travel writing and other forms of English discourse about the Turks.[47]

Conclusions

This chapter has sought to historicize and contextualize a small corpus of early to mid-seventeenth century English (and Scottish) travelogues, by exploring their points of contact with related contemporary discourses of Turkish history and apodemica. I have framed this discussion through a critical vocabulary of discourse – drawing from the work of intellectual historian J. G. A. Pocock – to explore "facts" or anecdotal details, "normative assumptions" or broadly put ideas, and the rhetorical figures, tropes, and images through which these were expressed. In doing so I have tried to connect the travel accounts by Sandys, Lithgow, Moryson, et al. to wider contemporary conversations and debates

45 Samuel Purchas, Purchas his pilgrimage, or Relations of the vvorld and the religions obserued in al ages and places discouered, from the Creation vnto this present […] (London 1617), pp. 339–340.

46 Anne Clifford, The Diaries of Lady Anne Clifford, edited by David J. H. Clifford (Stroud 2003), p. 47.

47 Barbara Lewalski's 1991 article, seemingly relying solely upon Clifford's diary, even identifies a book called "the government of the Turks" by Sandys, which does not exist. Barbara K. Lewalski, Re-writing Patriarchy and Patronage: Margaret Clifford, Anne Clifford, and Aemilia Lanyer, in The Yearbook of English Studies 21 (1991), pp. 87–106, p. 93.

about the eastern Mediterranean, the Turks, and Islam, which they engaged with and contributed to within their specific social milieu and contexts. I will end now with one final example that to me seems to summarize many of the elements we have explored so far. This source is "An appendix of some directions for *travelling* into *Turky* and the *Levant* parts" added to the second edition of the apodemic *Instructions and Directions for Forren Travell* (1650) by the educational writer and historian James Howell's (c. 1594 – 1666).[48]

Howell's justification for travel to "Turky" combines contemporary fears of a tyrannical Ottoman universal monarchy with the classic apodemic injunction to study the government, policy, military, and current state of a foreign country: "He [the Turk] is the Sole Earthly potentat, and fatallst foe of the Crosse of Christ, and so som advantages may bee taken by prying into the errors of his government) [sic] and weaknesse of his dominions, I say if he hath a mind to make some researches what kind of Soule doth inform, actuat [?], govern, and conserve that vast Empire […]."[49]

Howell notes that there are three ways in which a gentleman may travel to the Ottoman Empire. First and foremost, he can "take his advantage of the season, that our company of Turky Marchants set out their Shipps for *Constantinople*", secondly, he can embark at Marseille for 'Ligorn' (Livorno) and thence Smyrna (Izmir). Thirdly: "he may go to *Venice*, where he may agree with a Janizary to conduct him in company of a Caravan all the way through the Continent of *Greece* […] where in the way he may ruthfully observe how that Country, which used to be the nource [sic] of all speculative knowledge, as also of policy and prowess, is now orewhelm'd with barbarisme and ignorance, with slavery and abjection of Spirit."[50] Here Howell combines the pragmatic advice given by experienced travelers such as Moryson or Smith (who both recommend travelers to hire Janissary guides), with the common trope of a lament for the contemporary condition of Greece fallen from its ancient classical glory and debased by the ill governance of Turkish tyranny to "barbarisme and ignorance".

48 On this text see D. R. Woolf, Howell, James (1594?–1666), in Oxford Dictionary of National Biography; and Eva Johanna Holmberg, Travelling to the Levant Through the Eyes of Others: The James Howell Method, accessed 16 May 2022, <https://memorients.com/articles/travelling-to-the-levant-through-the-eyes-of-others-the-james-howell-method>.

49 James Howell, Instructions and directions for forren travell. Shewing by what cours, and in what compas of time, one may take an exact survey of the kingdomes, and states of Christendome, and arrive to the practicall knowledge of the languages, to good purpose (London 1650), pp. 129 – 130.

50 Howell, Instructions, pp. 130 – 131.

The goal of all three of these routes – as it was for Sandys, Lithgow, Moryson, Blount, and Coryate – is to reach Constantinople where he "may observe more then any where else, the *Religion*, the *Justice*, the *Militia*, and *moralities* of the Musulmen".[51] Indeed, most of the travel authors that we have explored in this chapter included précis on just these topics in the general accounts of the Ottoman Empire which they include in their narratives. Just as much of these travelers' summaries of the Ottoman state and policy were in fact drawn from reading – Howell included a brief account of Islam, the "Alcoran", Justice, "Militia", and "Cayro" (Cairo). This section is perhaps supposed to start the prospective traveler's preparatory research, but also seems to acknowledge that most of Howell's readers will in fact not travel to Turkey. There is a further irony here: the key topics for observation (laws, militia, clergy, history, etc.) which are used to justify the educational value of travel in the first place often are often those which draw heaviest upon the reading the traveler conducts at home.

By the 1650s when Howell's appendix was published, both genteel accounts of voyages to Constantinople and apodemic debates about the moral and educational value of travel were well-traveled roads. His combination of practical reflections upon the material realities of travel (drawn as much from contemporary travel writing as his own experiences), with a well-worn integration of the content, ideas, and tropes of a discourse on the Ottoman world, its peoples, and their history, and all aimed at an idealized, imagined male, gentleman, traveler, feel paradigmatic of a settled mid-century genre of Eastern travelogue and travel advice writing whose reference points, and clichés, were already well established.

51 Howell, Instructions, p. 132.

Nikita Khrapunov

The "Orient" in Europe? Crimea in Western Travelogues from the Late Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries

According to the classical tradition accepted by modern geographers, the Crimean Peninsula is located at the south-eastern corner of the European continent, on the northern shore of the Black Sea. From the mid-fifteenth century, the Crimean Khanate, a remnant of the Golden Horde, occupied most part of it. In the late fifteenth century, the khanate became a protectorate of the Ottoman Empire, and a narrow strip on the south, which never was a part of the khanate, became an Ottoman province. In the early modern period, Western Europeans knew almost nothing of Crimea.[1] This remote country was considered as a part of a vast, enigmatic, and fearful Tartary stretching from the Black Sea to the Pacific Ocean. For instance, Charles-Louis de Secondat de Montesquieu (1689 – 1755) compared Crimea to a blank spot on the map when he wrote: "During the reign of Louis XIV […] Muscovy was as little known in Europe as Crim Tartary."[2]

This changed in 1783. As the famous British traveler Edward Daniel Clarke (1769 – 1822) put it: "The capture of the Crimea excited the attention of all Europe."[3] After the Russian appropriation, Crimea became an important attraction and a stage of European travel, particularly of the educative Grand Tour. The southern voyage of Russian Empress Catherine II (1729 – 1796) in 1787, in the company of the French ambassador Louis-Philippe de Ségur (1753 – 1830) and the famous wit Charles-Joseph de Ligne (1735 – 1814), made the best promotion for Cri-

Note: The reported study was funded by the Russian Foundation for Basic Research (RFBR), project number 18 – 09 – 00053: "The Crimea as Viewed by the English in the Late Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Century."

1 Traditionally, travelers and other writers used a definite article before the name of (the) Crimea. Several examples are supplied in citations below. However, more recently, especially in Anglo-American research, the article is omitted.

2 Baron de Montesquieu, The Spirit of Laws, translated by Thomas Nugent (2 vols., New York 1899), vol. 1, p. 132. First published in French in 1748.

3 Edward Daniel Clarke, Travels in Various Countries of Europe, Asia, and Africa, pt. 1, 4th ed. (2 vols., London 1816), vol. 2, p. 173.

https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110698046-013

mea.[4] The French Revolution set the next stimulating impulse, especially for British travelers, when the traditional route of the Grand Tour through France to Italy was blocked, but, a little later, the peace of Tilsit (1807) stopped British travels to Russia.[5] Later aggravations in relations with Russia ceased French journeys as well. However, foreigners continued publishing reports of former voyages.

Western travelers to Crimea could rely on the patronage of Russian officials who tried to impress the foreigners by showing them the achievements of Russia's foreign policy and the results of efforts in "civilizing a barbarian country." An example could be Empress Catherine II's tour of southern Russia: she invited Western diplomats and other outstanding personalities to join her and see the developments in lands taken from the Ottomans. This trip became a popular topic of literary works, travelogues in particular. Among the unexpected results was the topos of the "Potemkin villages," i. e., a skillful deceit imagined by the empress' favorite and the governor of South Russia, Prince Grigorii Potemkin (1739 – 1791): "theatrical sceneries" (villages, herds of cattle, crowds of happy locals, and so on) covering the country to make Her Majesty believe that the country was flourishing, though in fact it was barren. However, modern research has uncovered that the "myth of Potemkin villages" appeared even *before* the imperial tour; moreover, it was created by those who had never been to the South, because the prince's works met with opposition both in Russia and abroad. Potemkin loved theatrical effects and his phantasies sometimes went very far, but he never made secret that some of the pictures offered to visitors were decorations: they were a kind of models showing Russia's global plans for the future.[6] Be that as it may, Potemkin patronized Western travelers, such as the French Baron Charles de Baert du Hollant (1750/1751 – 1825) in 1784[7] or the "scandalous" British Lady Elizabeth Craven (1750 – 1828) in 1786.[8]

4 Larry Wolff, Inventing Eastern Europe: The Map of Civilization on the Mind of the Enlightenment (Stanford 1994), pp. 126 – 141.

5 Anthony Cross, From the assassination of Paul I to Tilsit: The British in Russia and their travel writings (1801 – 1807), in Journal of European Studies 42/1 (2012), pp. 5 – 21, here pp. 5 – 6, 18.

6 Aleksandr Panchenko, Russkaia istoriia i kul'tura: Raboty raznykh let (Russian History and Culture: Researches from Various Years) (Saint Petersburg 1999), pp. 462 – 475; see also Simon Sebag Montefiore, Prince of Princes: The Life of Potemkin (London 2001), pp. 376 – 383.

7 Mémoire extrait du journal d'un voyage fait, au printemps de 1784, dans la partie méridionale de la Russie, in Voyages historiques et géographiques dans les pays situés entre la Mer Noire et la Mer Caspienne (Paris 1798), pt. 3, pp. 1 – 98, here p. 2.

8 'Pis'ma pravitelia Tavricheskoi oblasti V. V. Kokhovskogo praviteliu kantseliarii V. S. Popovu dlia doklada E. S. kniaziu G. A. Potemkinu-Tavricheskomu' (Letters from the Governor of Taurida Region V. V. Kokhovskii to the Head of the Office V. S. Popov to be Reported to His Serene Highness Prince G. A. Potemkin-Tavricheskii), in Zapiski Odesskogo obshchestva istorii i drevnostei

Crimea presented a number of attractive aspects for study and reflection. The people there were ethnically diverse, practiced different religions, and were thus considered "exotic." Travelers with scientific interests could scrutinize the rich and varied inanimate and animate nature. Antiquarians could study the abundant heritage of classical Greek, medieval Genoese colonies, and Islamic civilization. Romantics could search for a natural paradise in the subtropics of the southern coast and fall into Rousseauistic melancholy. Practical persons could commit to projects for future developments on the peninsula. Travelers understood Crimea as a historically and culturally specific country, as can be deduced from the usage of its toponym that was included into the titles of travelogues together with other place names such as Russia, Turkey, Egypt, Greece, and so on.

Research in modern humanities created a set of tools lending themselves to the analysis of travel writings of various kinds,[9] and there are publications addressing the image of Crimea. The most important works are worth mentioning, especially because of Crimea's specific role in Russian, Ukrainian, and Tatar national narratives.[10] Sara Dickinson, Andreas Schönle, and Andrei Zorin have shown how Russian imperial ideology endowed Crimea with particular value.[11] Kerstin Jobst traced the evolution of the Russian image of Crimea in 1783–1917, when its role on the mental map gradually changed from the "other" to "own."[12] Vladimir Koshelev addressed Crimea's image in the works of the Russian national poet Alexander Pushkin (1799–1837).[13] Kelly O'Neill showed the evolution of the Crimean landscape and its image in the Russian imperial period

10 (1877), pp. 235–361, here pp. 252–253; Nataliia Bolotina (ed.), Prisoedinenie Kryma k Rossii, 1783–1796: Sbornik dokumentov (Crimea's Unification with Russia, 1783–1796: A Collection of Documents) (Moscow 2019), p. 222, no. 135.

9 For a brief synthesis see Peter Hulme and Tim Youngs (eds.), The Cambridge Companion to Travel Writing (Cambridge 2002), pp. 261–273.

10 Gwendolyn Sasse, The Crimea Question: Identity, Transition, and Conflict (Cambridge, Mass. 2007), pp. 35–81.

11 Sara Dickinson, Russia's First "Orient": Characterizing the Crimea in 1787, in Kritika: Explorations in Russian and Eurasian History 3/1 (2002), pp. 3–25; Andreas Schönle, Garden of the Empire: Catherine's Appropriation of the Crimea, in Slavic Review 60/1 (2001), pp. 1–23; Andrei Zorin, By Fables Alone: Literature and State Ideology in Late-Eighteenth–Early-Nineteenth-Century Russia, translated by Marcus C. Levitt, Nicole Monnier, and Daniel Schlaffy (Boston, Mass. 2014), pp. 92–120.

12 Kerstin S. Jobst, Die Perle des Imperiums: Der russische Krim-Diskurs im Zarenreich (Konstanz 2007).

13 Vladimir Koshelev, Tavricheskaia mifologiia Pushkina (Pushkin's Taurida Mythology) (Nizhnii Novgorod 2017).

from “Muslim” to “Orthodox.”[14] I traced the origins and development of representations of Chersonese (the ancient, later Byzantine, city located on the site of present-day Sevastopol) as a holy center of Russia.[15] The “discovery” of Crimea by Western travelers and the creation of its image in the West have been analyzed in a couple of studies.[16] Vladimir Orekhov discussed the evolution of some Crimean stereotypes in the Western mind, particularly the idea of the Russians as “destroyers of archaeological monuments and sites,” which was used as a pretext for removing the finds from the peninsula to Western museums and collections.[17]

In this paper, I will analyze “Oriental” features of the Crimean image created by late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century travelers belonging to Western culture. References to other travelogues, sometimes from a later period, highlight the parallels and the development of the discourse. The first Russian decades laid the foundation for today’s image of Crimea in the public mind. The Western gaze shaped the background; while Russian-speaking travelers and writers mostly followed the ways of interpretation preset by the Enlightenment philosophy and literature. Travelers created different images of Crimea, but, nevertheless, it is possible to uncover a series of common traits across these images.

There are about thirty Western travelogues describing Crimea in the period in question.[18] “Western” is tentative here: although some travelers were enrolled

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14 Kelly O’Neill, Constructing Russian Identity in the Imperial Borderland: Architecture, Islam, and the Transformation of the Crimean Landscape, in Ab Imperio 2 (2006), pp. 163 – 192.

15 Nikita Khrapunov and Denis Konkin (eds.), Problemy integratsii Kryma v sostav Rossii, 1783 – 1825 (Problems of Crimea’s Integration into Russia, 1783 – 1825) (Sevastopol 2017), pp. 305 – 326; Nikita Khrapunov, Inventing the Past: Russia, the Crimea, and the Byzantine Heritage in the Late Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries, in Byzantium and the Heritage of Europe: Connecting the Cultures. Proceedings of the 3rd International Symposium “Days of Justinian I”, Skopje, 30 – 31 October 2015 (Skopje 2016), pp. 81 – 88.

16 Khrapunov and Konkin, Problemy integratsii, pp. 75 – 91, 329 – 352, 383 – 401; Jürgen Osterhammel, Unfabling the East. The Enlightenment’s Encounter with Asia, translated by Robert Savage (Princeton 2018), pp. 314 – 332; Wolff, Inventing Eastern Europe, pp. 66 – 68, 124 – 126, 133 – 143.

17 Vladimir Orekhov, V labirinte krymskogo mifa (In the Labyrinth of the Crimean Myth) (Simferopol 2017).

18 For the catalogues see Antony Cross, In the Land of the Romanovs: An Annotated Bibliography of First-hand English-language Accounts of the Russian Empire (1613 – 1917) (Cambridge 2014), pp. 91 – 183; Arsenii Markevich, Taurica: Opyt ukazatelia sochinenii, kasaiushchikhsia Kryma i Tavricheskoi gubernii voobshche (Taurica: An Experience in the Index of Works Concerning Crimea and the Taurida Governorate in General), in Izvestiia Tavricheskoi uchenoi arkhivnoi komissii 20 (1894), pp. 28, 104 – 160 (1898) [section 2], pp. 17 – 24, 32 – 33; (1902), in Russian service, the crucial point is their belonging to Western European culture and having a mother tongue other than Russian. “Travelogue” is descriptor for documents of various kinds: the decisive point is the author’s feeling of being in a strange land. Therefore, these travelogues belonged to different genres, and their authors had different interests. There are encyclopedic descriptions; reports of secret agents; unedited and edited travel journals; original letters and epistolary novels; sentimental and imagined voyages. Travelers also produced a number of pictures featuring Crimean landscapes, romantic ruins, and persons in exotic dress. However, the image of Crimea in pictorial art is a separate topic for discussion.[19]

Travelogues made Crimea known to a wide audience both in Western Europe and in Russia: Russian elites often knew French and German languages better than Russian. Naturally, the travelers introduced many topoi and stereotypes, which survived to these days. Travelogues present ways of perception and interpretation of faraway countries and peoples and are typical products of intellectuals working at the turn from the Enlightenment to Romanticism. Researchers should bear three things in mind: first, travelers always combine empiric observations with stereotypes and prejudices taken from home, looking for their confirmation abroad; second, travelogues are subjective, and this is by no means always the case when the researcher is able to determine the degree of subjectiveness; and third, voyagers tend to notice and accentuate the “strangest” features of the other culture, taking the unusual for the typical.

1 Geography, climate, and morals

Three-fourths of Crimea’s territory is flat dry grassland, the continuation of the great Eurasian steppe. To the south, there is a highland with fertile valleys, vivid rivers, and picturesque slopes. Farther, beyond a barrier of mountains is a narrow coastline with Mediterranean climate and plants. Matthew Guthrie (1743–1807), a Scottish physician who lived in Saint Petersburg, for instance, commemorated his deceased wife with the publication of a book of her letters. These letters, however, were mostly imagined: his sources were other Crimean travelogues. According to Guthrie, this peninsula consisted of two parts, “the saline grassy stept [steppe], or plain, on the North […] [and] the fine mountainous

pp. 58–62. Several travelogues have been added to the scholarship since then; further sources might possibly be found in future research in archival and museum collections.

19 See e.g. Nikita Khrapunov, Richard Worsley i Krym (Richard Worsley and Crimea), in Bosporskie issledovaniia 39 (2019), pp. 378–403.

country to the South, the admiration and abode of polished commercial nations for upwards of two thousand years, till the barbarous Turks shut up the Thracian Bosphorus, and turned the busy Euxine[20] into a watery desert [...] these two districts [...] are as different in climate, soil, and productions, as two countries widely distant from each other [...]"[21]. Thus, Crimea was split not only geographically but also in terms of civilization.

The approach to the peninsula was possible by two ways, from the north or from the east, getting through natural obstacles, which produced a feeling of "waiting for miracles." The northern road went through the isthmus, which Russians called *Perekop* ("cross-ditch") and Tatars *Or Kapy* ("golden gate", according to popular and erroneous etymology), a narrow spit connecting the peninsula with the mainland, and then led through an endless and dreary flatland. As Lady Craven described it: "I crossed the plains of Perekop, on which nothing but a large coarse grass grows, which is burnt at certain periods of the year. All this country [...] is called Steps – I should call it desart [desert]."[22]

The eastern road passed the Straits of Kerch, or Cimmerian Bosphorus, which, according to classical geography, separated Europe and Asia. Therefore, the travelers expected that by passing the straits they would come from the "Orient" to "civilization". Clarke came to Crimea from Moscow, via the Don and Kuban areas. He was much disappointed with these "Asian countries" and wrote to a friend: "Our character of Asia, from the part of it we traversed, may be given in a few words – bad air, bad water, bad food, bad climate, bad people."[23] However, when he came to Crimea, he immediately met "pure" Europeans: "We are lodged in the house of [a] Spartan. His wife, a native of Paros, decks our table with roses and honey."[24] These hospitable Greeks had recently fled to Crimea from persecutions in the Ottoman Empire. However, the newcomers saw that Crimea retained many "Oriental" features. It is no accident therefore that the peninsula was considered a part of "Tartary."

The fear of thirteenth-century Mongol (also called Tatar) invaders made Western Europeans view them as harbingers of the end of the world as foretold in Biblical prophecies. An example is the *Chronica Majora* by the English monk

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20 This Hellenic name of the Black Sea appeared in use again after the Russian expansion to the south: it signified the "return" of the region from Islam back to European civilization.
21 Matthew Guthrie (ed.), A Tour, Performed in the Years 1795–6, Through the Taurida, Or Crimea, the Antient Kingdom of Bosphorus, [...]. (London 1802), p. 54.
22 Elizabeth Craven, A Journey through the Crimea to Constantinople in a Series of Letters [...] (London 1789), pp. 160–161.
23 William Otter, The Life and Remains of Edward Daniel Clarke, 2nd ed. (New York 1827), p. 295.
24 Otter, Life and Remains, p. 292.

Matthew of Paris.[25] A prodigious tract from Crimea to China and from the Arctic Ocean to India was called “Tartary” or “Tartarie,” and its residents “Tartars.” The concept of Tartary endured: a good example from the eighteenth century was the famous *Encyclopaedia* of Denis Diderot (1713 – 1784) and Jean d’Alembert (1717–1783).[26] The extra “r” added to the name of the country and its residents underlined their relation to the “*Tartarus*,” the underworld of Greek mythology. However, by the late eighteenth century this analogy in Crimea’s case did not seem appropriate. Lady Craven told how she had to keep her composure and use all her smartness when one Russian officer compared her new acquaintance, a noble Tatar, to the Tartarus: “A person called him cream of Tartar – which I fearing he should be told of, turned into the cream of the Tatars – which he said was no wonder, a he was so.”[27] Russian culture developed the image of Tatars as existential enemy and embodiment of the worst qualities, an image wherein political confrontation merged with the religious rejection of Islam.[28] It was much similar to the image of the Ottomans in Western tradition.[29]

However, after the Russian annexation, the image of the Crimean Tatars drastically changed. The severe warriors and invincible violators of all European customs of war suddenly became peaceful and indolent children of nature. Catherine II expressed this feeling in naïve verse written in the former khan’s palace: “O miracles of God! Who of my ancestors / Could sleep well due to their hordes and khans? / But I cannot sleep amidst Bakhchisarai / Because of tobacco smoke and shouts… Is this not the place of paradise? […]”[30]. These verses were sent to Potemkin, who personally prepared and realized the annexation of Crimea, as a private message, not intended for publication. Therefore, they plausibly reflect the real feelings of the empress and her fascination with the Oriental romance

25 Aleksandr *Filiushkin*, Kak Rossiia stala dlia Evropy Aziei? (How Did Russia Become Asia for Europe?), in Ab Imperio 1 (2004), pp. 191 – 228, here p. 196.

26 Encyclopédie, ou Dictionnaire raisonné des sciences, des arts et des métiers (35 vols., Paris 1751 – 1772), vol. 15, pp. 920 – 926.

27 Craven, Journey, p. 178, n. *.

28 Mark Batunskii, Islam i russkaia kul’tura XVIII veka. Opyt istoriko-epistemologicheskogo issledovaniia (Islam and Eighteenth-Century Russian Culture: An Essay of Historical-Epistemological Research), in Cahiers du monde russe et soviétique 27/1 (1986), pp. 45 – 69, here pp. 56 – 58.

29 Felix Konrad, From the “Turkish Menace” to Exoticism and Orientalism: Islam as Antithesis of Europe (1453 – 1914)?, in European History Online (EGO), accessed 4 April 2022, <http://www.ieg-ego.eu/konradf-2010-en>; Stephan Theilig, The Change of Imaging the Ottomans in the Context of the Turkish Wars from the 16th to 18th Century, in Cahiers de la Méditerranée 83 (2011), pp. 61 – 68, accessed 4 April 2022, <http://journals.openedition.org/cdlm/6081>.

30 Viacheslav Lopatin (ed.), Ekaterina II i G. A. Potemkin. Lichnaia perepiska, 1769 – 1791 (Catherine II and G. A. Potemkin: Personal Correspondence, 1768 – 1791) (Moscow 1997), p. 216.

and the achievements of her rule and were presumably meant to encourage Potemkin to continue his work in Crimea. It is worth noting that a similar mood appeared in the accounts of the fellow travelers of Catherine II, Ségur and de Ligne[31]: the Tatars were no longer barbarous enemies but exotic residents of an attractive country.

The French traveler and secret agent Jean Reuilly (1780 – 1810) viewed the history of Crimea as the struggle of two elements, the creative Western influence bringing civilization, technologies, and trade, and the destructive Eastern one. The first was embodied in the ancient Greeks and medieval Genoese, the second in the archetypal barbarians, the Scythians and Tatars.[32] Paradoxically, the Tatars supposedly were cruel only to their enemies, but were faithful, hospitable, and generous to their compatriots, "which would do honour to the most civilized people." According to Reuilly, the Tatar character depended on the style of government rather than on the climate:

> The Tatars of the Crimea have preserved, under a pure sky, the manners which they brought from the north of Siberia. Ages have passed away without making any alteration in their customs and usages; but the conquest of the Crimea by the Russians, within these few years, has already effected a considerable alteration in their manners. By being deprived of their military arms, the Tartars have forgotten the use of them [...].[33]

Sometimes the specific appearance of the Tatars reminded Westerners of the Old Testament. Reginald Heber (1783 – 1826), a British religious poet and, later, Anglican bishop of Calcutta, was struck by the view of a Tatar camel wagon, of which he knew from the King James Bible. As he wrote in his journal: "Although 'a chariot of camels' is mentioned by Isaiah, I do not remember having heard of such a practice elsewhere."[34] Mary Holderness (c. 1785/90 – after 1827), who spent the years 1816 to 1820 in an English colony in eastern Crimea and therefore had enough time to observe her Tatar neighbors, concluded: "In the simple life of the Tatars, much may be traced of similarity with those recorded in the earliest ages of Scripture history. Their riches consist now, as was usual then, in flocks

31 Wolff, Inventing Eastern Europe, pp. 133 – 138.

32 Jean Reuilly, Travels in the Crimea, and along the Shores of the Black Sea, Performed during the Year 1803. Translated from the French (London 1807), pp. 33 – 43.

33 Reuilly, Travels, pp. 56 – 57.

34 The Life of Reginald Heber, D. D., Lord Bishop of Calcutta. By His Widow. With Selections from His Correspondence, Unpublished Poems, and Private Papers; Together with a Journal of His Tour in Norway, Sweden, Russia, Hungary, and Germany, and a History of the Cossaks (2 vols., New York 1830), vol. 1, p. 261.

and herds, and in the number of their families. Many also of their domestic habits are the same […].”[35]

Most travelers viewed Crimea as the Garden of Eden, resembling a Rousseauistic utopia. The French secret agent and tutor of a Russian nobleman Gilbert Romme (1750 – 1795) described the southern coast in the following words: “All this area between the Sultan’s mountain and the sea is covered with orchards, which make a charming impression. There still are few residents at Nikita, but no one resides in Magarach now. All this country looks like the earthly paradise after the expulsion of Adam.”[36] Travelers located this “terrestrial paradise” in different areas – in the vicinity of Bakhchisarai in the sub-mountainous area, for example, or in the Baidar Valley to the south-west.[37] Following the *pars pro toto* model, picturesque southern landscapes gradually ousted the steppe from the image of Crimea in the public mind. This paradox was known to Dmitrii Mertvago (1760 – 1824), the governor of Crimea in the early nineteenth century, who wrote in his memoirs: “Persons of every rank and every nation, surveying its [Crimea’s] beauties in the best season, described mountainous areas which they passed on horseback by ten versts[38] a day, omitting the steppes which they galloped through by two hundred versts in twenty-four hours.”[39] Searching for paradise in remote areas was typical of the period in question, particularly among the travelers to Greece and Switzerland, the Pacific Islands and South America, although these images certainly had different features.[40]

35 Mary Holderness, Journey from Riga to the Crimea, with Some Account of the Manners and Customs of the Colonists of New Russia, 2nd ed. (London 1827), p. 217.

36 “Toute l’enceinte entre le Sultan Gora et la mer est couverte de vergers, qui font le plus charmant effet. On voit encore quelques habitants à Nikita, mais il n’y en a plus à Mayaras. Tout cet endroit ressemble au paradis terrestre, après qu’Adam en fut chassé.” Charles-Gilbert Romme, Voyage en Crimée en 1786, edited by Maxime Deschanet and Gulnara Bekirova (Paris 2016), p. 114. In the translation, the toponyms are written in their correct/modern forms.

37 Guthrie, Tour, pp. 70, 116 – 117.

38 A Russian unit of length measuring c. 1,067 m.

39 Dmitrii Mertvago, Zapiski (Memoirs), in Russkii arkhiv 8 – 9 (1867), col. 1 – 336, here col. 175.

40 Robert Eisner, Travelers to an Antique Land: The History and Literature of Travel to Greece (Ann Arbor 1993), pp. 218 – 238; Mircea Eliade, Myths, Dreams and Mysteries: The Encounter Between Contemporary Faiths and Archaic Realities (New York 1967), pp. 39 – 56; Hulme and Youngs, Cambridge Companion, pp. 128 – 129, 140; Valentina Smekalina, Russkie puteshestvenniki v Shveitsarii vo vtoroi polovine XVIII – pervoi polovine XIX v. (Russian Travelers in Switzerland in the Second Half of the Eighteenth and the First Half of the Nineteenth Centuries) (Moscow 2015), pp. 163 – 255.

2 Living conditions, diseases, and superstitions

Sometimes these searches ignored objective realities, such as the unhealthy climate of Crimea. Clarke, who was close to death from Crimean tertian fever, noted that the local climate was good for the natives only: "Russia must consider this country as a cemetery for the troops which are sent to maintain its possession. This is not the case with regard to its native inhabitants, the Tahtars [sic]."[41] What struck travelers greatly was the absence of medical care, viewed as yet another "Oriental" feature. According to Heber: "On asking what remedies they had for diseases, they [Tatars] returned a remarkable answer; 'We lay down the sick man on a bed; and, if it please God, he recovers. Allah Kerim!'"[42] Holderness reported that her Greek neighbors refused vaccination against the smallpox, despite this disease threatening their lives.[43] According to her account: "The Tatars wear a great number of charms and amulets, as preservatives from sickness and other dangers. They commonly consist of some written paper, purchased from the Mulla, and carefully sewn up in a piece of cotton or silk [...] They use this remedy for the sickness of their horses as well as for their own." When a child of the British lady was ill, one of her local friends offered her a similar amulet, but "I had no occasion to try the strength of this charm, as my child recovered without its assistance," she wrote.[44]

Lack of sanitation and bad smells were considered other features of an uncivilized country and people. Count Constantine de Ludolf (second half of the eighteenth to the early nineteenth century), a son of the ambassador of Naples in Constantinople, who came to Crimea in 1787 to meet Catherine II, was shocked by the Tatar houses in the steppe: "These lairs are very wet and stinking, air does not penetrate inside, and dung of cows used to heat them for firewood is absent produces an unbearable stench in the house itself and its Tatar residents, which you can smell from a long distance."[45] Lady Craven was outraged by the dirty streets and houses of the Tatars, as well as by their tradition of not changing underwear even after bathing.[46] However, Heber stated: "what is hardly a sign of indolence, their houses, clothes and persons are uniformly clean."[47] Clarke con-

41 Clarke, Travels, vol. 2, p. 297.
42 Heber, Life, vol. 1, p. 263. The Turkish phrase "*Allah Kerim*" means "God is gracious."
43 Holderness, Journey, pp. 153–154, 257.
44 Holderness, Journey, pp. 252–254.
45 Graf de Ludolf, Pis'ma o Kryme (Letters on Crimea), in Russkoe obozrenie 2 (1892), pp. 155–201, here p. 166.
46 Craven, Journey, pp. 162, 174, 181, 183.
47 Heber, Life, vol. 1, p. 263.

trasted the Tatars with the Russians in this respect: “The houses of the Tahtars, even the cottages of the poor, are extremely clean […]. In the houses of Russian grandees, unwholesome filth is ill concealed by external splendour […].”[48]

In Crimea, there were numerous venomous insects. Clarke supplied his book with a vignette featuring several species he found in the country. He described the tarantula and the phalangium, the scolopendra and the scorpion: “Some advantages may be derived from our entomological researches, imperfect as they are, if they only cause future travellers to avoid the dangerous consequences of an attack from such animals.”[49] One insect in particular had a terrible impact on the economy. A German officer in Russian service, Pierce-Balthazar von Campenhausen (1746–1808), dedicated a section of his memoirs to it: “A part of this government is infested by a plague, which devastates the most fertile corn-fields and meadows, almost every second year; I allude to the locusts […]”[50]. The locusts provide the occasion for another biblical parallel, a comparison to the eighth plague of Egypt. To get rid of this trouble, the locals used a specific “Oriental magic”. In 1827, the young Scottish traveler James Webster (1802–1828) stated:

> The superstition of the Tartars induced them to procure Dervises [dervishes] from Asia Minor, because the locusts come from Asia. These Dervises prayed around the mosques, and as a charm, ordered water to be hung out on the minarets, which, with the prayers, were meant to entice a species of blackbird to come in multitudes and eat the locusts in the Crimea. The water thus hung out is still preserved in the mosques.[51]

On the East, there was possible to get some advantages even from locusts. According to von Campenhausen: “The Tatars roast and eat them; and I was tempted once by curiosity, to partake a dish of them, and found that they tasted like roasted chestnuts.”[52] Clarke found some Crimean food, which he described as purely “Oriental” and which could be of use to his native country. It was a Tatar cucumber of an enormous size: “It would become a valuable plant for

48 Clarke, Travels, vol. 2, p. 235.
49 Clarke, Travels, vol. 2, pp. 196–197.
50 Baron Campenhausen, Travels through Several Provinces of the Russian Empire; With an Historical Account of the Zaporog Cossacks, and of Bessarabia, Moldavia, Wallachia, and the Crimea (London 1808), p. 45.
51 James Webster, Travels through the Crimea, Turkey, and Egypt; Performed during the Years 1825–1828: Including Particulars of the Last Illness and Death of Emperor Alexander, and of the Russian Conspiracy in 1825, 2 vols. (London 1830), vol. 1, pp. 93–94.
52 Campenhausen, Travels, p. 46.

the poor, if it were possible to naturalize it in other parts of Europe."[53] Exotic dishes always attracted travelers' attention. For example, according to Holderness: "The food of the Tatars consists chiefly of sour milk, or paste [...] The Russians, Greeks, and Bulgarians eat frogs, land tortoises, and snails, which last they boil, and having taken from them the shell, dish them up with flour, salt, and oil."[54] Heber informed his readers that: "The Tatars, in Spring, when the sap is rising, pierce the walnut trees, and put in a spigot for some time; when this is withdrawn a clear sweet liquor flows out, which, when coagulated, they use as a sugar."[55] The feasts offered by the Tatars to foreigners consisted of "eggs, melted butter, nardek and bekmiss": *nardek* meant "a marmelade of grapes," and *bekmiss* "a sirup made from various fruits by boiling them with honey."[56]

Like in most travelogues, Heber, too, used the topic of food to comment on the extraordinary hospitality of the Tatars: "We never approached a village at half-fall where we were not requested to lodge; or in the day-time without being invited to eat and drink; and while they were thus attractive, they uniformly seemed careless about payment, even for the horses they furnished; never counting the money, and often offering to go away without it."[57]

3 Lost "golden age," violence, and corruption

Remains and symbols of the past were visible everywhere in Crimea: there were vestiges of the Hellenic and Roman antiquity, of the Byzantine and Genoese Middle Ages, of the Golden Horde and of the Turks and Tatars of the early modern period. Especially impressive were Cyclopean fortification walls and towers of Caffa, Sudak, Balaklava and other coastal fortresses, once constructed by mediaeval Genoese and later rebuilt by Ottomans – but now partially ruined. Muslim buildings of various kinds, such as mosques and public baths, caravanserais and fountains, khan's palace in Bakhchisarai and residential quarters of "Oriental" towns attracted attention and stimulated fantasies of the happy and romantic past. Still, a current economic and social crisis was obvious. Once flourishing port cities lost their former trade, population, and were desolated. "Caffa was called by the Tartars, in its better days, Kutchuk Stamboul (little Constantino-

53 Clarke, Travels, vol. 2, p. 262.
54 Holderness, Journey, pp. 259, 261.
55 Heber, Life, vol. 1, pp. 257–258.
56 Heber, Life, vol. 1, pp. 206, 263.
57 Heber, Life, vol. 1, p. 262.

ple),” stated Heber in 1806. But now this city “presented a most dismal prospect.”[58] Eden-like southern coast of the Crimea was almost unpopulated. Why did it happen?

The scholarship of the question developed throughout 150 years to produce dozens of monographs and hundreds of articles discussing various aspects of the transition from the Crimean Khanate and to the Russian Empire. In result, there appeared a complicated interweaving of various approaches, historical schools, and traditions. Soviet historiography initially was ruthless to the tsarist government’s policy on the “borderlands,” and, therefore, speaks of the violence of Russian army, inefficiency and corruption of imperial government. Contemporary historiography is variable. The Soviet critique of tsarism has been in demand in Ukrainian and Crimean Tatar narratives, while the Western scholars tend to interpret the Russian rule in terms of oppression, injustice, and lack of effectiveness. In contrast, the “Russian-patriotic” researches exaggerate the Russian Empire’s achievements in the Crimea, downplaying or glossing over the problems and mistakes made by the authorities. It is worth mentioning that the historiographical field is not “even”: Russian administrative or economic activities in different periods have been studied many times, while the evolution of taxation system imposed on the locals or individual integration strategies of the Crimeans are poorly researched.[59] More balanced approach underlines the role of the decline of the Crimean Khanate in the last decades of its existence, rebellions and uprisings, the interventions of the Russian and Ottoman armies, and large-scale emigration of Muslims and Christians. When Russia annexed the Crimea in 1783, there was no elaborate plan for the integration of the new territory into the imperial structure. Therefore, the Russian government had been simultaneously creating the administrative system in its new province, collecting the data concerning its nature, population, and economy, and correcting inevitable mistakes. The Russian government encouraged the building of new cities and towns, stimulating traditional industries and introducing new economic trends, attracting

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58 Heber, Life, vol. 1, p. 252 – 253.

59 See Nikita Khrapunov and Denis Konkin, Mezhdu Zapadom i Vostokom: osobennosti razvitiia Kryma v sostave Rossiiskoi imperii v kontekste mezhkul’turnykh kommunikatsii, 1783 – 1853 (Between West and East: The Features of the Development of the Crimea within the Russian Empire in the Context of Intercultural Communications, 1783 – 1853), in Journal of Education and Science “Istoriya” (“History”) 12/7 (2021), accessed 16 May 2022, <https://history.jes.su/s207987840015401-0-1> with bibliography. This text is translated in English and openly available at Academia.edu, accessed 16 May 2022, <https://www.academia.edu/50190794/Between_West_and_East_The_Features_of_the_Development_of_the_Crimea_within_the_Russian_Empire_in_the_Context_of_Intercultural_Communications_1783_1853_>.

foreign colonists and resettling landowners and peasants from the Russian inland. However, this was not enough to make a significant impact and alleviate the crisis in the short term.[60] Islamic identity predominated among the Tatars, so the Sultan's empire was their "imagined homeland," and this notion contributed to the emigration. In result, the Crimea lost about two-thirds of its population. Perhaps Reuilly correctly understood the core of the problem already in 1803:

> Since the Crimea has belonged to Russia, she has made many changes in its constitution; and it is said she has tried in vain to procure the love of her new subjects, by respecting their religion, and allowing them to choose judges from amongst themselves. […] for a conquered nation, whose religion and manners are very different from those of its masters, conceives itself vexed and tormented by its governors, at the same time that those governors think they act with perfect liberality.[61]

The travelers viewed the contrast between contemporary crises and the vestiges of former grandeur. It is no surprise therefore that travelers invented the idea of a lost "golden age" of Crimea. Some related it to the ancient Greeks and medieval Genoese, calling the Tatars and Ottomans its destroyers. As an example, Guthrie wrote about rich gardens of various fruit trees still existing on the southern coast: "the forests of these vallies are the orchards of the antient civilized inhabitants, run wild in the hands of pastoral hordes unacquainted with their culture and too indolent to learn it."[62] Others ran to the opposite conclusion: the golden age of the Crimean Khanate was destroyed by the Russians. As Romme noted, "Nothing could be sadder than this journey through a country devastated by war."[63] Clarke, a great critic of Russia, stated: "If we were to detail half the cruelties, the extortions, the rapine, and the barbarity practised by the *Russians* upon the devoted inhabitants of the *Crimea*, and their deluded *Khan*, the narrative would exceed belief."[64]

The theme of the lost "golden age" was linked to the topics of bad government and violence. Melchior Adam Weikard (1742–1803), physician to Catherine II, who followed her to Crimea, told a story, the authenticity of which he himself could not verify. Allegedly, the Tatars tried to lodge a petition to the empress complaining that the Russians did not allow them their traditional daily worship

60 For details see Khrapunov and Konkin, Problemy integratsii.

61 Reuilly, Travels, p. 62.

62 Guthrie, Tour, p. 136.

63 "Rien n'est plus triste que de parcourir des lieux dévastés par la guerre." Romme, Voyage, p. 66.

64 Clarke, Travels, vol. 2, p. 173.

and offended their women. This petition was sent with the most respected person, a Tatar priest who had visited Mecca three times. When Potemkin learnt about that, he ordered the "Tatar saint" to get fifty blows to his heels: "Everyone has his own way of winning over the love and fidelity of the subjects!",[65] Weikard commented ironically.

Westerners considered cruelty, violence, and corporal punishment a feature of the East of Europe.[66] Holderness was shocked by the severe public beatings with the *knout* (scourge), imposed for serious criminal offences. She did not see it herself, but the story told by her English acquaintance who witnessed this public punishment was quite enough.[67] In her opinion, this punishment made the character of the locals crueler rather than improving it. "In the case of the murder of a Jew and his family, which occurred in 1816, at the village of Karagoss (Pervomaiskoe), a subscription was raised at Theodosia,[68] among persons of this nation, in order to bribe the flogger to make sure of the death of the criminal."[69] To readers acquainted with Montesquieu's geographical determinism this might have come as a shock since, in this instance, the "northern" punishment was imposed upon the people of the south. For the French philosopher, inhabitants of the north were less sensible to physical pain; therefore: "You must flay a Muscovite alive to make him feel."[70] However, not all travelers agreed with Holderness. Webster described in detail the inhuman public punishment with the *knout*, which he witnessed in Simferopol. His conclusion was that this torture was in some way better than the traditional British punishments for similar crimes:

> Although this punishment may be deemed barbarous, yet, upon reflection, it may be thought more adapted, than that of hanging, to the accomplishment of the object proposed by both. As regards the suffering of the criminal, the former is certainly the severer punishment; and, on his recovery, which takes place in a few days, he has a chance of reforming

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65 "Jeder hat halt seine eigene Weise, sich der Liebe und Treue seiner Untergebenen zu versichern!" Taurische Reise der Kaiserin von Russland Katharina II, Aus dem Englischen übersetzt (Koblenz 1799), p. 147. The reference to the "English translation" was probably a trick used to mislead the Russian officials and keep the author's name a secret, since at that time Weikard was physician to the Russian Emperor Paul I.

66 Wolff, Inventing Eastern Europe, pp. 69 – 88.

67 Holderness, Journey, pp. 267 – 269.

68 Currently spelled Feodosia according to the Russian pronunciation. As many others, Holderness used the Greek-language spelling to underline the classical heritage of this town.

69 Holderness, Journey, pp. 269.

70 Montesquieu, Spirit of Laws, p. 223.

> his life, of which he is the more likely to take advantage, from the recollection of his past suffering.[71]

Holderness supplied a number of examples of corruption and abuses committed by Russian officials: "Yet here, though depravity marks so many individuals, and they mar the endeavours which the Emperor is continually making for the benefit of his subjects."[72] Heber informed that the Tatars did not agree to take Russian money, as a sign of passive opposition to their new masters. They even refused the Russian officers the traditional eastern hospitality.[73] Thus, although Russia claimed for herself the role of bringer of progress and civilization to "barbarous savages," it appeared as a champion of "Oriental despotism" in oppressing poor Tatars.

4 Sights, religion, and ethnic types

Probably the greatest Crimean attraction was the city of Bakhchisarai, the former khan's capital. Its narrow, crooked streets, the blind walls of the houses, numerous fountains, mosques, orchards, Lombardy poplars, and the khan's palace itself reminded travelers of the Arabian and Persian tales. As Prince de Ligne wrote in his epistolary memoirs:

> I expected to elevate my soul on arriving in the Taurica[74] [Crimea] through all the great things, true and false, that have happened here. My mind was ready to turn itself [...] to the military with the Romans, the fine arts with the Greeks, to brigandage with the Tartars, to commerce with the Genoese. [...] but they have severally disappeared before the Arabian Nights.[75]

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71 Webster, Travels, vol. 1, pp. 95–97.
72 Holderness, Journey, pp. 119–122.
73 Heber, Life, vol. 1, pp. 262–263, 315.
74 This placename is important. In the French original, de Ligne used the form *Tauride:* Lettres et pensées du maréchal prince de Ligne, éd. Mad. de Staël Holstein, 2nd éd. (Paris, Genève 1809), p. 51. In French *Tauride*, in English *Taurida*, and in Russian *Таврида*, it was the new name of Crimea after 1783, used by both Russians and Westerners to emphasize the classical heritage of the region. It is based on the non-existent Greek **Ταυρίς*, *-ίδος* (instead of the attested *Ταυρική*, Taurica). Its origin is probably related to an incorrect translation of Euripides' classical tragedy Ἰφιγένεια ἐν Ταύροις as *Iphigenia in Tauris* (i.e., in the country, though the correct translation should have the ethnonym, *Iphigenia among the Taurians*).
75 The Prince de Ligne, His Memoirs, Letters, and Miscellaneous Papers, translated by Katharine Prescott Wormeley, 2 vols. (Boston 1902), vol. 2, p. 17.

Clarke cleverly understood the ambivalence of Crimea, geographically located in Europe, but culturally in Asia. Describing Bakhchisarai as the emblematic center of the Crimean Tatars, the traveler called it “one of the most remarkable towns in Europe: first, in the novelty of its manners and customs; these are strictly Oriental, and betray nothing of a European character […]”[76]. Guthrie underlined the difference between old and new, east and west, barbarism and progress, with the image of Sevastopol, the new city constructed by the Russians as their naval base at the Black Sea: “The old Tartar houses here, as well as every where else in the peninsula, are small and ill-built; but we find along the quay some new buildings in a much better taste, the natural consequence of its being the station of the great Euxine fleet […].”[77] Thus, the regularity and rationality of the new city plan and structures symbolized a new progressive basis for Crimea’s life, replacing the former chaos.

The mosques were undoubtedly the most striking symbols of the “Orient.” Many travelers could not help watching Muslims pray and were especially fascinated by the rituals performed by dervishes, which to them seemed strange and surprising. Overemphasizing their own aesthetic standards, travelers judged Muslim religious rites to be primitive and indecent aping. Typical are the words of the Holy Roman Emperor Joseph II (1741–1790), who visited Crimea in the company of Catherine II and described it in letters to his friend, Field Marshal Franz-Moritz von Lacy (1725–1801). He could not understand the rituals of those whom he called *hurleurs* (howlers): “I was also present at their prayers in the mosques, where I heard the howlers’ cries and viewed the whirling of dervishes.”[78] Webster saw the ritual of dervishes in the great khan’s mosque of Bakhchisarai: “To call this affair ridiculous, horrid, and incredible, is nothing; to form any conception of its disgusting absurdity, one must have witnessed it.”[79] While acknowledging the Muslims’ deep religiosity, Webster viewed their rituals as proof of their lack of intellect and developed culture, contrasting them to the complicated and elaborated Christian rites: “The gestures of the Dervises do but prove the strength of internal religion, and may be compared to the fertile and extravagant motions made by the dumb to express their thoughts. To those who can speak, such notions seem absurd; but still they prove that the

76 Clarke, Travels, vol. 2, p. 170.
77 Guthrie, Tour, p. 93.
78 “J’ai aussi assisté à leurs prières dans les mosques où j’ai entendu cirer les hurleurs et vu tourner les derviches”. Alfred Ritter von Arneth (ed.), Joseph II und Katharina von Russland: Ihr Briefwechsel (Vienna 1869), p. 361.
79 Webster, Travels, vol. 1, p. 87.

dumb have thoughts to express."[80] Perhaps it was a general feature of the Western mind: many similar comments appeared in accounts of Egypt produced by the Napoleonic army.[81] Only a century later Émile Durkheim (1858–1917) would recognize: "Men cannot celebrate [religious] ceremonies for which they see no reason, nor can they accept a faith which they in no way understand."[82]

Among the features of the "Orient" there was the diversity of ethnic types. Twenty years before her visit to Crimea, Empress Catherine II wrote from Kazan' on the Volga to Voltaire (1694–1778): "Now I am in Asia; I wanted to see it with my own eyes. In this city there are twenty different peoples who are nothing like each other."[83] Travelers to Crimea, Clarke in particular, considered this multi-ethnicity a major attraction of the country: "The variety of different nations which are found in the Crimea; each living as if in a country of its own, practising its peculiar customs, and preserving its religious rites, is one of the circumstances which renders the peninsula interesting to a stranger [...] so that in a very small district of territory, as in a menagerie, very opposite specimens of living curiosities are singularly contrasted."[84]

In Crimea, like everywhere in the East, you can meet the peoples known to classical and medieval writers such as Herodotus (c. 485–c. 424 BCE), Strabo (c. 63 BCE–after 23 CE), or Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus (905–959). It was considered that, in the East, ancient peoples did not disappear; they just changed their names. Therefore, for Heber, the Tatars were the same as the Scythians: they even practiced the Scythian industries of carpet- and knife-making.[85] For Guthrie, the Crimean Karaites, the Jewish movement that rejected the Talmud, were the same as the ancient Melanchlaeni described by Herodotus, since both peoples wore black clothes.[86] The Scot believed that the name of Crimea derives from its ancient inhabitants, the Cimmerians; using the consonance of ethnic names, he also suggested a link to the Cimbri and Galli, the alleged ancestors of himself and his French wife. By mentioning that this people "antiently gave

80 Webster, Travels, vol. 1, p. 88.

81 Evgeniia Prusskaia, Frantsuzskaia ekspeditsiia v Egipet 1798–1801 gg.: vzaimnoe vospriiatie dvukh tsivilizatsii (The French Expedition to Egypt in the Years 1798–1801: Mutual Perception of Two Civilizations) (Moscow 2016), pp. 146, 156–157.

82 Émile Durkheim, The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life, translated by Joseph Ward Swain (London 1915), p. 430.

83 "Me voilà en Asie; j'ai voulu voir cela par mes yeux. Il y a dans cette ville vingt peuples divers qui ne se ressemblent point du tout." Léon Thiessé (ed.), Voltaire, Oeuvres complètes, 14 vols. (Paris 1831), vol. 3, p. 21.

84 Clarke, Travels, vol. 2, pp. 221–222.

85 Heber, Life, vol. 1, p. 538.

86 Guthrie, Tour, p. 84.

laws to the best part of Europe,” Guthrie found the place for Crimea on the map of civilization.[87]

5 Romance, “noble savages,” and Western “projects”

The East was considered a place with different moral standards. The use of the term “romance of the Orient” allowed Westerners to underline the “otherness” of the East; moreover, it was the projection of their hidden desires.[88] Those who followed Catherine II on her tour to Crimea had their lodging in the former khan’s palace in Bakhchisarai, a place that stimulated their fantasy. As Count de Ségur wrote: “On our return to the Khan’s seraglio, it was natural enough that the sight of those voluptuous cabinets should awaken some ideas of gallantry.”[89] However, Islamic regulations for women’s behavior were interpreted as the sign of men’s jealousy. According to Heber, on this point “the Tartars go even beyond the Turks.”[90] Indeed, it symbolized their non-civilized nature, as flirtation was considered a symbol of Western progress. As Prince de Ligne wrote about Crimea, stating the contrast between its outer appearance and the behavior of the locals: “This country is assuredly a land of romance, but it is not romantic, for the women are locked up by these villa[i]nous Mahometans, who never read Ségur’s ode on the happiness of being deceived by a wife.”[91] In 1793, the family tutor John Parkinson (1754–1840) remarked that Tatar jealousy influenced the appearance of the towns: “As they keep their women so close, the back of their houses is generally turned to the street. Indeed the houses and gardens are interspersed in such a manner that in walking along one almost forgets it is a town and is ready to fancy oneself in a straggling irregular Village.”[92]

It was only possible to overcome this restriction by acting like characters of romantic operas. Clarke told the anecdote of an English servant who imitated Tatar women by hiding his face and running away when seeing them. This sur-

87 Guthrie, Tour, pp. 52, 178, 194–195.
88 Richard Bernstein, The East, the West, and Sex: A History of Erotic Encounters (New York 2009); Edward W. Said, Orientalism (London 1991 [1978]); Wolff, Inventing Eastern Europe, pp. 50–62.
89 Count Ségur, Memoirs and Recollections, 3 vols. (London 1825–1827), vol. 3, p. 155.
90 Heber, Life, vol. 1, p. 310.
91 The Prince de Ligne, vol. 2, p. 22.
92 John Parkinson, A Tour of Russia, Siberia and the Crimea, 1792–1794, edited by William Collier (London 1971), p. 194.

prised the Tatars and made them catch the English and demand explanations for this behavior. As they did that, they took their veils off and showed him their faces, thus doing what he strived for.[93] Such type of "modesty" was also typical for Tatar men when meeting a Western woman. According to Lady Craven, the Tatars she met on the street avoided looking at her: "most of them kept their eyes fixed on the ground, as we passed; but some just looked up, and, as if they were afraid of seeing a woman's face uncovered, hastily cast their eyes downward again; some diverted at the novelty, looked and laughed very much."[94] Travelers were ready to believe every kind of nonsense if it seemed unusual. Joseph II described a strange tradition of the Crimean Karaites. A second marriage was allowed to them only if time deprived the first wife of her beauty and visual acuity: "If this law was established in Vienna, we would see women wearing spectacles to get rid of their husbands."[95] It was most certainly a joke invented by his Russian guide; however, the emperor easily believed it and may have imagined himself in a country where everything was possible.

Vivid accounts of Catherine II's companions laid the background for the image of Bakhchisarai as an Eastern city where passions boiled in the khan's harem like those in poems by George Gordon Byron (1788 – 1824). The travelers saw an isolated, forgotten sepulcher in the khan's cemetery and imagined it as the tomb of some Christian woman beloved by the khan. According to Lady Craven: "I saw from the windows a kind of dome [...], and I am told it is a monument built to the memory of a Christian wife, which the Khan loved so tenderly that he was inconsolable for her loss [...] This Tartar Khan must have had a soul worthy of being loved by a Christian wife I think."[96] Plausibly, the isolated location of the mausoleum was explained as the buried woman was Christian, so she could not be interred in the main cemetery, along with the Muslim khans. Nevertheless, it is quite interesting that most travelers paid more attention to the legend than to the description of the monument. An example is the naturalist Peter Simon Pallas (1741 – 1811), German by origin, who lived in Crimea for fifteen years and was commissioned by the Russian government to write its description: "On the highest spot, near the border of the uppermost garden terrace, there stays a beautiful mausoleum of the Georgian spouse of brave Khan Krym-Ghirei (1718? –

93 Clarke, Travels, vol. 2, p. 186.
94 Craven, Journey, p. 178.
95 "Si cette loi était établie à Vienne, nous verrions bien des femmes porter des lunettes pour se débarrasser de leurs maris". Arneth, Joseph II, p. 362.
96 Craven, Journey, p. 180.

1769), with a cupola vault with the top embellished with a gilded globe.”[97] It is not quite clear if he himself related the woman buried in the mausoleum to Khan Krym Girei due to the chronological coincidence, or followed some local tradition. The story of the khan’s beloved prisoner soon became very popular. The classics of Polish and Russian poetry, Adam Mickiewicz (1798–1855) and Aleksandr Pushkin (1799–1837), used this legend for their poems in imitation of Byron’s Oriental verses. They called this woman Maria Potocka, a member of a prominent Polish family, and wife to Khan Krym Girei. There was a boomerang effect, whereby a vague, obscure local legend developed around an archaeological monument from the past was reimagined and expanded by foreign travelers before returning back to the local Muslim community. By the mid-nineteenth century, local Tatars told the tale of Potocka to a new generation of travelers as historical fact.[98]

As already stated, the travelers discovered that the Crimean Tatars lived in a natural paradise, and were reminded of the concept of “noble savage” developed by the Enlightenment. These happy and care-free men were born good and were uncorrupted by civilization. They were supposed to live close to rich nature, having no need to work hard due to their limited desires.[99] Generally, laziness was considered a feature of the South. Montesquieu contrasted the “natural idlers” of the South, who got all the necessary things from nature, to peoples of the north, who had to be industrious due to their harsh living conditions:

> In Europe there is a kind of balance between the southern and northern nations. The first have every convenience of life, and few of its wants: the last have many wants, and few conveniences. To one nature has given much, and demands but little; to the other she has given but little, and demands a great deal. The equilibrium is maintained by the laziness of the southern nations, and by the industry and activity which she has given to those in the North.[100]

Initially, this laziness was not considered a bad quality. Prince de Ligne was delighted to see the Tatars living around his Crimean estate in a picturesque spot on the seashore: “I bless the lazy. I promise to prevent their being harassed. […]

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97 Peter Simon Pallas, Travels to the Southern Provinces of the Russian Empire, in the Years 1793 and 1794, translated from the German, 2nd ed. (2 vols., London 1812), vol. 2, p. 32.

98 A. I. Bronshein, Transformatsiia legendy Fontana slez (The Transformation of the Legend of the Fountain of Tears), in Bakhchisaraiskii istoriko-arkheologicheskii sbornik 1 (1997), pp. 475–486, here pp. 475–481; Koshelev, Tavricheskaia mifologiia, pp. 13–33.

99 Eliade, Myths, pp. 39–56; Ter Ellingson, The Myth of the Noble Savage (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London 2001).

100 Montesquieu, Spirit of Laws, p. 332.

[W]hy not settle myself here? I will convert my Tartar Mussulmans to the juice of the vine; I will give my dwelling the look of a palace, to be seen from afar by navigators."[101] According to Webster: "The life of the Tartar would appear to leave him nothing to desire. Truth, he is indolent and poor; but his wishes are as little as his means […]. The Russians exclaim against the laziness of the Tartars: but wherefore should they work? They are the happiest peasantry possible without it, and are naturally unwilling to sink into common labourers."[102] The stereotype of the Eastern idler was applied to different frontier countries, such as Egypt, Greece, or Ukraine,[103] as well as to America and South-East Asia.[104] Westerners did not understand the specific Muslim attitude to business, which stood in contrast to Protestant ethics,[105] thus interpreting Tatars' laziness negatively. Plausibly, sometimes such judgments rested on firm evidence. Holderness, who had enough time to observe Tatar workers, concluded that: "From this character of them [Tatars], it may be inferred that they are the very worst labourers in the world; and indeed an English master views with an impatient eye the slow, unwilling, uninterested manner in which the generality of them set about their work."[106]

As usual, Western knowledge of the East had practical consequences. Pallas suggested that the Tatars should be expelled from the fertile regions to the hinterland and replaced with industrious population: "Should the Crimea, at some future period, be so fortunate as to receive a few thousand Georgian and Armenian colonists, who might prosper and live here […]. It is, however, to be regretted, that all these fine, warm dales of the southern coast are inhabited partly by useless, inactive, and, in certain cases, dangerous Tartars, who understand the art of destroying better than that of rearing […]."[107] It was not Tatarophobia, but rather a universal method for a rational use of resources: Pallas proposed to do the same with Russian landowners incapable of developing their Crimean lands in a profitable way.[108]

101 The Prince de Ligne, vol. 2, pp. 28–29.

102 Webster, Travels, vol. 1, p. 90.

103 Khrapunov and Konkin, Problemy integratsii, pp. 337–338.

104 Syed Hussein Alatas, The Myth of the Lazy Native. A Study of the Image of the Malays, Filipinos and Javanese from the 16th to the 20th Century and its Function in the Ideology of Colonial Capitalism (London 1977); Eliade, Myths, pp. 39–56.

105 Marat Gibadullin et al., Predprinimatel'stvo i islam: rossiiskii istoricheskii opyt (Entrepreneurship and Islam: Russia's Historical Experience) (Kazan' 2016), pp. 38–48.

106 Holderness, Journey, p. 275.

107 Pallas, Travels, vol. 2, p. 262, cf. p. 362.

108 Pallas, Travels, vol. 2, p. 364.

Charmed by its beautiful nature, travelers praised the real and imagined advantages of Crimea for commerce and colonization. A popular idea was that civilization, industry, and business were to be brought by Westerners. As Lady Craven put it:

> Yes, I confess, I wish to see a colony of honest English families here; establishing manufactures, such as England produces, and returning the produce of this country to ours – establishing fair and free trade from hence, and teaching industry and honesty to the insidious but oppressed Greeks, in their islands – waking the indolent Turk from his gilded slumbers, and carrying fair Liberty in her swelling sails as she passes through the Archipelago and the Mediterranean, to our dangerous (happily for us our dangerous) coast.[109]

According to Holderness: "Those, however, who are resident [of Crimea], may contrive, with industry and assiduity, to make their estates yield them from five to eight, and sometimes as much as ten per cent annual income, according to the circumstances of the situation and climate."[110] Her observations were similar to what Pallas argued, a particular problem being that some Russian landowners did not invest time and labor into their Crimean estates, residing far from the peninsula and trusting corrupt stewards.[111] Holderness lived in Crimea for four years, placing her confidence in the famous agriculturalist Reverend Arthur Young Junior (1769 – 1827). He received an estate in eastern Crimea from Emperor Alexander I (1777– 1825) to show his abilities in the transformation of land, economy, and people. Ultimately, this ambitious project failed, and the British left Crimea with nothing for theirs pains.[112] This was a traditional Western attitude towards the East: with their advanced knowledge and technologies, Westerners wanted to be teachers of "natural men" and "barbarians," thus transforming the East according to Enlightenment ideas. However, they did not take into account a problematic foreign political situation, the absence of port facilities and high roads, expensive credit, and the lack of labor force in Crimea.

Another case of theoretical knowledge driving governments to practical actions was the mirage of "Oriental wealth". Many travelers, knowing that the ancient Hellenes and the medieval Genoese colonists in Crimea derived much profit from international trade, suggested the restoration of the former Silk Road, thus making Crimea an important stage on the route connecting Western Europe with

109 Craven, Journey, pp. 188 – 189.

110 Holderness, Journey, p. 282.

111 Holderness, Journey, pp. 281– 282.

112 John G. Gazley, The Reverend Arthur Young, 1769 – 1827: Traveller in Russia and Farmer in the Crimea, in Bulletin of the John Rylands Library 38/2 (1956), pp. 360 – 405; Khrapunov and Konkin, Problemy integratsii, pp. 291– 296.

inland Russia and, further, with Persia, Central Asia, India, and China. Such projects were developed by representatives of traditional opponents: Britain and France. As Guthrie put it: "and I by no means think it impossible that *Russia*, which brings goods by land from *China*, may one day restore the India trade by the antient channels, the Caspian and Phasis,[113] more especially since its victorious banners are now waving in the very country through which the rich merchandize used to pass, and may probably render the route safe in future by a friendly treaty with the natives."[114] According to Reuilly, "An active coasting trade from the Black Sea to the Sea of Azov, would transport to Caffa (Feodosia)[115] all the productions of the empire; a depot of the European manufactories, and the productions of the New World, would furnish, to advantage, Anatolia and the other Ottoman provinces in Asia, with merchandize, which they could transport by the caravans of Smyrna (Izmir), and of Constantinople; a part of those from India and of Persia would return by the way of Astrakhan to arrive to Caffa, which would once more become the centre of a considerable commerce."[116] Historical lessons were needed to revive the trade with the east and with the center in the once-flourishing Feodosia (Caffa), where the medieval Silk Road ended. Such measures meant the "Westernization" of the East, shifting Crimea on the mental maps.

However, alternative projects for Crimea's future also appeared. Clarke suggested to return the peninsula to its previous state, that is to the Ottomans: "The expulsion of the Russians from the peninsula, if it had pleased Great Britain, would have been a work of ease and amusement [...] invaders would have found the Tartars greeting their arrival with tears of joy."[117] That is to say, Crimea should be returned to the East on the map of civilization. Similar ideas appeared in France. General Michal Sokolnicki (1760 – 1816), a confidant to Napoleon (1769 – 1821), suggested to the French emperor the creation of a Black Sea realm of Ukrainian Cossacks and Crimean Tatars under the name of Napoleonide. Tatars and Cossacks "would form a civilized nation as one of the strongest barriers against Russia's ambitious plans for the Black Sea and Bospho-

113 Ancient Greek colony in the eastern Black Sea area, near the present-day town of Poti in Georgia, and also a river, today's Rioni.
114 Guthrie, Tour, p. 156.
115 Caffa or Kafa was its name in the medieval (Genoese) period, used by Reuilly to underline the history of the city and its former importance as a commercial center on the medieval Silk Road.
116 Reuilly, Travels, p. 69.
117 Clarke, Travels, vol. 2, p. 269.

rus […]."[118] In this project, Crimea became the barrier between Europe and Asia, barbarism and civilization, with Russia playing the negative role.

Conclusions

Western travelers viewed Crimea as the place where beautiful and fruitful nature formed a "terrestrial paradise" and "noble savages" lived without any need and desire for labor. Their appearance, customs, and religion seemed strange, archaic, and primitive. Magnificent old structures in combination with classical authors and medieval historians made Westerners imagine the "lost golden age" of Crimea, placing it either in classical antiquity, or among medieval Genoese colonies, or in the Crimean Khanate. The understanding of Crimea as a kind of "promised land" compelled travelers to make plans, sometimes for economic development, the growth of trade, and the colonization of the country, sometimes for the restoration of the power of its former Muslim masters. Travelers ascribed a number of the so-called "Oriental" features to the peninsula, despite its geographical location in Europe. Their accounts made Crimea known to all Europe, but they also created stereotypes which later influenced politicians, merchants, and scholars. There are striking parallels with contemporary Western accounts of Egypt, Greece, and Turkey as countries with unusual natural conditions, an Islamic cultural heritage, and magnificent vestiges of old civilizations.[119] Some parallels also occur in Western accounts of Eastern Europe and the Balkans as lands on the imagined border between "civilization" and "barbarism."[120] Nineteenth-century Russian intellectuals produced numerous accounts of the "borderland" between the East and the West – the Ottoman Empire, Geor-

118 "[Les Kosacks unis aux Tartares de la Crimée…] formerait bientôt une nation civilisée qui serait une des plus fortes barrières aux projets ambitieux de la Russie et à ses prétentions sur la mer Noire et sur le Bosphore […]". Vadym Adadurov, "Napoleonida" na Skhodi Evropy: Uiavlennia, proekty ti dial'nist' uriadu Frantsii shchodo pivdenno-zakhidnykh okrain Rosiis'koi imperii na pochatky XIX stolittia (The "Napoleonide" in the East of Europe: Notions, Projects, and Activities of the French Government for the South-Western Frontiers of the Russian Empire in the Early Nineteenth Century), 2nd ed. (L'viv 2018), pp. 542–543, cf. pp. 303–304.

119 Helen Angelomatis-Tsougarakis, The Eve of the Greek Revival: British Travellers' Perceptions of Early Nineteenth-Century Greece (London, New York 1990); Eisner, Travelers; Prusskaia, Frantsuzskaia ekspeditsiia; Nevsal Olcen Tiryakioglu, The Western Image of Turks from the Middle Ages to the 21st Century: The Myth of "Terrible Turk" and "Lustful Turk," (PhD thesis, Nottingham Trent University 2015), pp. 112–138.

120 Božidar Jezernik, Wild Europe: The Balkans in the Gaze of Western Travellers (London 2004); Wolff, Inventing Eastern Europe.

gia, and even Little Russia (central Ukraine). There one may find descriptive elements similar to the aforementioned discourses.[121] Equally revealing is the parallelism of the motifs of idleness, lack of medicine, closed women, and other features of backwardness and archaism in foreign accounts of Muscovy in the early seventeenth century.[122] There may have been general paradigms of Western and Westernized thinking leading to similar interpretations of different realities. However, differences are sometimes as suggestive as similarities. If one turns to the image of Kazan' and its environs as the Russian province with huge Islamic cultural heritage, geographically located in Europe but culturally considered a part of Asia, one will see that its image has nothing to do with that of Crimea. Kazan' lacks traits typical of Crimea such as "paradisiacal nature," "noble but idle savages," "passions in harems," and "perspectives of economical transformations with progressive ideas."[123] It is interesting to think of the reason. Should it be because Kazan' was conquered and absorbed by Russia long ago? Perhaps the "Oriental" representations analyzed above explain better the travelers' culture and mentality than the realities they observed. Therefore, studies of the imagined geography of Crimea allow a more contextualized and more nuanced analysis of the broad phenomenon of European Orientalism.

121 Pavel Kupriianov, "Ozhestochennye varvary" s blagorodnym kharakterom ("Fierce barbarians" with Noble Character), in Vostochnaia kollektsiia 2 (2005), pp. 26–42; Victor Taki, Tsar' i sultan: Osmanskaia imperiia glazami rossiian (Tsar and Sultan: Russian Encounters with the Ottoman Empire) (Moscow 2017); Alexei Tolochko, Kievskaia Rus' i Malorossiia v XIX veke (Kievan Rus and Little Russia in the Nineteenth Century) (Kyiv 2012), pp. 71–135; Amiran Urushadze, Rossiiskaia imperiia i gruzinskoe obshchestvo v XIX v.: vzaimo(ne)ponimanie (The Russian Empire and the Georgian Society in the Nineteenth Century: The Mutual (Mis)Understanding), in Chertkovskii istoricheskii sbornik 1 (2018), pp. 127–135.
122 Tat'iana Chernikova, Rossiia i Evropa: "Vek novshestv" (Russia and Europe: The "Age of Novelties") (Moscow 2019), pp. 249–265.
123 See A. V. Garzavina and I. A. Novitskaia (eds.), Znamenitye liudi o Kazani i Kazanskom krae (Famous Persons on Kazan' and its Country) (Kazan' 2005).

Güllü Yıldız

"The West of the Orient": The Depiction of the Ottoman Capital in Persian *Hajj* Travelogues

Introduction

Comparing modernization processes in the Ottoman Empire and the Persian Empire, and assuming a similar pattern of development for these two empires are very common in historical and cultural studies.[1] During the second half of the nineteenth century, the period covered by the corpus considered in the present study, the two empires were struggling against the threat from European states and putting all their efforts into technical improvements and political transformation, as they both faced military, economic, and political pressure. This was the direct result of the adaptation and replication of modern Western models within these societies. The more contacts they had with Western civilization, the more they experienced an irrevocable transformation at home. However, the Ottoman Empire surpassed Iran in terms of the time and intensity of their connection with Europe. In most cases, it was an important channel for the transfer of Western ideas and innovations and served for a long time as a gateway to Europe.[2]

The contact of these two empires with Europe intensified through travel during the nineteenth century. As a result, recording this new type of impression in the form of travelogues (called *siyāḥatnāma* in Turkish and *safarnāma* in Persian) became very popular, especially in the latter half of the century. For Persian literature, the Qajar era is considered the most prolific period with regard to trav-

1 For some representative works see Nader Sohrabi, Revolutions and Constitutionalism in the Ottoman Empire and Iran (Cambridge 2011); Hamid Algar, Mirza Malkum Khan: A Study in the History of Iranian Modernism (Berkeley 1973); Fariba Zarinebaf, From Istanbul to Tabriz: Modernity and Constitutionalism in the Ottoman Empire and Iran, in Comparative Studies of South Asia and the Middle East 28/1 (2008), pp. 154–169; Anja Pistor-Hatam, Iran and the Reform Movement in the Ottoman Empire: Persian Travellers, Exiles, Newsmen under the Impact of the Tanzimat, in Bert Fragner et al. (eds.), Proceedings of the Second European Conference of Iranian Studies (Rome 1995), pp. 561–588.
2 Abbas Amanat, Pivot of the Universe: Nasir Al-Din Shah Qajar and the Iranian Monarchy, 1831–1896 (Berkeley 1997), pp. 13–15.

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el accounts.[3] Most of the Qajar travelogues narrate journeys to Western Europe in the interests of diplomacy and study, and later for pleasure. There are also a relatively small number of Iranians who visited Russia for the same purposes and recorded their journeys. The authors of these travel accounts were mainly shahs and eminent members of the Qajar dynasty, mostly statesmen, envoys, scholars, and students. They recorded not only their explorations abroad but also comparisons of their experiences to realities in their own country.[4] It must be noted that an important number of travelogues composed during the Qajar era is related to journeys undertaken for pilgrimage.[5]

Although studies on travel writing have become a fruitful research field in recent decades, scholarly interest has overwhelmingly focused on European travelers within Europe or to the "Orient." A relatively smaller number have focused on travel accounts written by non-Europeans who visited the West.[6] At the same time, travels within the Orient in the early modern period have remained funda-

3 Iraj Afshar, Persian Travelogues: A Description and Bibliography, in Elton L. Daniel (ed.), Society and Culture in Persian Iran: Studies in Honor of Hafez Farmayan (Costa Mesa, Calif. 2002), pp. 145 – 162, here p. 150.

4 Hafez Farman Farmayan, The Forces of Modernization in Nineteenth Century Iran: A Historical Survey, in William R. Polk and Richard L. Chambers (eds.), Beginnings of Modernization in the Middle East (Chicago 1968), pp. 119 – 151, here pp. 133 – 135.

5 Afshar, Persian Travelogues, p. 150. For a general list of pilgrimage travelogues including those written during the Qajar era see Abāẕar Naṣr Iṣfahānī, Fihristwāra-i safarnāma-hā wa k̲h̲āṭirāt-i ḥajj-i īrāniyān (The Catalogue of Pilgrimage Travelogues and Memoirs of Iranians), in Kitāb-shināsī-i Mauẓūʿī 25/4 (September–November 2014), pp. 79 – 103. Thanks to Rasul Jaʿfarian's scholarly efforts, Persian pilgrimage travelogues from the Qajar era have been published in an anthology of nine volumes. The first eight volumes contain fifty texts, some of which were published separately before; the last volume consists of fourteen texts. Rasul Jaʿfarian (ed.), Safarnāmahā-yi Ḥajj-i Qājārī (Pilgrimage Travelogues of the Qajar Period) (8 vols., Tehran 2011); Rasul Jaʿfarian (ed.), Chahārdah Safarnāma-i Ḥajj-i Qājārī-i dīgar (Another Fourteen Pilgrimage Travelogues of the Qajar Period) (Tehran 2013).

6 Here is a selection from an expanding literature on Persian travelogues: Iraj Afshar, Persian Travelogues; Hamid Dabashi, Reversing the Colonial Gaze: Persian Travelers Abroad (Cambridge 2020); Nile Green, The Love of Strangers: What Six Muslim Students Learned in Jane Austen's London (Princeton 2016); William L. Hanaway, Persian Travel Narratives: Notes towards the Definition of a Nineteenth-Century Genre, in Elton L. Daniel (ed.), Society and Culture in Persian Iran: Studies in Honor of Hafez Farmayan (Costa Mesa, Calif. 2002), pp. 249 – 268; Monica M. Ringer, The Quest for the Secret of Strength in Iranian Nineteenth-Century Travel Literature: Rethinking Tradition in the Safarnameh, in Nikki R. Keddie and Rudi Matthee (eds.), Iran and the Surrounding World: Interactions in Culture and Cultural Politics (Seattle 2002), pp. 146 – 161; Naghmeh Sohrabi, Taken for Wonder: Nineteenth-Century Travel Accounts from Iran to Europe (Oxford 2012).

mentally unaddressed.[7] Likewise, pilgrimage travelogues written by Muslims have been mostly neglected in the field.[8] Thus, the present study, which focuses on three travel accounts, aims primarily to contribute to the burgeoning study of pilgrimage travelogues by drawing attention to Persian *hajj* narratives as a pre-eminent source for analyzing perceptions of otherness and encounters within the “Orient.”

1 Persian pilgrims in the Ottoman Lands

We begin the examination of the body of travel narratives in question with a general overview of Persian pilgrims in Ottoman lands. The Persian and Ottoman Empires had a long history of interaction involving diplomacy, trade, military aggression, and invasion. Although the borders between the Persian and the Ottoman Empires continued to be the main controversial issue during that period, there was also an increase in commercial and human exchanges between the two countries. Besides the merchants and political exiles who settled down mostly in Istanbul, there was an increase in the volume of the Persian pilgrimage traffic through Ottoman lands.

Throughout centuries, Persians used four main routes for pilgrimage, all of which partially crossed over the Ottoman lands: the mountain route (through Atabat cities in Ottoman Iraq), the Damascus route (the Syrian caravan route), the sea route (through the Indian Ocean and the Red Sea), and the Istanbul

7 For a valuable exception see Muzaffar Alam-Sanjay Subrahmanyam, Indo-Persian Travels in the Age of Discoveries, 1400–1800 (Cambridge 2007). A collection of essays on internal travel within the Muslim world was also published by Roberta Micallef-Sunil Sharma (ed.), On the Wonders of Land and Sea: Persianate Travel Writing (Cambridge 2013).
8 Over the past decades, much space has been devoted to pilgrimage travelogues and their analysis: Menderes Coşkun, Ottoman Pilgrimage Narratives and Nabi’s Tuhfetü’l-Haremeyn (PhD thesis, University of Durham 1999); Michael Wolfe (ed.), One Thousand Roads to Mecca: Ten Centuries of Travelers Writing about the Muslim Pilgrimage, updated and expanded edition (New York 2015). For a survey of pilgrimage travelogues from the Qajar era see Elton L. Daniel, The Hajj and Qajar travel literature, in Elton L. Daniel (ed.), Society and Culture in Persian Iran: Studies in Honor of Hafez Farmayan (Costa Mesa, Calif. 2002), pp. 215–237. See also Amineh Mahallati, Women as Pilgrims: Memoirs of Iranian Women Travelers to Mecca, Iranian Studies 44/6 (November 2011), pp. 831–849; Güllü Yıldız, İranlı hacıların gözüyle İstanbul’u temaşa (Contemplating Istanbul from the Point of View of Persian Pilgrims), in International Journal of Theological and Islamic Studies 51 (December 2016), pp. 135–160; Güllü Yıldız, Gardens of Istanbul in Persian Hajj Travelogues, in Ines Asceric-Todd et al. (eds.), Travellers in Ottoman Lands: The Botanical Legacy (Oxford 2018), pp. 57–68.

route (through the Black and the Mediterranean seas).[9] Persian pilgrims generally preferred the mountain route because it was used by Imam Hussain (d. 680) on his way to Karbala, and the route offered opportunities to visit other holy shrines of Shiʿite Imams. Thus, most of the Persian *hajj* travelogues narrate journeys on this route. But especially during the second half of the nineteenth century, as transportation by steamships and railways started to be used actively for traveling across this territory, the sea and Istanbul routes became the most frequented.[10] According to one account, in 1885 more than thirty per cent of the Persian pilgrims had reached the Hejaz via the Istanbul route.[11] Towards the end of the nineteenth century, the Istanbul route became more popular, especially among political and religious elites, although taking it was more expensive than the other routes. The three travelogues under examination here are the earliest written reports of travels undertaken by Persian pilgrims on the Istanbul route, as far as is known.

2 Muhammad Mīrzā Sayf al-Dawla: An erudite explorer

The first pilgrim whose travelogue is one of the texts examined in this chapter is Muhammad Mīrzā Sayf al-dawla (fl. late nineteenth century). There is an ambiguity about his identity: we do not know whether he is one of the sons of Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh (1772–1834), the second emperor of the Qajar dynasty who ruled between 1797 and 1834, or one of his grandsons, since they both have the same name and the same honorific title. The date of the journey and other details in his travelogue do not help either in determining his exact identity. At least it is clear that he was a Qajar prince, an important figure who had held the honorific title of *sayf al-dawla* (the sword of the state).[12]

9 Hossein Kazemzadeh, Relation d'un pélérinage à la Mecque en 1910–1911 (Paris 1912), pp. 7–8; F. E. Peters, The Hajj: The Muslim Pilgrimage to Mecca and Holy Places (Princeton 1994), pp. 172–180.

10 For the increase in the numbers of pilgrims and its relation to the security of the road and transportation facilities see Daniel, The Hajj and Qajar Travel Literature, pp. 225–233.

11 H. Farmayan and E. L. Daniel (eds. and transl.), A Shiʿite Pilgrimage to Mecca (1885–1886): The Safarnameh of Mirza Mohammad Hosayn Farahani (Austin 1990), p. 191.

12 For the son see Mahdī Bāmdād, Sharh-i ḥāl-i rijāl-i īrān dar qarn-i 12 wa 13 wa 14 hijrī (The Biographies of Iranian Elites in the Twelfth, Thirteenth, and Fourteenth Centuries) (6 vols., Tehran 1961), vol. 2, pp. 133–134; for the grandson see vol. 2, pp. 99–102.

He began the journey on 25 January 1863 (Saturday, 4 Sha‘bân 1279) from Tehran and followed the Istanbul route.[13] But he returned via the mountain route for the purpose of visiting the holy shrines in the Atabat cities. This journey took about a year, as the last date the author mentions is the day he left al-Kādhimiyya for Karbala on 17 January 1864 (Sunday, 7 Sha‘bân 1280).[14]

Muhammad Mīrzā Sayf al-dawla's account, entitled *Safarnāma-i Mecca* (Travelogue to Mecca),[15] seems to have been composed during the journey and then revised, especially with regard to the documentary content. The chapters are devoted to the cities he passed through. From time to time, it takes the form of a diary and records events of the day in question, especially in cities such as Istanbul, because of the relatively long stays. Sayf al-dawla starts his section on Istanbul with the statement that it is impossible to do complete justice to this flourishing city because of its endless beauty and prosperity. He declares that this city is one of the most remarkable cities in the world, among other three or four.[16]

The Istanbul chapter in Sayf al-dawla's travelogue is full of observations by an erudite explorer. What fascinated Sayf al-dawla most was the prosperity of the city. After praising the city in terms of the quality of the weather and available water, he informs his readers that, even though it depends on external sources of food, one can find every kind of food in marketplaces in abundance: fruit, grain, meat, whatever can be imagined and wanted, regardless of the season. He concludes that the city is abounding in riches and that the prices are not higher than in Iran.[17] Commercial life is also depicted vividly in the words of Sayf al-dawla. He observes that bazaars and caravanserais are full of all kinds of commodities and that merchants from all over the world gather there. As he compares the Beyoğlu district; the "Grande Rue de Pera," to Europe, he concludes that everything is almost as it is in Europe. He emphasizes the mixed-gender interactions of the marketplaces, where women and men walk around together and sit at cafés. He seems surprised to see that it is not forbidden for women and men to wander around together, even during the night.[18] In addition to every

13 Ja‘farian, Safarnāmahā, vol. 2, p. 16.

14 Ja‘farian, Safarnāmahā, vol. 2, p. 140.

15 It was first published by Ali Akbar Khodaparast in 1985 (Tehran) and then republished in the anthology of Ja‘farian. See Ja‘farian, Safarnāmahā, vol. 2, pp. 7–176. References to this, as well as the other two travelogues, come from the texts as published in the anthology.

16 Ja‘farian, Safarnāmahā, vol. 2, p. 58.

17 Ja‘farian, Safarnāmahā, vol. 2, pp. 58–59.

18 Ja‘farian, Safarnāmahā, vol. 2, p. 61.

kind of craft which he observes to be practiced,[19] the well-decorated restaurants, welcoming everyone regardless of social class, the well-maintained houses made of stone, brick, and wood, the hospitals, public baths, and the landscape of the city, give the impression of a flourishing town.[20]

Depicting Istanbul as a cosmopolitan city, he informs the reader that, besides the Muslims, there are Christians and Jews who speak Turkish. Residents of the city consisted of people from every nation: Franks, Russians, Arabs, Persians, Indians, Maghribis, Turks, Afghans, Bukharans, Jews, Americans from the new world, and Christian Europeans of every nation. This city, he states, is a summary of the whole world in every respect.[21] He also highlights the beauty of the residents, stating that they have charming faces, especially the Greeks and Circassians; all were elegant, polite, clever, honest, pleasantly spoken, friendly, and hospitable.[22] Thus the most important feature of the city's social life as described by Sayf al-dawla was its multi-religious and multi-cultural structure. He emphasizes the harmonious cohabitation of residents from different ethnic and religious backgrounds in what was a city with a Muslim identity by stating that:

> There are large churches here. Europeans and Christians from other nations are in high regard. From clothes to daily behavior, from domestic arrangements to lifestyle, most European customs are known and common in this city. Istanbulites are mostly familiar with French and other European languages and they are very keen on learning foreign languages. They have no reservation against or avoidance of other religions. They live together and have no difficulty at all. There are many mosques and minarets, in keeping with the city's Muslim identity. In fact, no other Muslim country has mosques and minarets in such great numbers. They also take good care to preserve them.[23]

During his stay, he visited the most famous of the imperial mosques: Hagia Sofia (Ayasofya), Süleymaniye, Fatih, and the Beyazıt Mosque. Sayf al-dawla qualified Ayasofya as among the most excellent monuments of the world and claimed that it is rare to find a place of worship as exalted in dignity and majesty as Ayaso-

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19 Ja'farian, Safarnāmahā, vol. 2, p. 67.
20 Ja'farian, Safarnāmahā, vol. 2, pp. 62–63.
21 Ja'farian, Safarnāmahā, vol. 2, p. 58.
22 Ja'farian, Safarnāmahā, vol. 2, p. 59.
23 کلیساهاي بزرگ با اوضاع دارد نصارا از طوایف فرنگي و غیره بسیار محترم اند. بیشتر رسوم و آداب فرنگ دراین ملك شایع, است ، از لباس و خوراك، وضع نشست و برخاست،رسومات خانه و معاش . بسیاري از اسلامبول زبان فرانسه و"و متعارف زبانهاي دیگر فرنگي را مي دانند و در آموختن زبانها اصرار زیادي دارند . از خارج مذهب اجتناب و پرهیزي ندارند . با هم محشورند بلکه درجزو از وصلت با آنها هم مضایقه ندارند. در واقع چیزي که از صورت اسلام دارند مساجد و مناره هاي بسیار است. در حقیقت هیچ یك از بلاد اسلام این قدر مساجد و مناره ندارد. دقت زیادي هم در خوب نگاه داشتن آنها دارند"
Ja'farian, Safarnāmahā, vol. 2, p. 64.

fya.[24] When it comes to imperial mosques, Sayf al-dawla mentioned how brilliant they were and informed the reader about the roles they played as places of learning endowed with schools and libraries with the support of very rich trust funds. He also ranked pupils who studied in mosques and madrassas very highly.[25] He extended his observations to the sultan and the state bureaucrats. At the time of Sayf al-dawla's stay in the city, Sultan ʻAbd al-ʻAzīz (1830–1876) had recently ascended to the throne, but Sayf al-dawla used a general discourse about Ottoman sultans without referring specifically to that sultan. According to his notes, sultans always acted in a very modest and unpretentious manner except during Friday ceremonies and religious festivals. In his view, state authorities also acted moderately and treated people kindly, without arrogance. He described this manner as "the highest sovereignty among Muslims."[26] Sayf al-dawla also praised the appearance and behavior of Ottoman soldiers by stating that they were all handsome, very civilized, and disciplined young men, wearing nice uniforms, who did not step out of their barracks unless necessary. From this perspective, the soldiers would not establish an oppressive regime over the subjects, nor would the subjects behave disrespectfully and discourteously towards the soldiers.[27]

To Sayf al-dawla, there were, however, negative outcomes from living in a cosmopolitan city. He argued that travelers must record the bad things and the negative customs and traditions as well as the good ones to inform the reader. Thus, he reassured his reader on this point[28] and indeed shared some of his judgmental observations on religiously prohibited activities such as alcohol consumption and prostitution.[29] According to Sayf al-dawla, men and women were very fond of plays and entertainment and there was a lot of drinking. Pubs were supposedly everywhere, without any disguise. He also mentioned prostitution and noted that, although it was forbidden by religion and was largely disapproved of, it was not a crime unless it caused harm and was widespread both among Muslims and Christians.[30] Overall, according to Sayf al-dawla, Istan-

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24 Jaʻfarian, Safarnāmahā, vol. 2, p. 64. Yaʻqūb Mīrzā, the second pilgrim who passed through Istanbul five years later, shared Sayf al-dawla's impressions of Ayasoyfa. See Jaʻfarian, Safarnāmahā, vol. 2, pp. 316–317.

25 Jaʻfarian, Safarnāmahā, vol. 2, pp. 64–66.

26 "در ملت اسلام سلطنتي از این بزرگتر نیست" Jaʻfarian, Safarnāmahā, vol. 2, p. 68.

27 Jaʻfarian, Safarnāmahā, vol. 2, pp. II, 67–68.

28 Jaʻfarian, Safarnāmahā, vol. 2, p. II, 58.

29 Daniel erroneously extends Sayf al-dawla's judgmental comments on specific subjects to the entire text. See Daniel, The Hajj and Qajar Travel Literature, pp. 234–236.

30 Jaʻfarian, Safarnāmahā, vol. 2, pp. II, 60–61.

bul was a good place for enjoying life for anyone who was not too religious or concerned about the afterlife, and in many respects, it was one of the best cities in the world.[31]

3 Ya'qūb Mīrzā Tabrīzī: A curious admirer of modern civilization and entertainment

The second text in our corpus belongs to Ya'qūb Mīrzā Tabrīzī (d. 1909), about whom we also do not know much. All the information about him was derived from his travelogue. It is worth noting that he came from a family of one of the Qajar princes and was the brother of Sadr al-dawla (around 1900), an important figure in the city of Tabrīz. He was an *amīr-zāda* (son of the *amīr*), which means that he was a member of the elite ruling class. He was a devoted Shi'ite and a poet with the pen name Mansūr. The title of his travelogue also refers to his pen name: *Ḥajj-i Mansūr* (The pilgrimage of Mansūr). Finally, according to a note written by his son at the end of the text, he died in the year of 1909 in Tabrīz.[32]

Ya'qūb Mīrzā Tabrīzī set off on 9 December 1868 (Wednesday, 23 Rajab 1285) on his pilgrimage and returned after seven months and seven days.[33] He used the Istanbul route both for going to Hejaz and on his return journey. The text reveals that on this journey he was within the entourage of another amīr-zāda Ḥajjī Muḥammad Ṭāhir Mirzā (around 1900 ?), the son of the Qajar prince Tahmāsp Mīrzā Mu'ayyad al-dawla (d. 1879) and was responsible for making all the travel arrangements.[34] Ya'qūb Mīrzā Tabrīzī compiled his travelogue mostly on the road and made some additions after returning to Tabrīz.[35] He stated that one of his friends from Tabrīz asked him to write down an account of his adventures for the purpose of providing information not only about the pilgrimage but also of the current state of the foreign lands he visited. He did not give his friend's

31 Ja'farian, Safarnāmahā, vol. 2, pp. II, 67–68.
32 Ja'farian, Safarnāmahā, vol. 2, p. 203.
33 Ja'farian, Safarnāmahā, vol. 2, p. 232.
34 Ja'farian, Safarnāmahā, vol. 2, p. 231. On Tahmāsp Mīrzā see I'timād al-Saltana Muhammed Hasan Khān, al-Ma'āthir wa'l-āthār: Chihil sāl-i tārīkh-i Iran dar dawra-i pādishāh-i Nāsir al-dīn Shāh (Forty Years of the History of Iran in Sultan Nāsir al-dīn Shāh's era), edited by I. Afshar (3 vols. Tehran 1984–1989), vol. 2, pp. 534–535.
35 This text has only one manuscript copy and was first published in 2009 by Rasul Ja'farian and subsequently republished with other *hajj* travelogues in the second volume of the anthology. See Ya'qūb Mīrzā Tabrīzī, Safarnāma-i Hajj-i Mansūr, (ed. R. Ja'farian) (Tehran 2009); Ja'farian, Safarnāmahā, vol. 2, pp. 197–542.

name but referred to him simply as "*jawān*" (young man).[36] This is important because throughout the text he addressed this young man at the beginning and at the end of every section. He started the record of each day with the expression of "O my young man! When it was the day of [...]" and ended it with "when the night ended Mansūr completed his words."[37] Ja'farian, the editor of the text, commented that this type of address was a reminder of Shahrazad, the famous narrator of *The Thousand and One Nights* tales, although Ya'qūb Mīrzā Tabrīzī had a comic, even sarcastic, style and was not reluctant to use the occasional vulgar or dirty expression.[38] This travelogue has another unique characteristic compared to other similar texts written by Persian pilgrims. As far as I am aware, this is the only text in this genre to be accompanied by drawings of sights and monuments, for example a steamship, the obelisk in Istanbul, the pyramids of Cairo, and sketches of Mecca and Medina, even if they are executed in a primitive style.[39]

Ya'qub Mirza's stay in Istanbul corresponded with the holy month of Ramadan (December 1868–January 1869). The ship he took from Batum arrived in the city on 20 December 1868 (Sunday, 5 Ramadan 1285).[40] On the return journey, he arrived in Istanbul on 26 April 1869 (Monday, 14 Muharram 1286).[41] In sum, he stayed in the city for twenty-four days in two different caravanserais near the Iranian Embassy in Eminönü.[42] The Istanbul chapter in his travelogue reads like the explorations of an inquisitive mind and of an admirer of modern civilization and

36 Ja'farian, Safarnāmahā, vol. 2, p. 232.
37 "گفت اي جوان من! چون يوم يكشنبه... چون شب بر سر دست آمد منصور لب از گفتار فرو بست. ...." For an example see Ja'farian, Safarnāmahā, vol. 2, p. 310.
38 Ja'farian, Safarnāmahā, vol. 2, pp. 204–205 (introduction by Ja'farian). Roy Mottahedeh, who discusses the wondrous ('*ajīb*) in *The Thousand and One Nights*, offers an analysis that allows us to draw some correlations between these tales and travel writings. On the one hand, the narrator, in this case Shahrazad, takes the interlocutor on a journey through tales, on the other hand, the traveler himself, in this case the pilgrim, brings the journey to the interlocutor through his travelogue. In both cases the narrative aims to amaze the interlocutor with descriptions of the unheard/unseen/unexperienced wonders of the world. See Roy P. Mottahedeh, 'Ajā'ib in the Thousand and One Nights, in Richard G. Hovannisian and Georges Sabagh (eds.), The Thousand and One Nights in Arabic Literature and Society (Cambridge 1997), pp. 29–39. Sohrabi points out that "*ajīb*" as being out of ordinary and unknown to the observer is the common ground between wonder literature and travel literature, not only in terms of fascination but astonishment in every aspect. See Sohrabi, Taken for Wonder, p. 37.
39 For examples see Ja'farian, Safarnāmahā, vol. 2, pp. 318–319, 443, 456.
40 Ja'farian, Safarnāmahā, vol. 2, p. 308.
41 Ja'farian, Safarnāmahā, vol. 2, p. 506.
42 For his stay in the Khan of Mustapha Pasha see Ja'farian, Safarnāmahā, vol. 2, p. 311; for his stay in a caravanserai nearby Bahçekapı see Ja'farian, Safarnāmahā, vol. 2, p. 506.

entertainment. Thus, his depiction of Istanbul is dominated by two characteristics. First, he was openly impressed with the technological advances and innovations. He highlighted the Istanbulites' wealth, their standard of living, the local administration system, the cleanliness and brightness of the city. Second, his account is highly descriptive and seeks to give as much detail as possible about leisure and entertainment in the city of Istanbul.

Like Sayf al-dawla, Yaʿqūb Mīrzā started his chapter by admitting that it would take as long as the lifetime of the Prophet Noah (which was believed to have been 950 year, i.e., almost a thousand years) to describe even one single neighborhood of the city.[43] However, despite using this caveat, he did describe it in great detail. He wrote of the civilized manners of the inhabitants of the city, at first referring especially to Europeans who mostly lived in Galata and Beşiktaş.[44] On another occasion he emphasized that all citizens were well-educated, that no one interfered with other people's lives, everyone was independent and minded their own business, claims which he supported with a detailed anecdote about the sultan passing through the neighborhood.[45] In Yaʿqūb Mīrzā's words, not only were the manners of the locals civil, but their dress and appearance were very striking. He described in detail the European women's clothes: they did not cover their heads and looked like cypress trees because of their long dresses, covering them from the neck down to the feet. He admitted that only now did he understand the poets' descriptions and why they did not describe Iranian women in the same terms as the European ones. Iranian women's height was disguised by their *chador*. He described Ottoman women as wearing robes that came down from their shoulders. They covered their head and their entire face except the eyes, but the white veil would not prevent them from being seen. The most attractive thing to him was the incomparable color of Ottoman women's skin.[46]

For Yaʿqūb Mīrzā, one of the most important manifestations of such a civilized city was the quality of its transport facilities, which is understandable considering that he was on a long and difficult journey. Nevertheless, his inquisitive attention to newly paved roads, railways, and the mechanism of steamships is remarkable. When he first arrived in Istanbul, the newly built Galata bridge instantly turned out to be a great attraction to him. After sharing some information

43 Jaʿfarian, Safarnāmahā, vol. 2, p. 328. See also Jaʿfarian, Safarnāmahā, vol. 2, pp. 308 – 309, 510, 513.
44 Jaʿfarian, Safarnāmahā, vol. 2, p. 311.
45 Jaʿfarian, Safarnāmahā, vol. 2, pp. 510 – 511.
46 Jaʿfarian, Safarnāmahā, vol. 2, p. 323. For Sayf al-dawla's description of the inhabitants' attire see Jaʿfarian, Safarnāmahā, vol. 2, p. 60.

about its construction, materials, and measurements, he also noted conversations he had with some of the policemen responsible for securing public order and collection of the bridge toll, and tried to determine the daily revenue. Another issue that he discussed with the policemen was how ferries passed under the bridge. Qualifying it as a wonder worth seeing, he described in detail how the bridge opened to let the ferries pass and then closed again.[47]

Ya'qūb Mīrzā also payed attention to the water supply of the city both for daily consumption and for firefighting, the latter occurring very often because the main construction material in Istanbul was wood. Since there was no running water in the city, drinking water was either collected from rain and carried into the city across aqueducts, or drawn from wells with pumps. He tried to find an expert on the working of water pumps, but was unable to find one. Yet he planned to take a sample of the pumps with him to Tabrīz.[48]

He was also very interested in the lighting of the city; especially the illumination of the mosques, the type of building he was most interested in. He claimed that there were ten thousand mosques in the city and that they were crowded all the time with devoted Muslims praying day and night. He describes an Ottoman tradition called "*mahya*," the practice of writing mottos with lights hung between minarets or on the dome of the mosques, and which is still used today during the holy month of Ramadan. He gives examples of mottos such as "*mā shā'Allāh*" (what Allah has willed) because his stay coincided with Ramadan.[49] He writes that not only mosques but also the streets were lit as daylight. When someone stood on the bridge of Galata looking over the city, he would see a ball of fire (يك پارچه آتش).[50] He also explained how gas lamps worked, qualifying the invention as one of the wonders of the age (از عجايب روزگار) and drew sketches of the system used for lighting them.[51]

Obviously, the discovery of a new city must include not only places and monuments but also people and social life. As an important part of exploring the city, the pilgrims did not abstain from enjoyment and engaged in leisure activities. Although the quality of the enjoyment differed according to the length of their stay, all of them could find some form of entertainment to suit their tastes.

47 Ja'farian, Safarnāmahā, vol. 2, pp. 312–313. Sayf al-dawla also paid attention to the bridges of the city. See Ja'farian, Safarnāmahā, vol. 2, p. 63.
48 Ja'farian, Safarnāmahā, vol. 2, pp. 323–324.
49 Ja'farian, Safarnāmahā, vol. 2, pp. 317–318. For more information about the *mahya* see Yusuf Çağlar (ed.), Göklere Yazı Yazma Sanatı Mahya. The Art of Writing on the Sky Mahya (Istanbul 2010).
50 Ja'farian, Safarnāmahā, vol. 2, p. 318.
51 Ja'farian, Safarnāmahā, vol. 2, p. 322.

The glamour of city life and places of amusement was a crucial part of their experience in Istanbul. Ya‘qūb Mīrzā, who spent there more days than other pilgrims, and therefore had more opportunities for enjoying the city's pleasures. He was a reveler and an adventurer, and, even though he wrote that the Istanbul route was good for feasting and entertainment, but not for pilgrimage,[52] he rarely missed an opportunity for enjoying himself. Therefore, his statement about the Istanbul route seems to have been made for the ostensible reason of presenting himself as a pilgrim, but lacks credibility. During Ramadan, almost every night after breaking the fast, he went to see a play in a different theater and described it in detail. He assessed the halls, the spectators, the mise-en-scène, and the performance of the actors. He seemed to be a little disturbed because men and women watched the play very intimately from the upstairs boxes, but was very impressed with the size and brightness of the theater house.[53] On one occasion he complained about the content of the play and the suggestive costumes of six female actresses on the stage.[54]

On a Friday, Ya‘qūb Mīrzā went to see the meadow at Kağıthane because of its fame. He boarded a ferry to the Golden Horn and then continued his trip in a small boat. He was surprised to see so many boats on the water and very pleased because of the beautiful female Istanbulites in those boats. He could not help but describe one more time how pretty were the white-skinned ladies with black eyes and eyebrows, in whom he imagined charming, beloved sweethearts. His delight never stopped from his first step into the meadow until the end of the day. He gazed on lovely couples sitting side by side everywhere, holding hands and having fun. Music was playing, songs were sung. At the end of a pleasant day, he agreed with Sayf al-dawla that Kağıthane was a place worth seeing.[55] On another day he visited a musical café and described it as an intimate, pleasant place for couples to enjoy themselves. He also complained that, as an outside observer, he could not to benefit enough from occasions of this kind.[56]

52 Ja‘farian, Safarnāmahā, vol. 2, p. 288.
53 Ja‘farian, Safarnāmahā, vol. 2, pp. 315–316.
54 Ja‘farian, Safarnāmahā, vol. 2, p. 321.
55 Ja‘farian, Safarnāmahā, vol. 2, pp. 507–509. For Sayf al-dawla's account of this place see Ja‘farian, Safarnāmahā, vol. 2, pp. 66–67.
56 Ja‘farian, Safarnāmahā, vol. 2, pp. 509–510.

4 Farhād Mīrzā Mu'tamad al-dawla (1817 – 1888): A devout politician

The last travelogue we will examine was written by another member of the Qajar royal house, Farhād Mīrzā Mu'tamad al-dawla (1817–1888) and is entitled *Hidāyat al-sabīl wa kifāyat al-dalīl* (Guidance for the road and competency of the guide).[57] As the fifteenth son of the Prince ʿAbbās Mīrzā (1789 – 1833), younger brother of Muḥammad Shāh (d. 1848), and uncle of Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh (1831–1896), he is very well known as an educated politician, poet, and man of letters. As an eminent member of the royal family, he was a leading figure, especially in the cultural domain. His outstanding personality was much appreciated by Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh on whom he had a strong influence. Besides his travelogue, he compiled several other books and did translations from English to Persian. A successful governor of several provinces, he was known for his highly conservative religious views and for his opposition to reformers who, he alleged, were destroying the foundation of the Islamic law by championing new conceptions of liberty.[58]

He commenced his journey on 8 September 1875 (Wednesday, 7 Sha'bān 1292) from Tehran and followed the Istanbul route both for reaching and for returning from Hejaz. He first arrived in Istanbul on 11 December 1875 (Saturday, 12 Shawwal, 1292) and was welcomed with an official ceremony by the Iranian Ambassador Hajji Muhsin Khan Mu'īn al-Mulk (d. 1899).[59] During this short stay of only five days in Istanbul, he met Sultan 'Abd al-'Azīz (1830 – 1876)[60] and many Ottoman and foreign (English, Russian, French, German, etc.) politicians.[61] On his return, he arrived in Istanbul on 14 February 1876 (Monday, 18 Muharram 1293))[62] and stayed there for twelve days, until the end of Muharram.[63] He trav-

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57 There are several published editions of this text: Shiraz 1877, Tehran 1987 (edited by E. Nawwāb-e Ṣafā), and Tehran 1987 (edited by G. R. Ṭabāṭabāʾī Majd). In the present study, references are from the third volume of the anthology of Ja'farian.

58 For his biography see Kambiz Eslami, Farhād Mīrzā Mo'tamad al-dawla, in Encyclopedia Iranica (updated: 15 December 1999), accessed 22 May 2022, <http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/farhad-mirza-motamad-al-dawla>.

59 Ja'farian, Safarnāmahā, vol. 3, pp. 94 – 96.

60 Ja'farian, Safarnāmahā, vol. 3, pp. 109 – 111.

61 For a dinner at the Iranian Embassy as an example to these meetings see Ja'farian, Safarnāmahā, vol. 3, pp. 104 – 105; also see Ja'farian, Safarnāmahā, vol. 3, pp. 353 – 355.

62 Ja'farian, Safarnāmahā, vol. 3, p. 340.

63 Ja'farian, Safarnāmahā, vol. 3, p. 381.

eled with Mīrzā Fatḥ ʿAli Ak̲h̲ẉund-zāda (1812–1878) and a large escort including relatives and servants.[64]

Farhād Mīrzā Muʿtamad al-dawla's travelogue was compiled in the form of a diary and published immediately after the journey in 1877. It reflects the impressions of a highly conservative, devout politician. His account about his Istanbul days is dominated by open criticism of the Westernization of the Ottomans and serious concerns about the future of Muslim societies in general. Calling Istanbul the "city of the sultanate,"[65] his travelogue reveals his underlying conservatism and lack of commitment to processes of modernization; even though he had limited access to the city, free time to wander around as a royal guest, and he visited many places including the imperial mosques, libraries, and tombs. Just like the other two pilgrims, his first stop was the Ayasofya Mosque, but his impressions of this holy monument were different. After a few historical observations and a physical description, he shared his own feelings and thoughts. Considering the political situation of the Ottoman Empire and of the European states, he was worried about the future of this monument and prayed to God not to let this place turn back to its former role by quoting two verses of an elegy about the fall of Andalusia.[66]

According to his notes, after Ayasofya, Süleymaniye was one of the most beautiful mosques in the world, and its description provides an occasion for an overview of the sultanate of Süleyman the Magnificent (1494–1566).[67] In fact, every time Farhād Mīrzā Muʿtamad al-dawla visited an imperial mosque, he introduced the sultan who built it, which was the case with the Sultan Ahmad Mosque,[68] the Beyazıt Mosque,[69] and the Fatih Mosque.[70] One day he also witnessed the teaching circles in the Fatih Mosque: there were approximately five hundred people studying disciplines such as Arabic grammar, logic, and *fiqh* (Islamic jurisprudence).[71]

64 Jaʿfarian, Safarnāmahā, vol. 3, pp. 24–25. For Mīrzā Fatḥ ʿAli Ak̲h̲ẉund-zāda and his role in the modernization process of Iran see Farmayan, The Forces of Modernization, pp. 140–141.
65 "دار السلطنة اسلامبول." Jaʿfarian, Safarnāmahā, vol. 3, p. 94.
66 Jaʿfarian, Safarnāmahā, vol. 3, p. 97. Farhād Mīrzā mistakenly attributed the elegy to Yaḥyā al-Qurṭubī (d. 1172) instead of the real author, Abu'l-Baqā' al-Rundī (d. 1285). For the attribution and complete translation of the elegy see R. Y. Ebied and M. J. L. Young, Abu'l-Baqā' al-Rundī and his Elegy on Muslim Spain, in The Muslim World 66/1 (1976), pp. 29–34. For another visit to Ayasofya see Jaʿfarian, Safarnāmahā, vol. 3, p. 346.
67 Jaʿfarian, Safarnāmahā, vol. 3, p. 101.
68 Jaʿfarian, Safarnāmahā, vol. 3, pp. 98, 351.
69 Jaʿfarian, Safarnāmahā, vol. 3, p. 351.
70 Jaʿfarian, Safarnāmahā, vol. 3, p. 355
71 Jaʿfarian, Safarnāmahā, vol. 3, p. 355.

Social encounters play a crucial role in Farhād Mīrzā's text as he received visits and invitations from Ottoman officials and representatives of other, especially European, countries. Throughout his account, he was acutely sensitive to his treatment by his Ottoman hosts and took care to record the respect shown to him by the sultan, the Ottoman officials, and envoys of European countries in Istanbul. He states that not only high officials of the state, but also common citizens minded their manner and the tone of their conversation and that they were highly civil to the Iranian people who, on the contrary, were more careless with their manners.[72]

Even though Farhād Mīrzā never attended public entertainments such as park picnics and never went to musical cafés and the theater, he presented other facets of social life in the city. As a prince, he attended soirées, exclusive dinner parties, and balls with eminent guests, including Ottoman political elites and representatives of European states. Besides lavish banquets, good music, dance, and courteous or political conversations, he also mentions other events such as, for example, a magic show presented by an illusionist.[73]

What Farhād Mīrzā saw in Istanbul's high society made him reflect on Muslim societies and share some of his insights about their common future. For instance, he wrote about the European women who attended the dinner party organized by the Ambassador of Iran in honor of the prince. He gazed at the women, very elegant in their décolleté dresses, and dancing with men, wondering when these customs would infect the Ottomans and the Iranians.[74] On another occasion, he asserted that he would probably not live long enough but that the next generations would see his predictions come true, and in Iran, and across all Asia, barefaced women would wander around, in bazaars and along the streets.[75] At the end of this section, he quoted partially a *hadith* of the Prophet Muḥammad (*pbuh*) in Arabic without referencing it as a *hadith:* "Nothing will remain of Islam except its name and the inscriptions of the Qur'an."[76] He also predicted that "civilized women"[77] would stay in the marriage

72 Ja'farian, Safarnāmahā, vol. 3, p. 366.
73 Ja'farian, Safarnāmahā, vol. 3, pp. 105–107.
74 Ja'farian, Safarnāmahā, vol. 3, p. 107.
75 Ja'farian, Safarnāmahā, vol. 3, p. 108.
76 Ja'farian, Safarnāmahā, vol. 3, pp. 107–108. Regarded as a weak *hadith* in the sources, the full text is as follows: "Ali narrated that the Messenger of Allah (*pbuh*) said: 'There will come a time upon the people when nothing will remain of Islam except its name and nothing will remain of the Qur'an except its inscription. Their mosques will be splendidly furnished but destitute of guidance. Their scholars will be the worst people under the sky; strife will issue from them and revert to them.'" See al-Bayhaqī, al-Jāmi' li-shu'ab al-īmān (The Collection on the

for the sake of reputation and honor only, that they would send very young children to learn French, while learning the recitation of the Qur'an would decline to such a level that if someone wanted to learn it, he or she would have to go to Mecca or Medina.[78]

He was also very critical of the meals and drinks served during the soirées he attended, as intoxicants and Western-style dishes were mostly served. His most striking example is a dinner party hosted by the Ottoman Grand Vizier Maḥmūd Nadīm Pasha (d. 1883). Farhād Mīrzā was asked to inform the host about his wishes for that night and he only requested not to be served any kind of intoxicants. This request was not taken well by the plenipotentiary, who said that they had abolished that habit many years before. Farhād Mīrzā insisted on his request by stating that: "I am the special guest and I just returned from visiting the Sacred House of God. Consuming intoxicants around a table full of Muslims is an abomination according to both Islamic and common law. Of course, since the guests are mostly foreign state envoys, it can be regarded as excusable but they can delay drinking for two hours as this is a special party."[79]

In the end, his request was approved by *Tashrīfātchī-bāshī* (grand master of ceremonies) Kāmil Bay (d. 1879).[80] Farhād Mīrzā also disclosed what happened on the night of the party and quoted the grand vizier's words about the dinner. According to the text, the grand vizier said that he ordered the kitchen staff not to cook European dishes, being aware that Farhād Mīrzā liked Turkish food. Farhād Mīrzā supposedly responded that: "I also like some of the European meals, however, I dislike abandoning one's own customs and insisting on acting like others. Europeans also like our meals, yet they never eat them at their homes. On the contrary, Muslims, to imitate Europeans, eat soup and salad every night at their homes."[81] He noted that his request was approved by the

Branches of the Faith), edited by Mukẖtār Ahmad al-Nadwī-Abd al-Alī Ḥāmid (14 vols., Riyad 2003), vol. 3, pp. 317–318.

77 "سویلزاسیون شده اند."

78 Ja'farian, Safarnāmahā, vol. 3, p. 108.

79 "چون مهماني مخصوص من است و از بيت الله الحرام آمده ام صرف بعضي منهيات در مجلسي كه مسلمانان باشند شرعاً و عرفاً قبيح است. در شب مهماني چون سفراي خارجه بودند معذور بودند، در اين مهماني چون اختصاص دارد دو ساعت اگر به تأخير بيندازند گناهي ندارد.. "
Ja'farian, Safarnāmahā, vol. 3, p. 363.

80 Ja'farian, Safarnāmahā, vol. 3, p. 364.

81 "من از بعضي غذاهاي فرنگي خوشم مي آيد ولي ترك عادت خود كردن و اصرار در كارديگري كردن خوب نيست . اهل اروپا هم از غذاهاي ما خيلي خوششان مي آيد، ولي ه رگز در خانة خودشان از غذاهاي ما نمي خورند، به خلاف، اهالي اسلام هر شب در خانة خود به تقليد اهالي اروپا سالاد و سوپ ميخورند."
Ja'farian, Safarnāmahā, vol. 3, p. 365.

grand vizier and, according to his wish, no intoxicant was served and thus no unlawful act was committed that night.[82]

In addition to these visits and dinner parties, Farhād Mīrzā's travel account is replete with descriptions of his visits to various technical institutions and places such as schools, libraries, the arsenal, and the armory, the waxworks museum of the Janissaries, etc., with supplementary information about the historical development of these institutions.[83] One of the interesting observation tours was to see a newly imported ironclad called *Mas'ūdiya*, which was constructed in Britain and arrived in Istanbul in the early days of 1876. Farhād Mīrzā gave detailed information about its construction, price, and equipment, especially its armament.[84] He also visited the most famous photograph studio in the city, the Studio of Abdullah Frères, and he informs us that in some photos he was in official dress and in others he was in informal clothes.[85]

As a well known collector of Persian and Arabic manuscripts and owner of one of the finest libraries in the country,[86] another place Farhād Mīrzā visited was Sultan Ahmad III's library, which, according to him, comprised approximately six thousand manuscripts. There he examined many valuable manuscripts such as a Qur'an manuscript written in the 29th year of *hijra* by 'Ali (c. 600 – 661), son-in-law of the Prophet and first imam for Shi'ites.[87]

Conclusions

Several conclusions can be drawn from the examination above. First, all three pilgrims, despite differences in their personalities and tastes, depicted Istanbul

82 Ja'farian, Safarnāmahā, vol. 3, p. 365.
83 For Farhād Mīrzā's visit to the waxworks museum of the Janissaries see Ja'farian, Safarnāmahā, vol. 3, pp. 101 – 102.
84 Ja'farian, Safarnāmahā, vol. 3, pp. 349 – 350. For another official visit to the arsenal and the armory see Ja'farian, Safarnāmahā, vol. 3, pp. 98 – 99.
85 Ja'farian, Safarnāmahā, vol. 3, p. 101.
86 Kambiz Eslami, Farhād Mīrzā Mo'tamad al-dawla, in Encyclopedia Iranica, accessed 4 April 2022, <http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/farhad-mirza-motamad-al-dawla>.
87 Ja'farian, Safarnāmahā, vol. 3, p. 99. Tayyar Altıkulaç, who published the San'a manuscripts of the Qur'an related to 'Ali, also examined other manuscripts related to him, including three different manuscripts preserved in Istanbul; two in the Topkapi Palace and one in the Turkish and Islamic Arts Museum. However, because he gives different dates rather than the year CE 29 (649) for these manuscripts, it is not clear which manuscript Farhād Mīrzā saw in the library or whether the manuscript he saw is a different one. For details see Tayyar Altıkulaç (ed.), al-Mushaf al-Sharīf al-mansūb ilā 'Alī b. Abī Tālib: Nusḥatu San'ā' (Istanbul 2011), pp. 161 – 191.

as a cosmopolitan and modern city with civilized and Westernized residents, a place full of innovations and culture. They also emphasized its Muslim identity with reference to the mosques and the minarets, which dominated the cityscape. However, it must be noted that, by the end of the nineteenth century, Persian pilgrims started to express less complimentary, more critical, views of the city. Over the years, not only travelers and their taste changed, but also their origins and destinations. This shift becomes perceptible even in the comparatively early travelogue of Farhād Mīrzā. The excerpt below, relating a dialogue between Farhād Mīrzā and *Tashrīfātchī-bāshī* Kāmil Bay, illustrates not only Farhād Mīrzā's concerns about the future of Muslim societies, but also the idea that the process of modernization was directly related to European influence. When asked by Farhād Mīrzā about the mosques, Kāmil Bay replies that "in our country there are so many mosques but very few prayers." Farhād Mīrzā answers back that this is not far from saying that "there are so many mosques but no prayers". Kāmil Bay laughs and confirms that this prediction might prove right: increasing links with Europe, facilitated by railways and steamships, mean that everything is almost like in Europe. He also warns that the expansion of railways in Iran will lead to a greater European influence, just like it had in the Ottoman lands.[88]

A comparison between the Istanbul narratives of Persian pilgrims and the narratives of Persian travelers wandering in European capitals such as Paris and London during the nineteenth century is even more revealing and shows why Istanbul was "the West of the Orient" in their eyes.[89] Of course, one must also remember that the geographical proximity of the Ottoman Empire to Europe had an impact on this perception. Another point to be highlighted is that the Persian pilgrims' impressions about the Istanbulite women, Muslim or non-Muslim, who were becoming very visible in the city's modern social life, are not unlike their impressions of European women. Therefore, discourses on women are an important marker distinguishing the modernist and counter-modernist camps in the period considered here.[90]

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88 " درميان كالسكه با كامل بيك صحبت ها شد . جوامع را از او پرسيدم، گفت در ولايت ما جامع چوق نماز قيلان آز يعني مسجد بسيار است و نمازخوان كم است. گفتم دور نيست چندي بگذرد، بگويند جامع چوق نمازقيلان يوق: يعني مسجد بسيار و نمازخوان هيچ خيلي خنديد و گفت درست فرموديد . از اتّصال اروپا و راه آهن و واپور همه چيز نزديك است مثل اروپا بشود، اگر در ايران هم راه آهن باز بشود آن جا. هم رفته رفته ازا تّصال ار وپا به صو رت ما خواهند شد"
Ja'farian, Safarnāmahā, vol. 3, pp. 108–109.

89 For a comparison see Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh's description of Paris during his first journey to Europe: Nāsir al-dīn Shāh, Safar-i awwal, p. 215.

90 Tavakoli-Targhi elaborates on this issue in the context of Persian travelers to Europe: Mohamad Tavakoli-Targhi, Eroticizing Europe, in Elton L. Daniel (ed.), Society and Culture in Persian Iran: Studies in Honor of Hafez Farmayan (Costa Mesa, Calif. 2002), pp. 311–346. See also Mo-

Persian modernization discourses also have an undeniable effect on these travelogues and on how they depict the Ottoman capital. The attitude towards modernization comes to the fore when evaluating the Ottoman Empire, which is seen as one of the most important channels. However, as the Ottomans' carrier function between the West and Iran weakened or transformed, this perception also changed. Therefore, while elaborating the nuances and opposing attitudes towards Istanbul that became evident in these travelogues, the change in the dynamics of interaction between the two countries should be taken into account as well as the discourses of modernization.

One question that remains unanswered is: how widespread was this perception among Persians? This brings us to the issue of readership: were these texts actually read immediately after they were produced? And how large was their audience? The first two texts remained in manuscript form until recently, each one surviving in single copies, and appeared in print more than a century after they were written. Even though it is hard to be certain about the manuscripts' adventures, it is likely that they were kept in their authors' personal collections and inherited within the family before somehow entering a library collection. This means that they were read, maybe listened to, and circulated among extremely limited readerships. The last text discussed here, thanks to the author's prominent political and intellectual position, was printed just two years after the journey and had multiple editions. Thus, it was more fortunate with regard to disseminating the author's ideas and perceptions about Istanbul and the Ottomans. Nevertheless, at this point it is problematic to assume that the authors' views were widely circulated and became representative for society in general.

hamad Tavakoli-Targhi, Refashioning Iran: Orientalism, Occidentalism and Historiography (Oxford 2001), pp. 54–76.

IV Gendered Spaces

Betül İpşirli Argıt

The Ottoman Imperial Harem in European Accounts (From the Fifteenth to the Early Nineteenth Century)

The Seraglio was the mysterious and glorious seat of the Muslim Ottoman rulers. The life behind its walls has always been a source of interest and wonder for the Western world, especially concerning the harem. Europeans were eager to depict the most secluded and mysterious part of the Ottoman palace, which was strictly forbidden to outsiders. Thomas Thornton's (1762–1814) statement "No part of the Turkish institutions or establishments has so strongly excited the curiosity of the foreigners as the harem of the Seraglio" is characteristic in terms of revealing the interest in the subject.[1]

Westerners' curiosity about the East has produced a rich literature, including ambassadorial reports, accounts of travelers, members of the ambassadorial entourages, diplomats, merchants, and captives who served in the imperial palace. This article aims to explore how the imperial harem was perceived and represented in European accounts produced between the fifteenth and early nineteenth centuries through examination of approximately one hundred European accounts.[2] It introduces the general characteristics of the harem narrative and its main themes. It provides insight into the nature, merit, and limitations of the narratives. In the concluding section, it discusses the possible functions and problematic aspects of these accounts as historical sources. At the final point, this study aims to contribute to the understanding of the place and value of these accounts as historical sources in Ottoman studies.

It is critical to recognize that harem accounts produced during and after the fifteenth century were primarily written by men who had never been admitted

1 Thomas Thornton, The Present State of Turkey, or a Description of the Political, Civil, and Religious Constitution, Government, and Laws of the Ottoman Empire […] (London 1807), p. 361.
2 For travel accounts produced in the early modern period see Shirley Howard Weber (ed.), Voyages and Travels in Greece, the Near East and adjacent regions made previous to the year 1801, being a part of a larger Catalogue of works on Geography, Cartography, Voyages and Travels, in the Gennadius Library in Athens (Princeton 1953); Stéphane Yerasimos, Les voyageurs dans l'Empire Ottoman (XIV^{e}–XVI^{e} siècles): Bibliographie, itinéraires et inventaire des lieux habités (Ankara 1991). Reports (*relazioni*) of Venetian diplomats, for instance, were published by Eugenio Albèri (1807–1878), Nicolò Barozzi (1826–1906), and Guglielmo Berchet (1833–1913). Note also Marino Sanuto's (1466–1536) *Diarii* (1496–1533), which include not only dispatches and eyewitness accounts of diplomats, merchants, and travelers, but also various anecdotes.

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into the harems. The writers frequently emphasized their difficulty entering, and thus learning about, the harem. Yet, there was an available construction of the stereotyped image of the Seraglio and authors tended to read and copy previously written works and reiterated the European fantasy about the Seraglio through several themes. As a whole, this literature generally described the harem with a mix of fact, hearsay, and fantasy. A common feature of these works is their portrayal of the imperial harem as a setting of overlapping fantasies: the despotic ruler, eunuchs, female slaves, virgin beauties for the pleasure of the sultan, sexuality, lust, intrigue, and extravagance.[3] Yet, a closer scrutiny of accounts about the Ottoman harem produced over a long period reveals that even though the narratives appear to be repetitive and resemble each other, it would be incorrect to assume that they produced a constant, homogeneous discourse with a uniform character.

Several factors, including the changing political and social conditions of the era, shaped the content and nature of the narratives. In earlier centuries, the Ottoman Empire was regarded as the epitome of strong tyranny, and the harem was seen as the essential feature of this structure. In the eighteenth century, the ideas of the Enlightenment dominated and colonization policies intensified. In the accounts developed in this context, the Ottoman Empire was set within a "despotic theory" discourse that presented the "harem" as one of the most important symbols of despotic rule.[4]

The close examination of the sources also shows that the authors' identity, their agendas, and sources played a determinative role in the narratives. Some European accounts are an exception, especially if they were written by authors who established contacts with sources close to the imperial court. Although these authors reiterated previous narratives to some extent, they also provided information that sometimes complements Ottoman sources such as court records, archival documents from the state archive, fatwas, waqf documents, and chronicles.

3 For a classic study that critically evaluates the Orientalist discourse and Orientalist imagery about the Seraglio see Alain Grosrichard, The Sultan's Court: European Fantasies of the East, translated by Liz Heron with an introduction by Mladen Dolar (London, New York 1998).

4 For discussions of this issue see Aslı Çırakman, From the "Terror of the World" to the "Sick Man of Europe": European Images of Ottoman Empire and Society from the Sixteenth Century to the Nineteenth (New York et al. 2002); Thomas Kaiser, The Evil Empire? The Debate on Turkish Despotism in Eighteenth-Century French Political Culture, in The Journal of Modern History 72 (2000), pp. 6–34; Gülay Yılmaz, The Orientalist Construction of the Ottoman Governance, in Studies of the Ottoman Domain 4/7 (2014), pp. 50–81.

The following section outlines the general characteristics of the harem narrative and discusses representations of the imperial harem in European accounts produced between the fifteenth and early nineteenth century. It begins with the early accounts and presents the main themes that appeared in them and were reiterated in the following centuries. Following this, it comments on the peculiarities of seventeenth-century accounts, before moving on to trends in eighteenth-century accounts.

1 Narratives of the fifteenth and early sixteenth century

The first European narratives that provide information about the sultan's Seraglio appeared in the fifteenth century; they increased in numbers and diversified in the sixteenth century. In this period, some accounts do have exceptional value, especially those written by men who were attached to the Ottoman imperial court in various ways. These include the accounts of the Genoese merchant Jacopo de Promontorio de Campis (c. 1405 – 1487), the prisoner Giovanni Maria Angiolello (1451/52 – c. 1515), and the Genoese Giovanni Antonio Menavino (b. 1492). The latter was presented as a slave to Bayezid II (1447 – 1512) by a corsair and then educated as a royal page in the sultan's palace during the reign of Bayezid II and his son Selim I (c. 1470 – 1520).[5] From the same period, we have the accounts of Theodore Spandounes (early sixteenth century), who belonged to a Byzantine refugee family that had settled in Venice following the Ottoman conquest of Constantinople in 1453. In the first decade of the sixteenth century, he made several sojourns in Istanbul and compiled information about the Ottoman court based on what he learned from the members of his family who were in the service of the sultan.[6] The account of Luigi Bassano da Zara (c. 1510 – after 1552) is based on observations made during his long stay in Istanbul in the 1530s.[7] Other important sixteenth-century accounts include those of Benedetto

5 Franz Babinger (ed.), Die Aufzeichnungen des Genuesen Iacopo de Promontorio de Campis über den Osmanenstaat um 1475 (Munich 1957); Giovanni Antonio Menavino, I cinque libri della legge, religione, et vita de' Turchi et della Corte, d'alcune guerre del Gran Turco [...] (Venice 1548); Ion Ursu (ed.), Historia Turchesca, 1300 – 1514 (Bucharest 1909).

6 Theodore Spandounes, On the Origin of the Ottoman Emperors, translated and edited by Donald M. Nicol (Cambridge, New York 1997).

7 Luigi Bassano da Zara, I Costumi, et i modi particolari de la vita de Turchi (Rome 1545).

Ramberti (1503–1547), who came to Istanbul with the Venetian ambassador,[8] of Yunus Bey (an Ottoman dragoman) and Alvise Gritti (1480–1534), the son of the Venetian doge (1523–1538).[9] Alvise Gritti was born in Istanbul, eventually became jeweler to Sultan Süleyman I (1494–1566) and a close intimate in the household of the Ottoman grand vizier İbrahim Pasha (d. 1536). He had access to Ottoman networks of patronage and worked within the Ottoman intellectual and cultural context. The account of Nicolas de Nicolay (1517–1583), who came to Istanbul on a diplomatic mission in the retinue of the French ambassador to the Ottoman court in 1551, describes Ottoman court life and women's manners and costumes. Nicolay noted that he established a friendship with a eunuch named Zafer Agha who had grown up in the palace.[10] Domenico Hierosolimitano (c. 1552–1622), who served as third physician to Sultan Murad III (1546–1595) for some ten years, and also provided information about the Ottoman imperial court, including its harem.[11]

A description of the harem was provided in most of the accounts from the fifteenth century on, creating a repertoire of general characteristics and main themes which will be identified in the following. In every period, they generally defined the harem as a sacred and forbidden place, a place of privacy and security allotted to women and excluding all men except the master of the family. The word "harem" also referred to the women inhabiting this site.

A related theme was the impossibility of entrance into the harem, a fact emphasized by accounts in every period.[12] It was commonly stated that the harem resembled to monastery.[13] Therefore, a point frequently made was the impor-

8 Benedetto Ramberti, Libri tre delle cose de Turchi (Venice 1543), reprinted in Albert Howe Lybyer (ed.), The Government of the Ottoman Empire in the Time of Suleiman the Magnificent (Cambridge 1913), Appendix 1.

9 Junis Bey and Alvise Gritti, Opera noua la quale dechiara tutto il gouerno del gran turcho [...] (Venice 1537), reprinted in Lybyer, The Government.

10 Nicolas de Nicolay, Les navigations, peregrinations et voyages, faicts en la Turquie [...] (Antwerp 1577), p. 100.

11 For the account of Domenico Hierosolimitano see Geoffrey Lewis (ed.), Domenico's Istanbul, translated with an introduction and commentary by Michael Austin (Warminster 2001).

12 Some authors noted that even Jewish women who entered the palace for commercial purposes were not allowed in all areas of the harem. See Jean-Antoine Guer, Moeurs et Usages des Turcs, Leur Religion, Leur Gouvernement Civil, Militaire et Politique. Avec un abregé de l'Histoire Ottomane (2 vols., Paris 1747), vol. 2, p. 80; Jean Baptiste Tavernier, A New Relation of the Inner-Part of the Grand Seignor's Seraglio (London 1677), pp. 85–86; Joseph Pitton Tournefort, A Voyage into the Levant (2 vols., London 1741), vol. 2, p. 249.

13 Bassano, I Costumi, p. 17; Guillaume Postel, De la Republique des Turcs et, là ou l'occasion s'offrera, des meurs & loy de tous Muhamedistes (Poitiers 1560), p. 6. Hans Dernschwam (1494–1568) visited Istanbul in 1553: see Hans Dernschwam, İstanbul ve Anadolu'ya Seyahat Günlüğü tance given to the privacy of the members of the harem. Sensitivity towards privacy was enforced even when a medical examination was required and doctors themselves had to comply with these regulations. They were only allowed to examine the sick person under the strongest restrictions.[14]

At this point, it is necessary to clarify who lived in the imperial harem. There were two groups of female slaves in the Ottoman imperial harem: the sultans' concubines and the women who worked in the service of the harem or of the sultan and his family. Only a small group of women in the harem were the sultan's consorts. The remaining female slaves were organized in a manner similar to the organization of pages in the *Enderun*.[15] There were several career paths available for female slaves within the Ottoman imperial harem. Some slaves rose within the harem service and were, eventually, promoted to one of its administrative offices. The majority, though, held lower-status positions; these women were manumitted after serving for a period of time and then left the imperial harem.[16]

In the accounts, apart from the sultan's mother, prominent consorts and the chief administrative officer, the remaining harem residents were typically de-

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(Travel diary to Istanbul and Anatolia), translated by Yaşar Önen (Ankara 1987), p. 187. This narrative continued in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. See e. g. Laurent d'Arvieux, Memoires du Chevalier d'Arvieux [...], edited by Jean-Baptiste Labat (7 vols., Paris 1735), vol. 4, p. 483; Michel Baudier, The History of the Serrail and of the Court of the Grand Seigneur, Emperour of the Turkes [...], translated by Edward Grimeston (London 1635), p. 20; Ottaviano Bon and Robert Withers, A Description of the Grand Signour's Seraglio or Turkish Emperours Court, edited by John Greaves (London 1653), p. 37; Louis Deshayes de Courmenin, Voyage de Levant Fait par le Commandement du Roy en l'année 1621 (Paris 1632), p. 114; William Joseph Grelot, A Late Voyage to Constantinople [...] (London 1683), p. 80; Guer, Moeurs, vol. 2, pp. 57–58; Aubry de la Motraye, [...] Travels Through Europe, Asia and into Part of Africa [...] (2 vols., London 1723), vol. 1, p. 173; Paul Rycaut, The Present State of the Ottoman Empire [...] (London 1670), p. 9; Giovanni Sagredo, Histoire de l'Empire Ottoman (8 vols., Paris 1730–1732), vol. 7, pp. 12–15; Tavernier, A New Relation, p. 8; Jean de Thévenot, The Travels of Monsieur de Thevenot into the Levant (London 1687), part 1, pp. 1–291, here p. 25; Tournefort, Voyage, vol. 2, p. 198.

14 Bon and Withers, A Description, pp. 103–104; Giovanni Battiste de Burgo, Viaggio di cinque anni in Asia, Africa, & Europa [...] (Milan 1686), p. 374; James Dallaway, Constantinople, Ancient and Modern with Excursions to the Shores and Islands of the Archipelago and to the Troad (London 1797), pp. 114–115; Guer, Moeurs, vol. 2, p. 79; Ignatius Mouradgea d'Ohsson, Tableau Général de l'Empire Ottoman (7 vols., Paris 1788–1824), vol. 4, p. 319; Lewis, Domenico's Istanbul, p. 36; Tavernier, A New Relation, p. 85; Tournefort, Voyage, vol. 2, p. 249.

15 The Ottoman imperial palace was composed of outer (*Birun*), inner (*Enderun*) and harem sections. The term *Enderun* was used to designate the inner departments and services (as opposed to *Birun*, the outer departments and services) of the Ottoman imperial household.

16 For detailed information about the imperial harem hierarchy based on European accounts and Ottoman sources see Betül İpşirli Argıt, Life after the Harem: Female Palace Slaves, Patronage and the Imperial Ottoman Court (Cambridge, New York 2020), chapter 1.

scribed as a whole under a single classification. After stating that the harem was composed of a great number of female slaves, these virgins were frequently described as the most beautiful women of the world.

In every period, the ways in which these slaves entered the imperial harem were also touched upon frequently. The accounts indicated that female slaves entered the service of the imperial harem either as gifts, through purchase, or as war captives. Some authors noted that captive girls were presented to the palace.[17] They also stated that girls in the imperial harem were presented as gifts from members of the imperial family, high dignitaries, provincial governors, and Tatars.[18] European accounts provide numerous examples of the practice

17 Baudier, Serrail, pp. 50, 57; Courmenin, Voyage, p. 157; John Francis Gemelli Carari, A Voyage Round the World, in Awnsham Churchill and John Churchill (eds.), A Collection of Voyages and Travels […] (4 vols., London 1704), vol. 4; pp. 1–110, here p. 70; Michael Heberer, Osmanlıda Bir Köle: Brettenli Michael Heberer'in Anıları 1585–1588 (A Slave in the Ottoman Empire: Memories of Michael Heberer 1585–1588), edited by Kemal Beydilli, translated by Türkis Noyan (Istanbul 2010), pp. 238–239; Reinhold Lubenau, Reinhold Lubenau Seyahatnamesi. Osmanlı Ülkesinde 1587–1589 (Reinhold Lubenau's Travel Book: In the Ottoman Land 1587–1589), translated by Türkis Noyan (2 vols., Istanbul 2012), vol. 1, p. 207; Don Neriolava Formanti [= Valeriano Manfrotti], Raccolta delle historiae delle vite degli imperatori ottomani sino a Mehemet IV regnante […] (Venice 1684), p. 15; Menavino, I cinque libri, pp. 134–136; Nicolay, Navigations, p. 99; Guillaume Postel, La tierce partie des Orientales Histoires […] (Poitiers, 1560), pp. 17–18; Postel, Republique, pp. 6, 34; Rycaut, The Present State, p. 38; Francesco Sansovino, Dell'Historia universale dell' origine et imperio de Turchi […] (Venice, 1568), p. 32; Salomon Schweigger, Sultanlar Kentine Yolculuk, 1578–1581 (Journey to the City of Sultans, 1578–1581), edited by Heidi Stein, translated by Türkis Noyan (Istanbul 2004), p. 113.

18 Baudier, Serrail, pp. 50, 57; Bon and Withers, A Description, p. 36; Demetrius Cantemir, The History of the Growth and the Decay of the Othman Empire, translated by N. Tindal (London 1734–1735), p. 296; Carari, Voyage, vol. 4, p. 70; Dallaway, Constantinople, p. 26; Georges Guillet de Saint-Georges, An Account of a Late Voyage to Athens […] (London 1676), p. 158; Joseph von Hammer, Histoire de l'Empire Ottoman depuis son origine jusqu'à nos jours, translated by J. J. Hellert (18 vols., Paris 1835–1843), vol. 17 (1841), pp. 70–71; Aaron Hill, A Full and Just Account of the Present State of the Ottoman Empire […] (London 1709), p. 169; John Cam Hobhouse, A Journey through Albania and Other Provinces of Turkey in Europe and Asia to Constantinople during the Years 1809 to 1810 (2 vols., London 1813), vol. 1, p. 852; Lewis, Domenico's Istanbul, p. 35; Lubenau, Lubenau Seyahatnamesi, vol. 1, p. 207; Marchebus, Voyage de Paris a Constantinople par bateau à vapeur […] (Paris 1839), pp. 152–155; Antoine Ignace Melling, Intérieur d'une partie du Harem du Grand Seigneur, in Voyage pittoresque de Constantinople et des rives du Bosphore […] (Paris 1819), s. p.; Motraye, Travels, vol. 1, p. 247; Mouradgea d'Ohsson, Tableau, vol. 7, pp. 63–64; Nicolay, Navigations, p. 99; Guillaume Antoine Olivier, Travels in the Ottoman Empire, Egypt and Persia […] (2 vols., London 1801), vol. 1, pp. 27–28; Sagredo, Histoire, vol. 7, p. 30; Tavernier, A New Relation, p. 88.

of purchasing female slaves for the imperial harem.[19] Related to this issue, some accounts allow us to trace the geographic origins of female palace slaves. According to these accounts, there were women in the imperial harem who were brought from Europe, Asia, and Africa.[20]

Some accounts touch upon the education of harem members. They describe that the training of the girls in court manners was placed under the supervision of more experienced women.[21] The girls were taught Islamic religion, Turkish, and some of them even received education in sewing, embroidery, music, and dancing.[22] Less often, the accounts provide information on the size of the imperial harem, although their estimates of female members varied and were sometimes exaggerated.[23]

Even though most of the accounts depict female slaves of the imperial harem as a single group, they often provide details about the mother and consorts of the sultan. Not surprisingly, Roxelana (c. 1502–1558) the famous consort of Sultan Süleyman I, was a favorite topic. Details were provided regarding the role

19 Dallaway, Constantinople, p. 28; Motraye, Travels, vol. 1, p. 247; Mouradgea d'Ohsson, Tableau, vol. 7, pp. 63–64; Nicolay, Navigations, p. 99.

20 Bon and Withers, A Description, pp. 101–102; Dallaway, Constantinople, p. 28; Charles Deval, Deux années à Constantinople et en Morée (1825–1826) [...] (London, Paris 1828), p. 101; Lubenau, Lubenau Seyahatnamesi, vol. 1, p. 207; Mouradgea d'Ohsson, Tableau, vol. 7, p. 69; Nicolay, Navigations, p. 99; Postel, Republique, p. 34; Ursu, Historia Turchesca, p. 128.

21 Writing in 1534, the Italian Benedetto Ramberti related that the education of virgin girls was entrusted to matrons (Ramberti, Libri tre, p. 253); see also Sieur de la Croix, Mémoirs de Sieur de la Croix, cy-devant Secretaire de l'Ambassade de Constantinople: Contenans Diverses relations tres-curieuses de l'Empire Othoman (2 vols., Paris 1684), vol. 1, p. 354; Robert Fauvel et al., Le voyage d'ltalie et du Levant, de Messieurs Fermanel Fauvel, Baudouin de Launay, et de Stochove [...] (Rouen 1670), p. 77; Nicolay, Navigations, p. 99; Rycaut, The Present State, p. 39.

22 Ursu, Historia Turchesca, p. 128. These details were mentioned by several other European authors. See Baudier, Serrail, pp. 50, 57–58; Bey, Gritti, Opera noua, pp. 268–269; Bon and Withers, A Description, p. 38; Croix, Mémoirs, vol. 1, p. 354; Dernschwam, Seyahat Günlüğü, p. 189. Girls were taught sewing and embroidery in the palace. See Menavino, I cinque libri, p. 135; Postel, Republique, pp. 6, 33; Ramberti, Libri tre, p. 253; Sansovino, Dell'Historia, p. 32; Schweigger, Yolculuk, p. 113. Mouradgea d'Ohsson observed that the newly acquired slaves for the harem were educated by older women at the end of their novitiate. See Mouradgea d'Ohsson, Tableau, vol. 7, p. 64.

23 Bon and Withers, A Description, pp. 35–36; Carari, Voyage, vol. 4, p. 70; Fauvel, Voyage, pp. 76, 79; C. G. Fisher and A. W. Fisher, Topkapı Sarayı in the Mid-seventeenth Century: Bobovi's Description, in Archivum Ottomanicum 10 (1985 [1987]), pp. 5–81, p. 73; Formanti, Raccolta, p. 15; Costantino Garzoni, Relazione del impero ottomano [1573], in Eugenio Albèri (ed.), Relazioni degli ambasciatori veneti al senato (Florence 1840), series III, vol. 1, p. 395; Lewis, Domenico's Istanbul, p. 23; Sagredo, Histoire, vol. 7, p. 30; George Sandys, A Relation of a Journey began An Dom. 1610 (London 1615), p. 74.

and status of sultan's consorts such as their income, material world, entourage, and activities. There was also a focus on the role and status of the chief administrative officer in the harem. Generally, she was referred to as *kahya kadın,* and reportedly she acted as the superintendent of the imperial harem and had an influential and prestigious position, being governess and lady matron to all the women.[24] She examined all the girls who were brought to the palace and ensured their adherence to the harem's rules and orders.[25] *Kahya kadın* was also frequently referred as the matron who took care of the women who were destined to become the sultan's consorts.[26]

Various accounts provide information about the position and roles of eunuchs. The main narrative is that women were guarded by the eunuchs and that, apart from the sultan and the eunuchs it was impossible for women to have any relations with other men

In the harem narratives, Jewish women were mentioned frequently.[27] It was noted that some Jewish women who were skilled in trade had the exceptional privilege of being allowed into the harem for commercial purposes.[28] Some authors noted that Jewish women taught needlework to female members of the

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24 This information was repeated in several European sources. For examples see Bassano, I Costumi, p. 18; Baudier, Serrail, p. 55; Joseph-Eugène Beauvoisins, Notice sur la cour du Grand Seigneur, son Sérail, son Harem, La Famille du Sang imperial, sa Maison Militaire, et ses Ministres (Paris 1807), pp. 26 – 28; Lorenzo Bernardo, Relazione [1592], in Albèri, Relazioni, series 3, vol. 2, p. 360; Bon and Withers, A Description, p. 147; Antoine Laurent Castellan, Moeurs, Usages, Costume des Othomans et Abrégé de leur Histoire (6 vols., Paris 1812), vol. 3, pp. 62 – 63; Elias Habesci, The Present State of the Ottoman Empire. Containing A More Accurate and Interesting Account [...] of the Turks (London 1784), pp. 166, 169; Charles Pertusier, Promenades pittoresque dans Constantinople et sur les rives du Bosphore (3 vols., Paris 1815), vol. 2, p. 290; Tavernier, A New Relation, p. 88.

25 Bon and Withers, A Description, p. 37; Courmenin, Voyage, p. 158; Fauvel, Voyage, p. 77; Lubenau, Lubenau Seyahatnamesi, p. 208; Nicolay, Navigations, p. 99; Postel, Republique, p. 33; Rycaut, The Present State, p. 39; Sagredo, Histoire, vol. 7, p. 30.

26 Baudier, Serrail, p. 51; Burgo, Viaggio, p. 376; Mouradgea d'Ohsson, Tableau, vol. 7, p. 69. This information was also noted by Hammer. See Hammer, Histoire, vol. 17, pp. 70 – 71. See also Courmenin, Voyage, p. 158; Fauvel, Voyage, p. 77; Hobhouse, Journey, vol. 1, p. 853; Lewis, Domenico's Istanbul, p. 32; Rycaut, The Present State, p. 40; Sagredo, Histoire, vol. 7, p. 30; Matteo Zane, Relazione [1594], in Albèri, Relazioni, series III, vol. 3, pp. 381 – 444, p. 412.

27 For a detailed discussion of how Jewish women were portrayed in early modern English travel books on Turkey see Eva Holmberg, Esthers in the Seraglio: Jewish Women in Early Modern English Travel Narratives on Turkey, in Anu Korhonen and Kate Lowe (eds.), The Trouble with Ribs: Women, Men and Gender in Early Modern Europe (2 vols., Helsinki 2007), vol. 2, pp. 34 – 56.

28 Grelot, Voyage, pp. 79 – 80; Tavernier, A New Relation, p. 85.

harem, or the secret of some excellent medical recipes for the healing of their infirmities or the conservation of their health.[29]

These accounts, however, rarely include information concerning the imperial harem's organization, its functioning, and its internal dynamics,[30] or information concerning the life of manumitted female palace slaves following their transfer from the imperial harem. Only some European accounts provide information about the marriages of female slaves. They indicate that the majority of female slaves were manumitted after serving for a period of time, left the imperial harem, and later married men of various statuses.[31]

In every period, narratives mainly focused on the sultan and emphasized his sexual life. In most of the accounts, the main emphasis was on the pleasure of the sultan, and above all, his sexual pleasure. They noted that the main purpose of women and virgins in the harem was to please the sultan and to satisfy him. The sultan chose whomever he wanted and entertained himself.[32] The Venetian ambassador Marco Minio stated in 1522 that the sultan was lascivious and that he frequently went to the women's palace.[33] Domenico Hierosolimitano wrote that women would look for people who could teach them incantations to impress the sultan.[34] Various fanciful tales were popularized by Europeans and these tales were mainly associated with the sexual life of the monarch. The most com-

29 Baudier, Serrail, p. 62; Bon and Withers, A Description, p. 52–54; Guer, Moeurs, vol. 2, p. 34.

30 Rarely, accounts provide information about routine practices in the harem such as the habit of assigning food and clothing to the residents. See Ramberti, Libri tre, p. 253; Sansovino, Dell' Historia, p. 32. This issue was also mentioned in Bon and Withers, A description, 49; Heberer, Osmanlıda Bir Köle, p. 239; Histoire Generale des Turcs (2 vols., Paris 1662), vol. 2, p. 29; Schweigger, Yolculuk, p. 113.

31 For detailed information about the marriage of manumitted female palace slaves see İpşirli Argıt, Life after the Harem, ch. 3. See also Bassano, I Costumi, p. 18; Baudier, Serrail, pp. 50, 62; Bon and Withers, A Description, pp. 48–49; Cantemir, History, p. 443; Dallaway, Constantinople, p. 115; Dernschwam, Seyahat Günlüğü, p. 189; Stephan Gerlach, Türkiye Günlüğü 1577–1578 (Stephen Gerlach's Diary on Turkey 1577–1578), edited by Kemal Beydilli, translated by Türkis Noyan (2 vols., Istanbul 2006), vol. 2, p. 637; Heberer, Osmanlıda Bir Köle, p. 239; Lubenau, Lubenau Seyahatnamesi, p. 208; Nicolay, Navigations, p. 99; Postel, Republique, pp. 6, 32; Ramberti, Libri tre, pp. 253–254; Sandys, Relation, p. 74; Spandounes, On the Origin, p. 113; Thévenot, Travels, p. 25; Thornton, Present State, pp. 372–373; Ursu, Historia Turchesca, pp. 128–129.

32 Bassano, I Costumi, p. 18; Courmenin, Voyage, pp. 158, 168; Dernschwam, Seyahat Günlüğü, p. 189; Garzoni, Relazione, p. 395; Heberer, Osmanlıda Bir Köle, pp. 238–240; Lewis, Domenico's Istanbul, p. 32; Menavino, I cinque libri, p. 135; Nicolay, Navigations, p. 99; Ramberti, Libri tre, p. 253; Sansovino, Dell'Historia, p. 32.

33 Marco Minio, Relazione [1522], in Albèri, Relazioni, series III, vol. 3, pp. 69–91, p. 78.

34 Lewis, Domenico's Istanbul, p. 36.

mon tale was that the sultan threw his handkerchief to the woman he liked most, as a sign of her election to his bed.[35]

Another related and intriguing matter was the presentation ceremony of virgins to the great seigneur during which he chose his companion for the night. Most of the accounts provide detailed descriptions of this ceremony[36] and of the consummation of the sultan's intercourse with the virgin.[37]

Obviously, there were several reasons behind such a focus on sexuality. Sexuality in the imperial harem was an important element that fed stereotypes. European readers were curious about the sexual life of the East and books touching upon this subject found buyers. Thus, commercial reasons were influential in this respect. It should also be remembered that obscenity served political purposes in Europe. In the period 1500 to 1800 pornography was a vehicle of critique against religious and political authorities. A link was deemed to exist between debauchery and tyranny or despotism and rulers' potential tyranny was often represented in sexual terms.[38]

2 Seventeenth century narratives

The sultans' Seraglio continued to attract the curiosity of European observers in the seventeenth century. In this century, accounts generally bolstered the stereotypes and enriched the fantasies of the harem. One of the frequently referenced accounts belongs to Ottaviano Bon (1552–1623), who served as Venetian *bailo* in Istanbul from 1604 to 1607. His information about the Topkapı Palace came from

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35 Baudier, Serrail, p. 50; Ali Ufkî Bey and Albertus Bobovius, Saray-ı Enderun: Topkapı Sarayı'nda Yaşam (Saray-ı Enderun: Life in the Topkapı Palace), translated by Türkis Noyan (Istanbul 2013), p. 61; Bon and Withers, A Description, p. 39; Burgo, Viaggio, p. 377; Courmenin, Voyage, p. 159; Fauvel, Voyage, p. 88; Fisher and Fisher, Topkapı Sarayı, p. 67; Gerlach, Türkiye Günlüğü, vol. 1, p. 107; Menavino, I cinque libri, p. 135; Rycaut, The Present State, p. 39; Sandys, Relation, p. 74; Sansovino, Dell'Historia, p. 32; Spandounes, On the Origin, p. 113. This narrative continued even in the eighteenth century: Motraye, Travels, vol. 1, p. 195; Sagredo, Histoire, vol. 7, pp. 32–33; Thornton, Present State, p. 370. Exceptionally, Dernschwam noted that if the sultan liked one of them, he threw her a pouch full of 1,000 asper. See Dernschwam, Seyahat Günlüğü, p. 189.

36 See Courmenin, Voyage, p. 159; Lewis, Domenico's Istanbul, p. 32; Postel, Republique, pp. 31–32; Spandounes, On the Origin, p. 113.

37 Baudier, Serrail, p. 52; Hill, Account, p. 167; Lewis, Domenico's Istanbul, pp. 32–33; Menavino, I cinque libri, p. 136; Rycaut, The Present State, p. 40.

38 Lynn Hunt, Introduction, in Lynn Hunt (ed.), The Invention of Pornography: Obscenity and the Origins of Modernity, 1500–1800 (New York 1993), pp. 9–48.

its head gardener (*bostancıbaşı*), and Bon presented it as a report. He recorded every aspect of life at the palace, including life in the harem. Robert Withers, who came to Istanbul in 1610, translated Bon's Italian report into English. However, Withers made some small additions. John Greaves, who was in Istanbul in 1638, found this translation and published it in London in 1650, stating that the author of the book was Robert Withers.[39]

Additionally, the account of the Frenchman Michel Baudier (1589 – 1645) greatly influenced the seventeenth-century concept of the Seraglio. Baudier used Domenico's *Relatione*, as well as *Relazioni* by Ottaviano Bon, as major sources for his popular book, *Histoire générale du Serrail, et de la Cour du Grand Seigneur, Empereur des Turcs,* which was published in 1624 and reprinted and translated throughout the seventeenth century. He contributed greatly to the stereotypical image of the lustful Turk by depicting an image of a sovereign who enjoys a lascivious and a delightful life. Baudier regarded ladies in the harem as the subjects of the Sultan's delight and virgins in particular as the focus of the sovereign's sexual fantasies. In his account he repeatedly emphasized the narrative which claimed that "the purpose of the virgins was to please and entertain the sovereign"[40] He also elaborated on the narrative of the presentation ceremony of virgins to the sultan.[41] Affections among women was a topic already mentioned by Bon[42] and Baudier dwelled on this issue in detail.[43] The fantasy that, like young men, women too could conceive a "detestable love" for one another was commonly referred to in seventeenth-century travel journals.[44] This theme was also mentioned in later accounts.[45] Some authors exaggerated this subject and noted that cucumbers were sliced at the gate to prevent

39 Bon and Withers, A Description. For information about Bon see Ottaviano Bon, The Sultan's Seraglio: An Intimate Portrait of the Life at the Ottoman Court, edited and annotated by Godfrey Goodwin (London 1996), pp. 11 – 19.

40 Baudier, Serrail. This theme was, for instance, mentioned by Fauvel (see Fauvel, Voyage, pp. 80 – 81, 84 – 85) and survived into the nineteenth century (see Marchebus, Voyage, pp. 152 – 155).

41 Baudier, Serrail, p. 51. The theme was also mentioned in the following accounts: Beauvoisins, Notice, pp. 25 – 26; Croix, Mémoirs, vol. 2, p. 365; Fauvel, Voyage, pp. 77 – 78; Habesci, Present State, pp. 168 – 169; Hill, Account, pp. 165 – 166; Rycaut, The Present State, p. 39.

42 Bon and Withers, A Description, p. 48.

43 Baudier, Serrail, pp. 164 – 167.

44 Rycaut, The Present State, pp. 33 – 34; Stephanos Yerasimos and Annie Berthier (eds.), Albertus Bobovius ya da Santuri Ali Ufki Bey'in anıları: Topkapı Sarayı'nda Yaşam (The Memories of Albertus Bobovius or Santuri Ali Ufki Bey: Life in the Topkapı Palace), translated by Ali Berktay (Istanbul 2002), p. 72; Tavernier, A New Relation, p. 88.

45 Guer, Moeurs, vol. 2, p. 83; Melling, Intérieur, s. p.

lust.[46] There were also accounts of terrifying punishments meted out to these women. If they proved disobedient, incorrigible, and insolent, they were sent to the Old Palace on the sultan's order and stripped of most of their possessions. If they were accused of being engaged with witchcraft or any similar act, they were bound hand and foot, put into a sack, and thrown into the sea during the night. Bon added that if female slaves wanted to come to a good end, they had to contain themselves within the bounds of honesty, chastity, and good behavior.[47] Likewise, several other authors described that girls found to have engaged in improper behavior were squeezed in a sack – sometimes tied together with the guilty party – and thrown into the sea.[48]

Jealousy among the girls was another theme that appeared in the account of Baudier and in some of the later accounts. Rivalry among the harem residents supposedly caused fierce disputes and intrigues, which was even highlighted in the titles of some works, for example in the account by François de Chassepol.[49]

Baudier also mentioned the jealousy of black eunuchs[50] and embellished the story of the Jewish ladies who entered to the harem for commerce in detail: how they bargained with eunuchs at the gate, how they made trade secretly, how they gained great fortune and how they were sometimes charged of fraud.[51] These Jewish women were described as good sources of information, skilled and cunning traders, go-betweens, and rich powerbrokers.[52] In this context, he elaborated on the dramatic story of a famous Jewish woman named Kira and focused on

46 Baudier, Serrail, p. 65; Bon and Withers, A Description, pp. 55–56; Tavernier, A New Relation, p. 88.
47 Bon and Withers, A Description, p. 55. Baudier reiterated this, drawing on Bon's account. See Baudier, Serrail, p. 65.
48 Burgo, Viaggio, p. 377; Habesci, Present State, p. 171; Histoire Generale des Turcs, vol. 2, p. 31; Melling, Intérieur, s. p.; Albert Jouvin de Rochefort, Le voyageur d'Europe, où est le voyage de Turquie, qui comprend la Terre Sainte et l'Egypte [...] (Paris 1676), p. 213.
49 Baudier, Serrail; François de Chassepol, The History of the Grand Visiers, Mahomet and Achmet Coprogli, Of the three last Grand Signiors, their Sultana's and Chief Favourites; with the most secret Intrigues of the Seraglio. Besides several other particulars of the Wars of Dalmatia, Transylvania, Hungary, Candia, and Poland, translated by John Evelyn junior (London 1677); Courmenin, Voyage, p. 167; Fauvel, Voyage, pp. 80–81. See also Beauvoisins, Notice, p. 17; Guer, Moeurs; Melling, Intérieur, s. p.; Pierre Lambert de Saumery, Anecdotes Venitiennes et Turques ou Nouveaux Mémoires du Comte Bonneval [...] (2 vols., Frankfurt am Main 1740), vol. 1, p. 161.
50 Baudier, Serrail, p. 55; see also Arvieux, Memoires, vol. 4, pp. 481–482.
51 Baudier, Serrail, pp. 62–63.
52 For information on this issue see Holmberg, Esthers in the Seraglio, p. 49.

her covetousness.[53] Other accounts hinted at intimate relationships between women and eunuchs.[54]

Another seventeenth-century author whose account was frequently used in later texts was Jean Baptiste Tavernier (1605 – 1689). He stated that he included a chapter about the women's quarters "only to entertain, with the impossibility there is, of having a perfect knowledge of it, or getting any exact account, either what accommodations of it are; or how the Persons, who are confined therein, behave themselves." He added that a white eunuch, who supplied him with specific descriptions of the inner part of the Seraglio, could not give him information on the women's quarter.[55] In spite of admitting the difficulty of reaching information about the harem, Tavernier also regarded the apartment of the women as subservient to the pleasures of the Ottoman monarchs.[56]

Another contemporary narrative account of the palace is by Albertus Bobovius (c. 1610 – c. 1675), who was a page in the *Enderun*.[57] He was taken captive and sold to the palace, where he lived for nineteen years as a royal page specializing in music. He noted that he aimed to give accurate and complete information about the palace based on what he experienced and witnessed with his own eyes. His account concentrates on the palace's functional organization and includes information about the women's apartments based on what he had learned from the wife of an imperial cavalry officer who had served herself in the imperial harem.[58]

53 Baudier, Serrail, pp. 63 – 65. John Sanderson also mentioned Kira. See John Sanderson, in Samuel Purchas (ed.), His Pilgrimes, Contayning a History of the World in Sea Voyages and Lande Travells, by Englishmen and Others (4 vols., London. 1625), vol. 2, pp. 1614 – 1640, p. 1622. Quoted in Holmberg, Esthers in the Seraglio, pp. 43 – 45.

54 Melling, Intérieur, s. p.

55 Tavernier, A New Relation, p. 85.

56 Tavernier, A New Relation, p. 88.

57 The text written by Bobovius around 1665 was published in 1669 in German and in 1679 in Italian. In 1685, Pierre de Girardin (d. 1689), the French ambassador in Istanbul, adapted the original Italian text into French, but incorporated his own personal interpretations, and sent it to France as if he had written the account himself. For the Turkish translation of this account see Yerasimos and Berthier, Topkapı Sarayı'nda Yaşam. A partial English translation of the Paris manuscript also exists: Fisher and Fisher, Topkapı Sarayı, pp. 7 – 81. For the Turkish translation of the book published in German in 1669 see Bobovius, Saray-ı Enderun: Topkapı Sarayı'nda Yaşam. The translation of the book published in German is extremely valuable for its footnotes highlighting what Girardin added to Bobovius's work.

58 Fisher and Fisher, Topkapı Sarayı, p. 72. Later on, Thomas Thornton assumed that no direct information could be obtained about the imperial harem except what could be learned from ladies who had themselves constituted part of the imperial harem. Thornton, Present State, p. 361.

Bobovius wrote statements which revealed the logic behind the functioning of the system. For instance, he noted that the primary aim of education in the harem was to teach Ottoman court culture and loyalty to the imperial household.[59] Yet, Bobovius's detailed accounts of the sexual practices and mores of the sultan illustrate the fact that even the most reliable of European descriptions of the harem adopted to some degree the body of hearsay and fantasy circulating among foreign observers. According to Bobovius, "the valide sultan instructs female slaves in all the manners and skills they can use to evoke the love of the sultan, so that in time they can become concubines or else be married to an eminent person outside the palace."[60] He also repeated the popular tale of throwing a handkerchief to the desired girl.[61]

Another author whose work was a reference for subsequent accounts was Paul Rycaut (1628 – 1700) who served as secretary to the English Embassy in the 1660s. He noted that he received information about the imperial court from a person who had spent nineteen years in it.[62] Most probably he referred to Bobovius. With the writing of *The Present State* (presented to England's secretary of state in 1665 though not published until 1668), Rycaut repeated the available body of anecdote, gossip, and fantasy about the harem and thus his account bolstered the stereotyped, clichéd image of the harem, with an emphasis on lasciviousness. He announced his intention with the following words: "[T]hough I ingenuously confess my acquaintance […] with [these] women […] is […] unfamiliar I shall to the best of my information write a short account of these Captivated Ladies, how they are treated, immured, educated and prepared for the great achievements of the Sultans affection."[63] Rycaut, for instance, regarded girls' education as a way to attract the affection of the sultan and he highlighted that the main aim of "the army of virgins" was to obtain an invitation to the bed of their master. He embellished the event of a girl's entry into the man's bedchamber[64] and elaborated on the practice of *halvet* (privacy):

> When the Grand Signior is pleased to dally with a certain number of these Ladies in the Garden […] Helvet is cryed […]. [A]ll people withdraw themselves at a distance, and Eu-

59 Bobovius, Saray-ı Enderun: Topkapı Sarayı'nda Yaşam, pp. 76 – 77.
60 Fisher and Fisher, Topkapı Sarayı, p. 73.
61 Bobovius, Saray-ı Enderun: Topkapı Sarayı'nda Yaşam, p. 61; Fisher and Fisher, Topkapı Sarayı, p. 67. In the French translation, which includes additions of Girardin, there are references to intimate relationship between women. Yerasimos and Berthier, Topkapı Sarayı'nda Yaşam, p. 72.
62 Rycaut, The Present State, "the Epistle to the Reader".
63 Rycaut, The Present State, p. 38.
64 Rycaut, The Present State, p. 39.

> nuchs are placed at every avenue, it being at that time death to approach near those walls. Here the Women strive with their Dances, Songs, and Discourse to make themselves Mistresses of the Grand Signior's affection, and then let themselves loose to all kind of lasciviousness and wanton carriage, acquitting themselves as much of all respect to Majesty as they do to modesty.[65]

Like many accounts of the previous century, Rycaut's and his predecessors' narrative about the harem was again a reflection of European readers' curiosity about the sexuality of the East. It has been noted that authors wrote about the harem in such a way as to meet Western readers' expectations.[66] However, one should read Rycaut's harem narrative by taking into consideration his apprehension of the Ottoman sultan and his government.[67] Rycaut's picture of the Ottoman sultan was uncompromisingly negative. He attributed impulsive irrationality and despotic cruelty to the Ottoman sultan and defined the Ottoman government as a tyranny controlled by a severe and absolute ruler who was above the law.[68] With this background in mind, one can form a more nuanced opinion of Rycaut's observations.

3 Eighteenth century narratives

Following Rycaut, Orientalizing fantasies did not diminish and some authors continued to emphasize the lascivious customs. For instance, Aaron Hill (1685–1750) who arrived in Constantinople in 1700 and stayed for three years, depicted the emperor as enjoying the pleasure of pure, undoubted virgins and regarded ladies who obtained a monarch's heart in exchange for their virginities as happy and successful ladies.[69]

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65 Rycaut, The Present State, p. 39.

66 Etat Général de l'Empire Othoman depuis sa Fondation jusques à Présent et l'abregé des Vies des Empereurs: Par un Solitaire Turc […], translated by M. de la Croix (4 vols., Paris 1695) vol. 1, pp. 342–343.

67 For a critical evaluation of Rycaut's book that take into account the dynamics of the Ottoman Empire and England in the seventeenth century see Linda T. Darling, Ottoman Politics through British Eyes: Paul Rycaut's The Present State of the Ottoman Empire, in Journal of World History 5 (1994), pp. 71–97.

68 Rycaut, The Present State, pp. 2–3.

69 Hill, Account, p. 168. Christine Gerrard notes that "Hill's primary model was Rycaut's Present State of the Ottoman Empire. Both authors investigate 'perverse' Oriental sexual practices, but Rycaut's treatment of 'libidinous flames' of homoerotic love is mild compared to Hill's." Christine Gerrard and Aaron Hill: The Muses' Projector 1685–1750 (Oxford 2003), p. 22.

In this period, however, some authors, including Aaron Hill, criticized earlier writers for inventing erroneous stories that did not reflect the reality. He claimed to narrate the truth, yet even he admitted that he reiterated what the reader wanted to read. He noted that:

> I will not only entertain the world with agreeable amusement, but proceed by regular degrees to give the reader an entire idea of the Seraglio of the Turkish sultan, not omitting any odd and pleasant observation […]. I will trace the sultan to his amorous pastimes with the virgins of his pleasure […] and if the British ladies are desirous of a further information, still advance a step or two beyond it.[70]

Another author who played an important role in strengthening already existing perceptions of the harem was Antoine Galland (1646 – 1715) who was in Istanbul in the 1670s as secretary of the French ambassador. Galland translated *One Thousand and One Nights* and adapted it to meet European taste or expectations.[71] The highly sexualized themes presented in this work reinforced fantastic-exotic harem images in the minds of the Westerners. Galland's translation attained great success and major European writers of the eighteenth and nineteenth century were to some extent influenced by the tales.[72] Some accounts of this period contained for instance detailed romantic stories related to the female slaves of the harem, such as the story of a female slave of queen mother (*valide sultan*) Gülnûş Sultan (d. 1715). This girl was the wife of Baltacı Mehmed Pasha and played a role in the career of her husband.[73]

In eighteenth-century accounts, we observe a growing diversity of attitudes toward the harem. The account of Aubry de la Motraye (1674 – 1743), who was in Istanbul at the beginning of the eighteenth century, is noteworthy. When the sultan was in Edirne with his entire court, Motraye was able to see the interior of several harems by accompanying the individual who had been assigned the task of mending some pendulums in the Seraglio. He was conducted by a

70 Hill, Account, pp. 147, 149.

71 Antoine Galland (trans.), Les Mille et une Nuits: Contes Arabes traduits en Français (12 vols., Paris 1704 – 1717).

72 For information on this work see Frédéric Bauden, Antoine Galland, in David Thomas and John Chesworth (eds.), Christian-Muslim Relations, A Bibliographical History, vol. 13: Western Europe (1700 – 1800) (Leiden, London 2019), pp. 543 – 547.

73 Cantemir, History, pp. 442 – 444; Friedrich Ernst von Fabricius, The Genuine Letters of Baron Fabricius, envoy from His Serene Highness the Duke Administrator of Holstein to Charles XII. of Sweden […] (London 1761), p. xv. Another story was about a girl named Zulima. Guer, Moeurs, vol. 2, p. 120; Vincent Mignot, Histoire de l'Empire Ottoman: Depuis son origine jusqu'à la paix de Belgrade en 1740 (4 vols., Paris 1771), vol. 4, pp. 66 – 73, 103 – 104; Saumery, Anecdotes, vol. 1, pp. 160 – 165.

eunuch to the harem while the women were absent.[74] Motraye provided relatively reasonable information about events related the members of the harem, practices in the harem, and the female palace slaves' experiences in the harem. He, for instance, described the practice of *halvet* in a credible way.[75]

Likewise, the account of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu (1689 – 1762), who as the wife of the British ambassador was on Ottoman territory in the years 1717–1718, stands in a category of its own.[76] Montagu herself regarded her account as more accurate and reliable than that of men since she had personally entered the spaces prohibited to men. Having had an opportunity to meet with the elite women of the period, Lady Mary Montagu despised the narratives of male writers such as Rycaut and Hill and criticized them for writing Orientalizing fantasies about the East that did not reflect reality and were thus to be treated with suspicion. Based on the narratives of the women she contacted, she rejected some of the https://www.seslisozluk.net/stereotyped%25252C-clich%2525C3%2525A9d-nedir-ne-demek/stories of the harem (such as throwing a handkerchief to a chosen girl) as not reflecting the reality. Following Lady Mary Montagu, Julia Pardoe (1806 – 1862) and Lady Elizabeth Craven (1750 – 1828) were also opposed to the distorting sexual fantasies of mainly male European writers.[77] European women's harem representations, initiated by Montagu, stand as a feminine response to the prevailing Western fantasies about the exotic harem.[78] Still, it has been argued that, while Lady Mary Montagu tried to subvert the presuppositions of her male predecessors, she nevertheless could not completely break away from male fantasies of Eastern women.[79] Nevertheless, Montagu's thoughts on travelers' writings are noteworthy in terms of revealing a mentality:

74 Motraye, Travels, vol. 1, pp. 171 – 173.

75 Motraye, Travels, vol. 1, pp. 248, 430.

76 Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, The Complete Letters of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, edited by Robert Halsband (3 vols., Oxford 1965 – 1967).

77 Elizabeth Craven, A Journey through the Crimea to Constantinople. In a Series of Letters from the Right Honourable Elizabeth Lady Craven, to his Serene Highness the Margrave of Brandebourg, Anspach, and Bareith (London 1789); Julie Pardoe, The City of the Sultans and the Domestic Manners of the Turks in 1836 (3 vols., London 1838).

78 On English female travelers' writings about Eastern women see Billie Melman, Women's Orients: English Women and the Middle East, 1718 – 1918: Sexuality, Religion, and Work (Ann Arbor, London 1992).

79 Mary Roberts noted, for instance, that female travel writers often blended reality with the fantasy of *Arabian Nights* in an effort to make their tales more believable to European audiences. See Mary Roberts, Contested Terrains: Women Orientalists and the Colonial Harem, in Jill Beaulieu and Mary Roberts (eds.), Orientalism's Interlocutors: Painting, Architecture, Photography (Durham, London 2002), pp. 179 – 202, here pp. 181 – 190. Roberts went beyond this interpretation

> We travelers are in very hard circumstances. If we say nothing but what has been said before us we are dull and we have observed nothing. If we tell anything new, we are laughed at as fabulous and romantic, not allowing either for the difference of ranks, which afford difference of company, or more curiosity, or the changes of customs that happen every twenty year in every country.[80]

Yet, these developments did not change traditional perceptions of the harem. In accounts written in the atmosphere of the Enlightenment, the Ottoman Empire was described according to the tropes of the "despotic theory" discourse and the harem remained one of the most important symbols of despotic rule. In this period, the harem was evaluated from a theoretical framework. European accounts in periods prior to the eighteenth century did not reflect a particular theoretical approach to the Orient; however, they comprised common patterns and ideas which formed the basis for the theory of "Oriental Despotism."[81] This period's writers were influenced mainly by Charles-Louis de Secondat, baron de La Brède et de Montesquieu (1689 – 1755). Montesquieu's accounts formed a stark contrast to the letters from Constantinople by Lady Mary Montagu. He claimed that the worst form of government was despotism and the best example of this was the Ottoman Empire. The harem became a key symbol on the ideological field. Montesquieu portrayed the sultan's harem as a despotic institution based on sexuality and claimed that most women were imprisoned in the harem. In Montesquieu's works, the harem, polygamy, and oppressed women were concepts related to despotism and oppression.[82] Thus, in Montesquieu's narrative, the despot's harem resembled a prison.[83]

Fed by religious prejudice and imperialist ambition, Montesquieu's misrepresentation became a widespread, established view over time. The body of Orientalist literature expanded over time and the West used Orientalist knowledge while building its dominance over the East. Several developments in the eigh-

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by considering how British women authors constructed the harem according to their own feminine fantasy. See Mary Roberts, Intimate Outsiders: The Harem in Ottoman and Orientalist Art and Travel Literature (Durham, London 2007), chapter 3.

80 Lord Wharncliffe (ed.), The Letters and Works of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu (2 vols., London 1837), vol. 2, pp. 51 – 52.

81 For discussion of this theme see Çırakman, From the "Terror of the World".

82 Montesquieu, Lettres Persanes (2 vols., Cologne [=Amsterdam] 1721); Montesquieu, De l'esprit des loix (Geneva 1748).

83 On this theme see Ruth P. Thomas, Montesquieu's Harem and Diderot's Convent: The Woman as Prisoner, in The French Review 52/1 (1978), pp. 36 – 45. This narrative continued after Montesquieu. See for example Marchebus, Voyage, pp. 152 – 155; Pardoe, The City of the Sultans, vol. 1, p. 311; Thornton, Present State, p. 371.

teenth century, such as a growing book trade, a rising interest in travel narratives, and increasing trade with the East, led to further elaboration on the harem fantasies and their spread across broader areas of Europe. They projected an image that was inaccurate but accepted. Although some authors opposed these stereotyped approaches, the Western reader preferred reading about the exotic harem intrigues and affairs of the female slaves. Thus, the reiteration of common and inaccurate stories strengthened the prevailing perceptions of the harem as a "paradise of sexuality."[84]

In this context, Ignatius Mouradgea d'Ohsson's (1740 – 1807) account stands as a rare find, and it has an exceptional value in providing detailed and relatively reasonable information concerning the functioning of the imperial harem as an institution, its residents, and practices. Mouradgea d'Ohsson, who was a functionary of the Swedish Embassy in Istanbul for much of his life, noted that officers of the palace furnished him with details about the imperial palace. He added that he owed the details concerning the female members of the imperial dynasty and the imperial harem to the slave girls of the Seraglio. Many of these girls received their freedom after a few years of service and then they left the imperial palace and were given in marriage to officers of the court. D'Ohsson stated that he corrected his misconception with information supplied by these officers and by Christian women who were able to arrange free access.[85] He noted that he also received information from Christian women who had the opportunity to visit other Ottoman harems.[86] Thus in some regards, information given in Mouradgea d'Ohsson's account complements what is expressed in the Ottoman chronicles and archival materials.

Some accounts of the period contained attempts at correcting some of the common false beliefs and tropes with some authors acknowledging that accepted claims had been fabricated. Thomas Thornton (d. 1814), for instance, noted that some narratives were discredited by absurd descriptions of the custom of women creeping at the bed's foot, of the intrigues and jealousies of the harem ladies, their mutual poisonings, and the stranglings and drownings.[87] Joseph-Eugène Beauvoisins stated that some of the common beliefs in Europe were not true, that there was in fact little information about the sultan's palace and that many authors wrote on the basis of the information they had read without

84 William Eton, Survey of the Turkish Empire: In which are Considered […] (London 1799), p. 63.
85 Mouradgea d'Ohsson, Tableau, vol. 1, pp. ix–x.
86 Mouradgea d'Ohsson, Tableau, vol. 4, pp. 327, 338.
87 Thornton, Present State, pp. 374 – 375.

eyewitnessing real events.[88] Hobhouse also mentioned that idle stories about the harem circulated, but that these stories were rejected by well-informed people.[89] The handkerchief story, for instance, was rejected by Montagu and several other authors, claiming it did not reflect the reality.[90] Likewise, Elias Habesci (d. c. 1793) corrected views that the sultan had sexual intercourse with every woman in the harem, stating that: "it is commonly believed that sultan may take to his bed all the women of palace, yet this claim is a vulgar error."[91]

Conclusions

The harem, which represented "the otherness" of the East, was a source for speculation and fantasy in the West. This chapter is an overview of multiple European accounts providing information on the imperial harem. Many of them include speculations on the mysterious life in the Seraglio and the harem that contributed to the fund of Orientalist clichés. Therefore, it is obvious that taking these narratives at face value and using European accounts as the only source material obfuscates the reality.

At the end of this survey what can we say about the value of these accounts as historical sources for Ottoman studies? This article reveals that these accounts contain a mix of fact, hearsay, and fantasy, and should be assessed critically, but they should still be taken into consideration. Narratives about the harem produced over a long period were not homogeneous and constant. Generally, authors tended to read and copy previously written works and bolstered the stereotyped, clichéd images of the harem. Some authors, however, repeated the previous narratives to some extent, but supplemented them with information from contacts related to the imperial court. Therefore, given the nature of the Ottoman sources, we may conclude that the additional European accounts contribute to a better understanding of various aspects of the Ottoman Seraglio. Ottoman sources, including court records, archival documents from the state archive, and chronicles are valuable in reconstructing the harem hierarchy, and they provide some information about the harem's organization, its functioning, and the lives and personal experiences of the members of the harem. Still, these sources do not allow us to reconstruct every aspect of the theme. Ottoman

88 Beauvoisins, Notice, pp. 23–24.
89 Hobhouse, Journey, vol. 1, pp. 847–856.
90 Beauvoisins, Notice, pp. 24–26; Habesci, Present State, p. 169; Hill, Account, p. 164; Hobhouse, Journey, vol. 1, p. 853; Melling, Intérieur, s. p.
91 Habesci, Present State, p. 167.

sources have limitations due to their official character. Subjects were registered within certain standards, and these sources are silent or offer only limited and superficial information about some issues. These sources generally do not allow us to hear the personal voices of women, to follow every phase of their lives, or to see how they reacted to various situations.[92] Thus, some European accounts provide supplementary information about the harem which may be lacking in the Ottoman sources. Additionally, certain visual materials related to the women of the Seraglio and the imperial harem appearing in the European accounts are valuable in visualizing and understanding the physical environment, daily life, customs, material culture, clothing style, as well as the impact of status and rank in the imperial harem. Consequently, these European accounts should be used in conjunction with other historical sources, comprising written sources, oral sources, visual materials and material objects.

Further research is needed for a reassessment of European accounts as historical sources in reconstructing various aspects of Ottoman history such as social structures, culture, lifestyles, manners, social life, and material culture in the Ottoman Empire, including those of women and children of various statutes, ethnicities, religions and regions.

92 For an evaluation of the Ottoman sources on this issue see İpşirli Argıt, Life after the Harem, pp. 27–30.

Anna Huemer

Effeminate Rulers, Brave Soldiers? "Foreign" Masculinities in Selected Travelogues of Habsburg Diplomats in the Ottoman Empire

1 Habsburg-Ottoman encounters and the representation of masculinities

In the aftermath of the Ottoman expansion in Southeastern Europe, the Austrian Habsburgs and the Ottomans faced each other in conflict-ridden situations. However, mutual relations were not always carried out on the battleground: as a result of the eight Austrian-Turkish wars between 1526 and 1792, more than 65 peace treaties or ceasefire agreements were negotiated. Reciprocal diplomatic missions helped to establish and maintain peace.[1] These missions produced various types of texts, such as reports, diaries, travelogues, and letters. They significantly shaped contemporary knowledge and perceptions of the Ottoman Empire in the early modern Habsburg Monarchy and thus helped to establish positively – as well as negatively – connoted stereotypes,[2] which were visible in

Note: The research group funded by the FWF (P30091) at the University of Salzburg and the University of Graz is currently editing Metzger's travelogue. See Quellen zur habsburgisch-osmanischen Diplomatie in der Neuzeit. Die Internuntiatur des Johann Rudolf Schmid zum Schwarzenhorn (1649): Reisebericht, Instruktionen, Korrespondenz, Berichte, accessed 24 May 2022, <http://glossa.uni-graz.at/o:dipko.rb>. I wish to thank Dr. Franz Georg Graf Seefried (Schloss Stiebar) and Mag. Roman Sigg (Stadtarchiv Stein am Rhein) for access to their archives.

1 Arno Strohmeyer, Einleitung, in Arno Strohmeyer and Norbert Spannenberger (eds.), Frieden und Konfliktmanagement in interkulturellen Räumen: Das Osmanische Reich und die Habsburgermonarchie in der Frühen Neuzeit (Stuttgart 2013), pp. 11 – 30, here p. 11. For an overall perspective see Marlene Kurz et al. (eds.), Das Osmanische Reich und die Habsburgermonarchie. Akten des internationalen Kongresses zum 150-jährigen Bestehen des Institutes für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung, Wien 22.–25. September 2004 (Vienna, Munich 2005); Karl-Heinz Ziegler, Völkerrechtliche Beziehungen zwischen der Habsburgermonarchie und der Hohen Pforte, in Zeitschrift für Neuere Rechtsgeschichte 18 (1996), pp. 177 – 195, here pp. 180 – 189.
2 Almut Höfert, Den Feind beschreiben. "Türkengefahr" und europäisches Wissen über das Osmanische Reich 1450 – 1600 (Frankfurt am Main et al. 2003), pp. 153 – 154, 161; Ulrike Ilg, Bebilderte Reiseberichte aus dem Osmanischen Reich in deutscher Sprache (16. bis 17. Jahrhundert),

https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110698046-016

many different social, cultural, political contexts and are – to some extent – still used today.[3]

Despite the rise of men's studies in historical research,[4] there still is a desideratum for research in terms of the "gendered man" in the history of early modern Habsburg-Ottoman (diplomatic) relations.[5] In an attempt to somewhat close this gap, this chapter will examine the vocabulary linked to masculinities in the diaries/travelogues of the imperial grand ambassador Hans Ludwig von Kuefstein (1582–1656)[6] and his contemporary Johann Georg Metzger (1623–1698).[7]

in Eckhard Leuschner and Thomas Wünsch (eds.), Das Bild des Feindes: Konstruktion von Antagonismen und Kulturtransfer im Zeitalter der Türkenkriege: Ostmitteleuropa, Italien und das Osmanische Reich (Berlin 2013) pp. 55–75, here pp. 56–57; Zita Ágota Pataki, Orientreisen und Stereotypen in Text und Bild, in Bekim Agai (ed.), Orientalische Reisende in Europa, Europäische Reisende im Nahen Osten (Berlin 2010), pp. 169–202, here pp. 170–172.

3 Höfert, Feind, p. 28; Dorothea Nolde, Aufbruch und Festschreibung: Zum Verhältnis von Geschlechtergrenzen und kulturellen Grenzen auf europäischen Auslandsreisen der Frühen Neuzeit, in Christine Roll et al. (eds.), Grenzen und Grenzüberschreitungen: Bilanz und Perspektiven der Frühneuzeitforschung (Cologne 2010), pp. 547–557, here p. 548. For representations of women in particular see Folker Reichert, Fremde Frauen: Die Wahrnehmung von Geschlechterrollen in den spätmittelalterlichen Orientreiseberichten, in Odilo Engels and Peter Schreiner (eds.), Die Begegnungen des Westens mit dem Osten (Sigmaringen 1993), pp. 167–184. In her studies on the contemporary stigmatization of Muslim men in Germany, Katherine Pratt Ewing wrote about the representation of Ottoman and Turkish masculinities in European travelogues. She concluded that many early modern stereotypes on Ottoman masculinities are still used today. See Katherine Pratt Ewing, Stolen Honor: Stigmatizing Muslim Men in Berlin (Stanford 2008), pp. 34–35.

4 For an overall perspective see Martin Dinges, Stand und Perspektiven der Neuen Männergeschichte (Frühe Neuzeit), in Marguerite Bos (ed.), Erfahrung: Alles nur Diskurs? Zur Verwendung des Erfahrungsbegriffs in der Geschlechtergeschichte (Zürich 2004), pp. 71–96; Jürgen Martschukat et al., Männlichkeit: Geschichtswissenschaft, in Stefan Horlacher (ed.), Männlichkeit: Ein interdisziplinäres Handbuch (Stuttgart 2016), pp. 104–126.

5 In contrast, there do already exist works about gender, especially about women, in the early modern diplomatic context. See on a more general basis Corina Bastian et al. (eds.), Das Geschlecht in der Geschichte: Geschlechterrollen in den Außenbeziehungen vom Spätmittelalter bis zum 20. Jahrhundert (Köln et al. 2014); Glenda Sluga and Carolyn James (eds.), Women, Diplomacy and International Politics since 1500 (London, New York 2016). In some aspects, we can build on contemporary research on diplomatic and international studies, which have also focused on gender roles (but mainly on women), such as Karin Aggestam and Ann Towns, The Gender Turn in Diplomacy: A New Research Agenda, in International Feminist Journal of Politics 21/1 (2019), pp. 9–28.

6 Hans Ludwig von Kuefstein, Diarium oder genaue beschraybung deßen, so auf der türkhischen legation vonn tag zu tag fürgehet und gehandelet wirdt etc. Angefangen 21. Novembris 1627, 1628–1629, Linz, Oberösterreichisches Landesarchiv, Herrschaftsarchiv Weinberg, Handschriften, Band 16, fols. 4r–143v (henceforth Kuefstein, Diarium).

Kuefstein was a member of the Lower-Austrian nobility; Metzger was the son of a small-town official. Due to their very different social backgrounds (and positions), their accounts provide two different perspectives on the perception and the representation of Ottoman masculinities. This is a particularly important aspect in historical (and contemporary) gender studies, which is why these two travelogues have been chosen as main sources here. Neither Kuefstein's nor Metzger's travelogue has been analyzed in terms of gender so far. Additionally, Metzger's original manuscript has only recently been discovered in a private archive in Lower Austria, which makes it a pivotal source for gender studies and further research.

Gender studies have shown that masculinity is a mutable category that cannot be defined by one universal standard. Masculinit*ies* are not biologically determined. Scholars argue that they are made of socially and culturally constructed codes that vary by class, age, religion, ethnicity, and many other factors.[8] This is particularly true for early modern Central Europe, where stark hierarchies of age, as well as social and marital status, were deeply ingrained.[9] Especially for diplomats or members of diplomatic missions, it was (and still is) an important aspect of their job to consider the intercultural differences regarding ethnicity, social positions, duties, and gender.[10] Their images of masculinities in particular can be regarded as products of narrative strategies and processes referring to societal scripts and prescripts on regional and local gender orders, mainly de-

7 Johann Georg Metzger, Itinerarium oder Rayss Beschreibung von Wien in Österreich nach Constantinopel. Darin werden beschriben die durchgerayste länder, stätt, vestungen, schlößer, märck unnd dörffer unnd deren inwohnenden völckher, arth unnd tracht, auch die audientzen, visitationes der pottschafter sambt anderen vihlen denckhwürdigen sachen. In drey underschidliche thail außgethailt unnd mit etlichen abgerißnen figuren geziert (Wien 1650), Gresten, Schlossarchiv Stiebar (henceforth Metzger, Rayss).

8 Raewyn Connell, Der gemachte Mann: Konstruktion und Krise von Männlichkeiten (Wiesbaden 2006), pp. 99–102; Stefan Horlacher, Überlegungen zur theoretischen Konzeption männlicher Identität aus kulturwissenschaftlicher Perspektive: Ein Forschungsüberblick mit exemplarischer Vertiefung, in Stefan Horlacher (ed.), "Wann ist die Frau eine Frau?" – "Wann ist der Mann ein Mann?" Konstruktionen von Geschlechtlichkeit von der Antike bis ins 21. Jahrhundert (Würzburg 2010), pp. 195–238, here pp. 222–223; Jürgen Martschukat, Geschichte der Männlichkeiten: Akademisches Viagra oder Baustein einer relationalen und intersektionalen Geschlechtergechichte, in L'Homme 26/2 (2015), pp. 199–132, here p. 125.

9 Alexandra Shepard, Meanings of Manhood in Early Modern England (Oxford 2010), p. 2.

10 Dorothea Nolde, Der diplomatische Körper: Überlegungen zu einer Körpergeschichte der frühneuzeitlichen Diplomatie, in Frühneuzeitinfo 29 (2018), pp. 5–17, here pp. 8, 11; Abigail Ruane, "Real Men" and Diplomats: Intercultural Diplomatic Negotiation and Masculinities in China and the United States, in International Studies Perspectives 7/4 (2006), pp. 342–359, here pp. 343–344.

pending on time, space, and power structures.[11] Thus, "masculinities" in these contexts do not represent certain types of men, but, rather, ways in which men position themselves and others through discursive practices and images.[12] According to Stefan Horlacher, there have been various "key" or "master narratives" on masculinities throughout history[13] that have served as dominant social and cultural benchmarks.

Regarding the perception or the representation of "foreign" masculinities – especially in travelogues – comparisons or judgements between different models of gender, including of masculinities, were (and still are) often used as reflections on contemporary narratives about the culture of origin and the country visited. Gender has been identified as an important factor in the representation of inequality and hierarchy.[14] Thus, masculinities may also serve as determinant categories used to express (cultural) superiority in relation to the "unknown."[15] Therefore, this chapter follows up on the question: which hierarchic, competing, or even dysfunctional, images of *Ottoman* masculinities can be detected within the works of Kuefstein and Metzger?

2 Two authors – two perspectives

Kuefstein's and Metzger's accounts offer two different views – not only on diplomatic missions *per se*, but also on perceptions and expressions of masculinit*ies:* Kuefstein, an Austrian nobleman, was named imperial grand ambassador in 1627. His mission was to represent the emperor, Ferdinand II (1578 – 1637), and to deliver a ratified peace treaty to Sultan Murad IV (1612 – 1640). His activities brought him in contact with people from diverse cultural backgrounds, which

11 Raewyn Connell and James Messerschmidt, Hegemonic Masculinity: Rethinking the Concept, in Gender and Society 19/6 (2005), pp. 829 – 859, here p. 849; Martschukat, Männlichkeit, pp. 105 – 106; Gabriele Rippl, "Merit, Justice, Gratitude, Duty, Fidelity": Images of Masculinity in Autobiographies of Early Modern English Gentlewomen and Aristocrats, in Stefan Horlacher (ed.), Constructions of Masculinity in British Literature from the Middle Ages to the Present (New York 2011), pp. 69 – 87, here p. 72. On the construction of social categories see Wolfgang Frindte, Radikaler Konstruktivismus und Social Constructionism: Sozialpsychologische Folgen und die empirische Rekonstruktion eines Gespenstes, in Hans Rudi Fischer (ed.), Die Wirklichkeit des Konstruktivismus: Zur Auseinandersetzung um ein neues Paradigma (Heidelberg 1995), pp. 103 – 130, here p. 120.

12 Connell, Messerschmidt, Masculinity, p. 841.

13 Horlacher, Konzeption, p. 220.

14 Connell, Konstruktion, 99 – 102; Nolde, Geschlechtergrenzen, p. 556.

15 Dinges, Perspektiven, p. 75.

may have shaped his perception of differing social orders as well as of masculinities. Kuefstein's account – a mixture of itinerary, report, and travelogue – mainly describes his tasks as a high-ranking diplomat. The ambassador also wrote about the political and religious aspects of the two opposing powers, described diplomatic ceremonies, and the conditions of his embassy between November 1627 and December 1629. Its 143 handwritten folios formed the basis of the mission's final report, which was handed over to the emperor. It thus served a specific political purpose, which has been discussed by Harald Tersch and recently by Klára Berzeviczy.[16]

Johann Georg Metzger's manuscript has 522 pages and was completed in 1650: It depicts the embassy of Johann Rudolf Schmid zum Schwarzenhorn (1590 – 1667) to Constantinople in 1649 and combines the author's impressions with contemporary historical, scientific, and ethnographic knowledge. It also includes several maps and drawings. The account mainly served Metzger's dynastic identification and was therefore kept in the family archives, where the original manuscript has been rediscovered recently.[17] Inspired by an article about the travelogue in 1928,[18] the Orientalist Franz Babinger had a microfilm made of it but never published his research.[19] It was not until 1973 that Franz Meienberger mentioned the existence of this microfilm in a footnote.[20] Since then, Metzger's travelogue has not been researched.

16 Klára Berzeviczy, Fragen des Zeremoniells während einer Gesandtschaftsreise: Einige Bemerkungen zum Reisebericht des H. L. von Kuefstein, in Sára Bálazs (ed.), Quelle und Deutung I: Beiträge zur paläographischen Tagung am 27. November 2013 (Budapest 2014), pp. 53 – 70; Karl Teply, Die kaiserliche Großbotschaft an Sultan Murad IV. im Jahre 1628: Des Freiherrn Hans Ludwig von Kuefsteins Fahrt zur Hohen Pforte (Vienna 1976); Harald Tersch, Hans Ludwig von Kuefstein, in Harald Tersch (ed.), Österreichische Selbstzeugnisse des Spätmittelalters (Vienna et al. 1998), pp. 647– 477, here p. 647.

17 For detailed information on the reception history see Anna Huemer, "Von Wien in Österreich nach Constantinopel": Das Reisediarium Johann Georg Metzgers aus dem Jahre 1650. Eine Einleitung, in Arno Strohmeyer and Georg Vogeler (eds.), Quellen zur habsburgisch-osmanischen Diplomatie in der Neuzeit: Die Internuntiatur des Johann Rudolf Schmid zum Schwarzenhorn (1649). Reisebericht, Instruktionen, Korrespondenz, Berichte (Salzburg, Graz 2019), accessed 4 April 2022, <http://glossa.uni-graz.at/o:dipko.rbe>.

18 Otto Graf Seefried, Balkanreise im 17. Jahrhundert. Mit einer deutschen Sondergesandtschaft nach Konstantinopel, in Neues Wiener Tagblatt/Sonntagsbeilage, 28 October 1928, pp. 24 – 26.

19 Franz Babinger to Fritz Rippmann, Munich, 20 August 1948, Stadtarchiv Stein am Rhein, Sammlungen "Schwarzenhorniana," 08.03.00 – 12. See also Franz Babinger and Fritz Rippmann, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München, Ana 684, F. Rippmann.

20 Peter Meienberger, Johann Rudolf Schmid zum Schwarzenhorn als kaiserlicher Resident in Konstantinopel in den Jahren 1629 – 1643: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der diplomatischen Bezie-

Johann Georg Metzger was a law student at the time of his first journey to Constantinople in 1649. His official task was to keep records of the food rations and the carriages allocated to the entourage.[21] As a clerk and without an aristocratic background, he gives insights into the mission and its course and records his impressions from the perspective of a (social) position that differed from that of Ambassador Kuefstein. Furthermore, largely lacking personal face-to-face encounters during his journey because of his lower position in the "entourage," his representations and images of "Ottoman men" seem to be very much "inspired" by previous texts and common narratives.[22] According to current research, terms, attributes, or behaviors related to masculinities were not only connected with the tasks and the social status of the authors, they were also strongly linked to the functions and positions of the persons or groups described in their texts:[23] Below, I will analyze two dominant "male" categories in Kuefstein's and Metzger's accounts: the "ruling class," including the sultans and the high dignitaries, and the "military."

3 Rulers and dignitaries: from courtesy to weakness

In early modern European aristocratic culture, virtues such as decency, mildness, justice, and grandeur were often associated with the ideal of elite or "ruling class" masculinity.[24] Such idealized characterizations were reflected in normative literature and conduct books, which have been considered the foundation of European culture and "civility" as well as of its concepts of (gendered) behav-

hungen zwischen Österreich und der Türkei in der ersten Hälfte des 17. Jahrhunderts (Frankfurt am Main 1973), p. 118.

21 Johann Georg von Metzburg, Verschlossenes Testament und letzter Willen, Brno, 7 March 1698, Archiv města Brna, Rukopisy 55, pp. 424–454, here p. 426.

22 Anna Huemer, Copy & Paste im Reisebericht der Frühen Neuzeit: Intertextualität im "Türkischen Itinerarium" des Johann Georg Metzger (1650), in CHRONICA – Annual of the Institute of History of Szeged University 19 (2020), pp. 84–112, here pp. 90–95. On intertextuality see further Manfred Pfister, Autopsie und intertextuelle Spurensuche: Der Reisebericht und seine Vor-Schriften, in Gisela Ecker and Susanne Röhl (eds.), In Spuren Reisen: Vor-Bilder und Vor-Schriften in der Reiseliteratur (Münster 2006), pp. 11–30.

23 Elizabeth Lehfeldt, Ideal Men. Masculinity and Decline in 17th Century Spain, in Renaissance Quarterly 61/2 (2008), pp. 463–494, here pp. 467, 474.

24 Nolde, Körper, p. 8.

ior and manners.[25] Conduct literature has often been the starting point for much of the period's gender analysis. They provide insights into (socially imagined and politically required) ideals of manliness and reflect on contemporary "male" duties and hierarchies.[26] Thus, a lack of the virtues, manners, and some of the aforementioned attributes may have indicated a deviation from those required standards, which were implicitly linked to gender. This was especially true for those at the top of the social ladder. While Kuefstein describes Ferdinand II with all these positive attributes – most of all his "mildness and tolerance"[27] –, Sultan Murad IV in Kuefstein's account as well as Sultans Mehmed IV (1642–1693) and Ibrahim (1615–1648) in Metzger's travelogue seem to serve as oppositions to those ideals. They are mainly characterized as untrustworthy, fraudulent, and weak.[28] These attributes, which can be found in expressions such as "of the fraudulent, barbaric Turkish nation,"[29] did not only aim to devalue the Ottoman regime as a whole.[30] They also referred to the dysfunctional masculinity of the ruler *per se*, as the symbolic representative of the (deceitful) regime: fraud and untrustworthiness in particular have often been used as grave insults against male honor. By denying men in general, and rulers in particular, the ability to fulfill their duties in an honorable, honest, and fair way, their male status could be lowered easily.[31] By comparing Murad IV to an "unruly, bad tempered creature",[32] Kuefstein very explicitly contributes to his denigration.

The imperial ambassador was not the only one to use such devaluations. Many early modern conduct book writers equated unmanliness with beastliness. Animals – from the perspective of conduct literature – were deemed to have no reason or self-control. Thus, characterizations such as "creature," "dog," "ape,"

25 One of the most influential works was Baldassare Castiglione's (1478–1529) *Book of the Courtier*, first published in 1528. It also gives insights into the importance of social hierarchies in contemporary normative literature. See Baldassare Castiglione, Der Hofmann: Lebensart in der Renaissance, translated by Albert Wesselski (Berlin 1996), p. 65; Patrizia Bettella, The Marked Body as Otherness in Renaissance Italian Culture, in Linda Kalof and William Bynum (eds.), A Cultural History of the Human Body in the Renaissance (6 vols., Oxford et al. 2010), vol. 3, pp. 149–181, here pp. 156, 160. On "civility" and normative literature see Norbert Elias, Über den Prozess der Zivilisation (2 vols., Frankfurt am Main 1997), vol. 1, pp. 112, 170.
26 Shepard, Manhood, p. 7.
27 "Milde und toleranz"; Kuefstein, Diarium, fol. 9v. For further examples see fols. 12r–v.
28 Kuefstein, Diarium, fols. 25r, 26r, 55r. Metzger, Rayss, pp. 180, 196.
29 "[...] Der barbarischen türkhischen nation betrug." Kuefstein, Diarium, fol. 10r.
30 Nolde, Geschlechtergrenzen, p. 556.
31 Elizabeth Foyster, Manhood in Early Modern England: Honor, Sex and Marriage (Hoboken 1999), p. 211; Shepard, Manhood, pp. 162, 166.
32 "Ungebärdt und affectierte[s] wesen." Kuefstein, Diarium, fol. 55r.

or "beast" can be interpreted as some of the most severe forms of insult against the male status.[33] As the capacity to reason was one of the key features of the ideal early modern (aristocratic) masculinity, manhood was at risk if any deficiency was insinuated.[34] Metzger uses animal-metaphors in his descriptions too: not for the characterization of the sultans, but for the portrayal of the Ottoman envoy Hasan Agha (around 1650), who had been sent to Vienna in 1649 as the equivalent of the imperial envoy, Johann Rudolf Schmid zum Schwarzenhorn. In addition to this, the young author specifically associates him with danger and greed.[35]

In Metzger's account, the ideals of elite masculinity – reason and self-control – are further extended to "proper" or, in this case, "improper" sexual behavior and to male-female relationships. Many early modern writers used similar associations to describe the foreign social order as a whole[36] – analogies which are still dominant today in some narratives.[37] In his travelogue, Metzger accuses the former sultan, Ibrahim, of lack of bodily control by describing his immoral interactions with women and focusing mainly on nudity and excessive lust.[38] At the same time, he refers to a common contemporary narrative when he writes:[39] "Then the sultan got undressed just like his sultana and the other women and they danced with each other. Whenever he wanted, the sultan took

33 Foyster, Honor, p. 211; Shepard, Manhood, pp. 72, 174 – 175.

34 Shepard, Manhood, p. 30.

35 Metzger, Rayss, p. 350.

36 Nolde, Geschlechtergrenzen, p. 547.

37 For contemporary theoretical references see Ursula Stummeyer, Mann-Frau Beziehungen als Feld des Umgangs mit Fremdem, in Burkhard Müller et al. (eds.), Interkulturell Denken und Handeln: Theoretische Grundlagen und gesellschaftliche Praxis (Frankfurt am Main 2006), pp. 155 – 162.

38 Metzger, Rayss, pp. 180 – 182.

39 Compare with Salomon Schweigger, Ein newe Reyßbeschreibung auß Teutschland nach Constantinopel und Jerusalem. Darinn die Gelegenheit derselben Länder, Städt, Flecken, Gebew etc. der innwohnenten Völcker Art, Sitten, Gebreuch, Trachten, Religion vnd Gotteßdienst etc. Insonderheit die jetzige ware gestalt deß H. Grabs, der Stadt Jerusalem und anderer heiligen Oerter […]. Deßgleichen deß Türckischen Reichs Gubernation, Policey, Hofhaltung, Nutzbarkeit des Reysens, und vielerley andern lustigen Sachen […]. In III unterschiedlichen Büchern […] (Nuremberg 1608), p. 125. On contemporary images of the harem see Reina Lewis, The Harem: Gendering Orientalism, in Goeffrey P. Nash (ed.), Orientalism and Literature (London 2019), pp. 166 – 184, especially pp. 174 – 175; Ruth Bernard Yeazell, Harems of the Mind: Passages of Western Art and Literature (Yale 2000), pp. 97 – 112. On the function of "intertextuality" in travelogues of aristocrats see Andrea Voß, Reisen Erzählen: Erzählrhetorik, Intertextualität und Gebrauchsfunktionen des adligen Bildungsreiseberichts in der Frühen Neuzeit (Heidelberg 2016), pp. 72 – 79.

one of his concubines and committed immoral sexual acts with them in front of the others."[40] Sexual excess was a Western stereotype used to underline barbarity and inferiority as key features of Ottomans and other foreign cultures. Read against the backdrop of gender, it can also be associated with inferior masculinity, contradicting the canon of European aristocratic virtues, which included self-control and chastity.[41] Unlike in the Middle Ages, when men could be celebrated for loving many women, uncontrolled and unreasonable love and sexuality were later considered as weakness or foolishness.[42] Again, the forfeiture of mental and bodily self-control was said to affect the duties as a ruler: a man who could not control himself was considered unfit to govern others.[43] Metzger underpins this idea when he portrays the sultan's regime as "unreasonable and brutal" (alluding to Roman emperor Nero [37–68]), and "effeminate"[44]. His image of the "effeminate" ruler is similar to Kuefstein's comparison of Murad IV to a "creature."

With this, both authors refer to hierarchies corresponding to contemporary views: Since the late Middle Ages, femininity and bestiality (as well as childhood) had often appeared as opposites of masculinity.[45] Contemporaries labeled certain behaviors as "male" and others as "female" to mark gender differences and to justify superiority and inferiority.[46] This idea was not only based on the humoral bodily model, which characterized men as hotter, dryer, and physically stronger than women,[47] but was also legitimated by the (idealized) concepts of the dominant early modern gender hierarchies: women and effeminate men were considered weak, holding subordinate positions, and – most of all – lacking the ability of self-governance. As these aspects were regarded as fundamental to the experience of being male, their lack consequently led to a deficient

40 "Alßdan hat er sich, wie auch seine sultanin oder weiberen [...] außgezogen unnd darnach mit seinen weiberen ganz nackhendt [...] herumb gedanzt [...]. Darauf, wan es ihm in wehrendem danzen beliebte, hat er eine seiner nackhenden weiber genomen unnd seinen muethwillen mit ihr, in zusehung der anderen, getriben unnd volbracht." Metzger, Rayss, p. 182.

41 Heike Talkenberger, Konstruktion von Männerrollen in württembergischen Leichenpredigten des 16. bis 18. Jahrhunderts, in Martin Dinges (ed.), Hausväter, Priester, Kastraten: Zur Konstruktion von Männlichkeit in Spätmittelalter und Früher Neuzeit (Göttingen 1998), pp. 29–74, here pp. 55–56; Bettella, Body, p. 175.

42 Lehfeldt, Men, p. 479.

43 Shepard, Manhood, p. 85.

44 "*Neronisch*" and "*weibisch*." Metzger, Rayss, p. 183.

45 Ruth Karras, From Boys to Men: Formations of Masculinity in Late Medieval Europe (Philadelphia 2003), p. 153.

46 Shepard, Manhood, 29.

47 Rippl, Merit, p. 71.

masculinity.[48] In *Il Corteggiano* by Baldassare Castiglione (1478–1529) effeminacywas even depicted as perverted, because it changed the plan given by God himself.[49] Furthermore, the word "effeminate" occurs repeatedly in histories and early modern travelogues, where mainly Ottoman rulers become "effeminate" because of excessive luxury, sloth, or flattery.[50] This severe devaluation of manhood and thus of status was also used in other sources of the Habsburg-Ottoman diplomatic context: for example in a letter from the imperial resident at the Sublime Porte between 1649 and 1666, Simon Reniger von Reningen (d. 1668),[51] to the Viennese court. In his description, an Ottoman dignitary considers another high-ranking commander as being unmanly and fearful. Reniger notes: "[...] he acts like a woman and flees from one corner to another."[52] This example very clearly shows the analogy of femininity and weakness the author aimed at.

In addition to this, clothing was mobilized to enact the masculine or its "opposite" – the feminine.[53] Costumes of the higher Ottoman dignitaries in particular often became the subject of a process of feminization, thus contributing to the (intercultural) formation of hierarchic gender stereotypes.[54] Johann Georg Metzger, too, refers to this aspect when he writes: "Men are clothed splendidly and delightfully, but just like women [...]."[55] Metzger's limitation – the "but just" – obviously aims to contrast the splendor of the costumes he describes to their suggestions of inferior masculinity in the same sentence. However, while the young clerk uses these common narratives, the imperial ambas-

48 Lehfeldt, Men, p. 467; Foyster, Honor, p. 210.
49 Castiglione, Hofmann, p. 32.
50 Jacqueline Pearson, 'One Lot in Sodom': Masculinity and the Gendered Body in Early Modern Narratives of Converted Turks, in Literature and Theology 21/1 (2007), pp. 29–48, here p. 31.
51 Zsuzsanna Cziráki, Zur Person und Erwählung des kaiserlichen Residenten in Konstantinopel, Simon Reniger von Renningen (1649–1666), in Zsuzsanna Cziráki (ed.), Wiener Archivforschungen: Festschrift für den ungarischen Archivdelegierten in Wien, István Fazekas (Vienna 2014), pp. 157–164.
52 "Er halte sich alß wie ein weib und fliehe auß ein winckhel zum andern." Simon Reniger to Ferdinand III, 12 September 1653, Vienna, Österreichisches Staatsarchiv, Haus- Hof- und Staatsarchiv, Staatenabteilung, Türkei I, 126/2, fol. 37r.
53 Sidney Donnell, Feminizing the Enemy: Imperial Spain, Transvestite Drama, and the Crisis of Masculinity (London 2003), p. 164; Michèle Hayeur-Smith et al., Men in Black: Performing masculinity in 17th- and 18th- century Iceland, in Journal of Social Archeology 19/2 (2019), pp. 229–254, here p. 230.
54 Bettella, Body, p. 176; Castiglione, Hofmann, p. 69.
55 "Nicht weniger gehn auch die manß persohnen ganz prächtig unnd köstlich, schier allerdings wie die weiber geklaidt." Metzger, Rayss, p. 298.

sador, Kuefstein, does not allude to Ottoman costumes and their associations with femininity at all.

Metzger also expresses inferior masculinity through the alleged dominant behavior of Mehmed IV's grandmother Kösem Mahpeyker (1590–1651). Her "reign" – pejoratively referred to as "The Sultanate of Women" – has long been linked to the decline of the Ottoman Empire in Habsburg-Ottoman historiography.[56] Also according to Metzger, Kösem is "a fraudulent person, who dominates the whole empire."[57] In Kuefstein's text there are similar expressions. He describes his negotiations with the *kaymakam* (a high official of an Ottoman district) in reference to the vast influence of his wife and her mother, who make important decisions and manage delicate issues: "with her and the mother anything can be done and arranged,"[58] which highlights female power and influence.

The image of the "Feminine Government" of mothers and wives has been a common narrative in the discourse of the "effeminacy" of Ottoman rulers.[59] Because idealized masculinity has often been generated through the dominance of the man over women or his control of the "*familia*,"[60] the sultan and other Ottoman dignitaries implicitly lose parts of their authority in the narrations of Kuefstein and Metzger. This image can primarily be regarded as an insult against the ideal of elite masculinity, because low male authority was connected with lower status, which in turn was mainly associated with the subordinate classes. In addition, being under the control of one's mother (apart from Mehmed IV, who was still a child in 1649) or wife was an analogy to young age, which was also considered a threat to real masculinity.[61] Because the sultan is seen as a representation of the Ottoman Empire and as the peak of its social hierarchies in Metzger's account, the author transfers the image of female rule to other social levels as well. In this context, Metzger cites a passage from *Reyßbeschreibung* by Salomon Schweigger's (1551–1622), a well-known seventeenth-century travelogue that had a formative influence on many subsequent (published and

56 On the "Sultanate of Women" see Josef Matuz, Das Osmanische Reich: Grundlinien seiner Geschichte (Darmstadt 2010), pp. 165–166.

57 "Eine arglistige fürstin, [die] ietzt das ganze werckh dirigiere." Metzger, Rayss, p. 119.

58 "Durch sie und die muetter alles golttenn und richten khönnen." Kuefstein, Diarium, fol. 47r.

59 Pearson, Turks, p. 32. On the "actual" power (regardless of the European narrative) of Ottoman women see Leslie Peirce, The Imperial Harem: Women and Sovereignty in the Ottoman Empire (New York et al. 1993).

60 Ronald G. Ash, Europäischer Adel in der Frühen Neuzeit: Eine Einführung (Köln et al. 2008), p. 8; Foyster, Honor, p. 39.

61 On the weaknesses of young age see Castiglione, Hofmann, p. 67; Foyster, Honor, p. 30.

unpublished) works. He very explicitly refers to the "excesses" of female domination and writes: "[They] are afraid of their wives and thus are fools in their own houses. Every day and night, they have relations with them, and they submit to them as if they were their slaves [...]."[62]

Another threat to real manhood was non-white skin. Skin color was a defining element that separated civility from barbarity, purity from impurity and – again – even masculinity from femininity – which is explicitly referred to in Metzger's description of the sultan, who is portrayed as "brownish."[63] In Metzger's text, the explicit mention of skin color may not only be understood as an actual description of the facts, but also as an implicit devaluation of (male) status.

As stated above, the ruler also represents the higher dignitaries and his government, who, facing Kuefstein as grand ambassador in *official* negotiations, are often described as arrogant and conceited. Kuefstein further uses descriptions connoted with rudeness and meanness.[64] According to him, they have a "dishonest and mean character"[65] and Metzger, too, relegates the Ottoman dignitaries to a "a poorly chosen aristocracy."[66] He additionally notes: "The Turkish ministers are more insidious than ever, even though they pretend to be polite – at least as far as their barbarian nature allows."[67] In contrast to idealized (noble) behavior, which was linked to honesty and fairness, these characterizations and associations with fraud, deceitfulness, and dishonesty can be construed as inferior manners on the axis of gender.[68]

However, these images are not adopted for all high functionaries in Metzger's and Kuefstein's texts. Kuefstein in particular describes face-to-face interactions and many "unofficial" encounters with Ottoman dignitaries as polite, respectful, noble, and just.[69] The ambassador uses descriptions such as "a

62 "Hergegen förchten sye sich vor ihren weibern unnd seind rechte haußnarren, pflegen tag und nacht mit den weiberen ihren muethwillen volzubringen unnd ergebe sich ihnen, das sye gleichsam ihre sclaven sein müeßen." Metzger, Rayss, p. 294; Schweigger, Reyßbeschreibung, p. 201; Huemer, Intertextualität, pp. 84 – 112.

63 "Braundecht." Metzger, Rayss, p. 92; Bettella, Body, pp. 163, 165.

64 Kuefstein, Diarium, fols. 53v, 108v, 138v.

65 "Falsche, bösen arth." Kuefstein, Diarium, fol. 121v.

66 "Ubel ordinierte aristocratia." Metzger, Rayss, p. 120.

67 "Die vornembste türckhische ministri, ob schon sye sich, so vil ihr barbarische angebohrenheit zulast, höfflich und freindtlich erzeigt, waren falscher alß nie." Metzger, Rayss, p. 120.

68 Castiglione, Hofmann, pp. 29 – 30; Talkenberger, Männerrollen, p. 55.

69 Kuefstein, Diarium, fols. 17r–v, 38v, 40v.; Metzger, Rayss, p. 86.

nobleman, who means well" or "a modest and noble man,"[70] which correspond to male norms highlighted in influential early modern conduct literature. Murteza Pasha (d. 1636), the vizier of Buda (Ofen), for example is mainly characterized as reasonable and, according to Kuefstein, carries out his tasks with respect, reason, and (most of the time) with politeness. From a contemporary gender perspective, this description makes him an "ideal man," at least in his specific social spheres.[71] Further proof of this is Kuefstein's portrayal of the Grand Vizier Gazi Hüsrev Pascha (d. 1632). On the one hand, the ambassador considers his regime brutal, but on the other, he trusts him to act "out of love for justice,"[72] which was a highly valued virtue.

In conclusion, there are two main narratives about the ruling/elite masculinity in Kuefstein's account. Negative attributes such as arrogance, lack of control, and effeminacy are frequently used to describe official encounters, but reason, courtesy, and politeness are used when describing unofficial situations.[73] From this perspective, masculinity is used as a flexible category to credit or discredit the tasks people had to carry out and not to judge those who are sticking to the rules. Kuefstein underpins this theory when he writes about the Ottoman ambassador Recep Pascha (d. 1632) in relation to his own behavior: "[…] just as this [the Ottoman] ambassador does the right thing obeying his own master's commands, I cannot be judged for obeying my own master's commands."[74] Metzger, on the contrary, resorts to common stereotypes. He thus tends to devalue the Ottoman regime as a whole, as personified by its ruler and its high dignitaries, by implicitly and sometimes even explicitly devaluing their behavior in its reference to (group-specific) masculinity.

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70 "*Fürneme[r] edlmann*," who is "*ehrlich und wohlmainend*" or "*beschaydene[r], faine[r] mann*." Kuefstein, Diarium, fols. 38v, 40v. For idealized normative manners see Giovanni Della Casa, Der Galate: Das Büchlein von erbarn, höflichen und holdseligen Sitten, edited by Klaus Ley (Tübingen 1984).

71 Foyster, Honor, p. 56; Kuefstein, Diarium, fols. 22r, 28v.

72 "Aus lieb zu der gerechtigkheytt." Kuefstein, Diarium, fol. 63r.

73 Kuefstein, Diarium, fols. 30v, 31r.

74 "Gleich wie iener botschafter recht thue, daß zu vollziehen, so ihme befolhen, also sey ich nit zuverdenkhen, daß ienige zu thuen, so mir aufgetragen." Kuefstein, Diarium, fol. 31r.

4 From "knights" to warriors: power and its limitations

The demonstration of military prowess, especially in times of war but also in times of peace, was of great importance and often proof of "real" manliness among male groups. Therefore, the idea of early modern (aristocratic) masculinity implied being an experienced warrior. This image was one of the most direct connotations associated with masculinity in many contemporary sources.[75] As armies and war are prominent topics in both Metzger's and Kuefstein's accounts, various images of the "warrior" can be found. Kuefstein describes the Ottoman "military" as "dignified,"[76] a term which he associates with beauty, glory, and grace. Impressed by their appearance, his choice of words may implicitly refer to the early modern meaning of external beauty, which was not only a category of aesthetics. It was also connected with (moral) judgements, authority, and prowess.[77]

In both texts, there are references to the anachronistic ethos of the honorable, strong, and brave knights. Kuefstein portrays individuals of this category as both ideal courtiers and ideal warriors, "brave [and] polite"[78]; Metzger, too, characterizes them as courageous,[79] referring to their prowess and fearlessness in battle. Kuefstein even uses the term "knighthood"[80] to describe his impressions of the "acrobatic" equestrian games presented to him. They were held near Buda to showcase the Ottoman strength, physical skills, and military power to the imperial ambassador. Through the demonstration of physical skills, "martial masculinity" could be performed in a very direct way. Especially activities such as riding, fencing, or hunting[81] as well as visible attributes of male physiognomy such as a big and athletic body or a large neck were

75 Lehfeldt, Men, p. 489; Rippl, Merit, p. 72.

76 "Ansehnlich." Kuefstein, Diarium, fol. 24r.

77 Mary Rogers, Beauty and Concepts of the Ideal, in Linda Kalof and William Bynum (eds.), A Cultural History of the Human Body in the Renaissance (6 vols., Oxford et al. 2010), vol. 3, pp. 125–148, here pp. 126, 128.

78 "Dapfer [and] höflich." Kuefstein, Diarium, fol. 42v.

79 Metzger, Rayss, p. 82.

80 Kuefstein, Diarium, fol. 31v.

81 According to Ernst Hanisch, hunting was still a key aspect of "real" masculinity in the twentieth century. See Ernst Hanisch, Männlichkeiten: Eine andere Geschichte des 20. Jahrhunderts (Vienna et al. 2005), p. 393.

often connected with the model of "ultimate" maleness.[82] They corresponded to the moral characteristics of generosity, bravery, and justice, which were part of the classic cardinal virtues.[83] In addition, the winning and dominating other men (either on the battlefield or – for example in Kuefstein's descriptions – in games) were of great importance in the perception and construction of masculinities. They did not only increase honor and prestige, but also male status in relation to others.[84] Furthermore, these connections correspond to current sociological research on masculinities, which highlights the competitive aspect in the process of becoming a "man" – mainly in its opposition to femininity or homosexuality.[85]

According to Hans Ludwig von Kuefstein, the Ottoman equestrian performance seemed to work. In his account, Kuefstein acknowledges the equestrians' efforts and pays tribute to their "impressive acts of bravery which were nice to watch."[86] Kuefstein also portrays the riders' weapons and focuses on their "splendid cavalry."[87] In European aristocratic culture, these items were viewed as symbols of power and strength. Metaphorically, they also distinguished the elites from the subordinates, the winners from the losers, and men from women.[88] Kuefstein reflects on these ideals in his text. For him, the equestrians do indeed meet the masculine and noble ideal of the knights – but not without certain limitations. His descriptions most likely contain these limitations to avoid an "over"-glorification of the foreign soldiers, a message which would have been inappropriate for a report sent to the Viennese court. Adjectives such as "child-

82 Castiglione, Hofmann, p. 33; Christof Muigg, 'Eine majestätische Erscheinung': Körperideale des Feldherren und des Diplomaten, in Frühneuzeit-Info 29 (2018), pp. 30 – 38, here p. 33. For more information about body-related concepts and norms see Noga Arikha, Passions and Tempers: A History of the Humours (New York et al. 2008), pp. 113 – 183.
83 Werner Paravicini, Die ritterlich-höfische Kultur des Mittelalters, 2nd ed. (Munich 2010), p. 26.
84 Karras, Men, p. 38. The terms "honor" and "virtue" had also been linked to the elite corps of Janissaries in the influential work of Ogier Ghislain de Busbecq, *The Turkish Letters*. From 1555 until 1562 (with one interruption), Busbecq was an imperial ambassador accredited to the Sublime Porte. As he wrote about the Janissaries, he also highlighted the Ottoman social order, which, according to him, put those in favor who had the best (mental, physical, and moral) skills. Ogier Ghiselin de Busbecq, Vier Briefe aus der Türkei. Mit 20 Wiedergaben zeitgenössischer Holzschnitte und Kupfer, edited by Wolfram von den Steinen (Erlangen 1926), pp. 64, 66.
85 Michael Meuser, Männlichkeit: Soziologie, in Stefan Horlacher (ed.), Männlichkeit: Ein interdisziplinäres Handbuch (Stuttgart 2016), pp. 218 – 236, here p. 225.
86 "Dapferen genadigkheyttenn, so wohl zu sehen gewesenn." Kuefstein, Diarium, fol. 134v.
87 "Wohlgebutztenn reutterey." Kuefstein, Diarium, fol. 128v. For further examples see fols. 31v, 32r, 50r.
88 Walter Demel, Der europäische Adel: Vom Mittelalter bis zur Gegenwart (Munich 2011), p. 10; Karras, Men, pp. 60 – 61.

ish" are the most visible expressions of these limitations, because age was regarded as an important determinant of early modern masculine hierarchies.[89] Especially male youth was associated with vices such a lack of self-mastery, anger, and idleness – they were threats to ideal masculinity.[90]

Metzger, however, very explicitly portrays the Janissaries, the Ottoman elite infantry unit, as courageous and "brave in using their fists."[91] He thus describes their "group-specific" masculine (physical) virtues and even links them to aspects of the ancient heroic tradition: according to Metzger, the noble and high-ranked Janissaries in Belgrade for example were dressed in the skins of exotic animals. He further compares them to Hercules, the ancient hero, who is portrayed wrapped in the fur of a lion by classical authors.[92] Such references to classic heroic traditions were commonly used tools in expressing ideals of "martial" masculinity:[93] Already in ancient Greek mythology, Hercules had been celebrated for his strength and his virility. Later, from the fifteenth century on, this mythological figure was frequently used to represent powerful monarchs and dynasties.[94] Metzger's adaptation of this allegory is an example of its modern discursive value, because he himself copied the passage from Schweigger's *Reyßbeschreibung.*[95] These analogies may have possibly served as projections of a desired and, again, highly idealized, masculinity. Furthermore, to the Habsburgs, the Ottoman Empire was a direct threat and its military force was feared. Thus, idealized images of the "powerful Ottoman warrior" linked to the classic hero – Hercules – may have indicated that the "Ottoman threat" had to be taken seriously, which was implicitly extended onto a gendered level as well.[96]

However, in Metzger's account, there are limitations to the ideal of the (masculine) foreign warrior as well: When describing a contemporary Ottoman war campaign and its troops stationed in Constantinople (Istanbul) in 1649,

89 "Childish behavior." Kuefstein, Diarium, fol. 32r.
90 Shepard, Manhood, pp. 21–26.
91 "Dapfer von der faust." Metzger, Rayss, p. 82.
92 Metzger, Rayss, p. 43. For a classic description of Hercules see Herodotus, Histories, translated by Alfred D. Godley (Cambridge 1920), book 4, chapter 8.
93 Rippl, Merit, p. 73; Rogers, Ideal, p. 129.
94 Katharina N. Piechocki, Sincerity, Sterility, Scandal: Eroticizing Diplomacy in Early Seventeenth-Century Opera Librettos at the French Embassy in Rome, in Tracey Sowerby and Jan Hennings (eds.), Practices of Diplomacy in the Early Modern World c. 1410–1800 (London, New York 2017), pp. 114–129, here pp. 121–122.
95 Schweigger, Reyßbeschreibung, p. 20.
96 Bettella, Body, p. 175.

Metzger highlights their undisciplined and uncontrolled violence.[97] In another context, he even characterizes the future Janissaries as savages, as "young pests"[98] and "uncontrolled mob"[99]. Again, Metzger is referring to youth and to a lack of control as deviations from the "standards." According to Alexandra Shepard, who analyzed the meaning of violence on the axis of gender in early modern England, (idealized) masculinity was particularly associated with controlled violence and the absence of irrational cruelty.[100] Male groups used controlled violence as a tool for the regulation of their hierarchies and for the demonstration of their authority. However, driven to excess, violence turned into a symbol of a weak mind and a lack of the most masculine virtues: reason and control.[101]

Many contemporary sources extended the image of uncontrolled violence and cruelty to the sultans:[102] According to Metzger, "Neronian cruelty was an inherent trait in all of the Ottoman rulers."[103] He thus reproduced a well-known concept of the "enemy," which – viewed from a perspective of gender – gives another insight into the multi-faceted construction of stereotypes.[104]

Another attribution that referred to a lack of control and discipline was excessive drinking. Even though specific male groups (especially on a lower social level) considered it a common method of masculine bonding and of proving one's en-

97 Metzger, Rayss, pp. 110 – 111.
98 "Junge[s] unkraut." Metzger, Rayss, p. 336.
99 "Unrüehig gesindlein." Metzger, Rayss, p. 336.
100 Shepard, Manhood, p. 150.
101 Dinges, Perspektiven, p. 83; Foyster, Honor, p. 211; Margaret Healy, Fashioning Civil Bodies and "Others": Cultural Representations, in Linda Kalof and William Bynum (eds.), A Cultural History of the Human Body in the Renaissance (6 vols., Oxford et al. 2010), vol. 3, pp. 205 – 226, here p. 211. On modern sociological aspects see Michael Meuser, Körperdiskurse und Körperpraxen der Geschlechterdifferenz, in Brigitte Aulenbacher et al. (eds.), Soziologische Geschlechterforschung (Wiesbaden 2010), pp. 125 – 140.
102 Wolfgang Geier, Südosteuropa Wahrnehmungen: Reiseberichte, Studien und biographische Skizzen vom 16. bis zum 20. Jahrhundert (Wiesbaden 2006), p. 50; Felix Konrad, Von der 'Türkengefahr' zu Exotismus und Orientalismus: Der Islam als Antithese Europas (1453 – 1914)? in Institut für Europäische Geschichte (ed.), Europäische Geschichte Online (Mainz 2010), accessed 4 April 2022, <http://ieg-ego.eu/de/threads/modelle-und-stereotypen/tuerkengefahr-exotismus-orientalismus>.
103 "Neronische grausamkeit [war] den ottomannischen regenten in gemein gleichsam angebohren." Metzger, Rayss, p. 183.
104 Martin Wrede, Feindbild, in Friedrich Jaeger (ed.), Enzyklopädie der Neuzeit (15 vols., Stuttgart 2006), vol. 3, pp. 878 – 890, here p. 887. On theoretical aspects see Lars-Eric Petersen and Bernd Six (eds.), Stereotype, Vorurteile und soziale Diskriminierung: Theorien, Befunde und Interventionen (Weinheim 2008).

durance and toughness, using terms such as "*sauffen*" (drinking excessively) suggests the negative aspect of alcohol consumption.[105] In this regard, Metzger characterizes the future Janissaries as follows: "They go to taverns every now and then where they drink excessively and do not pay their bills,"[106] throwing away what they could not consume themselves. In this short description, he combines different concepts of dishonorable and dysfunctional male behavior, including not paying one's debts, which is associated to debased social status. This synthesis results in an image of wastefulness, dishonesty and, most of all, of untrustworthiness.[107] Kuefstein's account is different in these regards: The author draws attention to the ideals of honesty and trustworthiness by highlighting them as his very own virtues. He notes that Ferdinand II chose him as his representative at the Sublime Porte because of "the emperor's trust in him"[108] and due to his "well known good qualities."[109] Unlike Metzger, Kuefstein's remarks on alcohol consumption are limited to non-Ottoman dignitaries. In a similar manner to other early modern diplomatic sources, he describes their drinking habit as polite and hospitable.[110] Kuefstein emphasizes the "noble" manners of some Ottoman dignitaries, who do not drink alcohol, but ritually serve "coffee and sherbet"[111] instead. Viewed from the two perspectives of Metzger and Kuefstein respectively, this example again reveals the contextual dependency of the construction and the representation of (idealized) masculinity – or its deviations.

In conclusion, even though the image of the "chivalrous," brave, and strong masculinity of the Ottoman warrior may be true in some regards, both authors still highlight attributions which stand in contrast to contemporary European "standards" linked to idealized military virtues. Viewed from the perspective of gen-

105 Metzger, Rayss, p. 336; Frank Michael, Trunkene Männer und nüchterne Frauen: Zur Gefährdung von Geschlechterrollen durch Alkohol in der Frühen Neuzeit, in Martin Dinges (ed.), Hausväter, Priester, Kastraten: Zur Konstruktion von Männerrollen in Spätmittelalter und Früher Neuzeit (Göttingen 1998), pp. 187–212, here pp. 194–196; Talkenberger, Männerrollen, p. 43.

106 "Sye lauffen hin unnd wider in den wirthsheüßeren, sauffen auch hin unnd wider sich ganz voll, geben kein zäch." Metzger, Rayss, pp. 336–337.

107 Martin Dinges, Ehre und Geschlecht in der Frühen Neuzeit, in Sibylle Backmann (ed.), Ehrkonzepte in der Frühen Neuzeit: Identitäten und Abgrenzungen (Berlin 1998 [reprint 2018]), pp. 123–147, here p. 140; Karras, Men, p. 60.

108 "Vertrauen gegen meiner person." Kuefstein, Diarium, fols. 5v, 7r.

109 "Erkhandten, gueten qualiteten." Kuefstein, Diarium, fol. 10v.

110 Nolde, Körper, p. 13; Kuefstein, Diarium, fols. 57r, 114r.

111 "Schwarze[s] waßer, [and] scherbet." Kuefstein, Diarium, p. 63v.

der, these deviations may have served to highlight the superiority of the familiar, which was important in the process of generating and consolidating identities.[112]

Conclusions

In a broader sense, a focus on the "gendered man" reveals the interplay between masculinity as a social category based on social scripts and prescripts and the valuation of different political/cultural systems.[113] The well-observed dual nature in the perception and in the representation of the Ottoman is therefore extended onto the matrix of gender: there is the duality of danger and opportunity, of threat and temptation, and of male and female.[114] More specifically, the analysis of Kuefstein's and Metzger's accounts shows that the images of the "gendered man" can be considered as highly contradictory – even within one single text. They depend on various factors, such as on the type of source, as well as on the aim and on the (social) position of the authors. While Hans Ludwig von Kuefstein focuses on his experiences as a grand ambassador and on the (highly ritualized) manners he was faced with in this position, Johann Georg Metzger's descriptions are based more on common stereotypes. Likewise, the images of masculinities in Kuefstein's account remain mainly hidden or implicit. Metzger, however, very explicitly adopts and expresses the (mainly negative) notions of Ottoman masculinities. Furthermore, the construction of foreign masculinities within the texts depends on the social and cultural hierarchies of those who are described as well as on the tasks and functions that were expected from them. As Jürgen Martschukat has accurately argued, "It is not enough to only focus on gender, because we then miss how complex gender [is …]"[115]. He further states that "Although masculinity can be the vanishing point of an analysis, it is a mutable category, which cannot be decoded without understanding its various relations and intersectionalities."[116] Accordingly, in Metzger's and Kuefstein's accounts the "masculinity of the rulers" is – for the

112 Hans Nicklas, Klammern kollektiver Identität: Zur Funktion von Vorurteilen, in Burkhard Müller et al. (eds.), Interkulturell Denken und Handeln: Theoretische Grundlagen und gesellschaftliche Praxis (Frankfurt am Main 2006), pp. 109 – 117, here p. 111; Bettella, Body, p. 175.
113 Healy, Representation, p. 216.
114 Bettella, Body, 175.
115 "Ausschließlich Geschlecht als Kategorie in Betracht zu ziehen, greift zu kurz. Wir verpassen dann, wie vielschichtig die Verknüpfungen [sind]." Martschukat, Viagra, p. 126.
116 "Männlichkeit kann […] ein Fluchtpunkt einer Analyse sein, sie ist zugleich aber immer changierend und ohne die vielfältigen anderen Relationen und Intersektionen nicht zu verstehen." Martschukat, Viagra, p. 126.

most part – represented differently from that of the soldiers: On the one hand, there are images referring to effeminacy, lower status, and female domination. On the other, the masculinity of the warriors is linked to violence, brutality, and to the vices of young age. However, in both texts, there are many references to the absence of reason and control, which are the most dominant narratives in the construction of dysfunctional masculinity for both groups. Metzger and Kuefstein may have used these representations to sharpen their own ideas of manhood – mainly by implicitly confirming (or even glorifying) their own concepts against the backdrop of the "other."[117] In this respect, the sources analyzed here are a historical treasure because in these narratives the "familiar" emerges more distinctively from the "unfamiliar."

117 Johannes Mattes, Für Gott, Kaiser und Vaterland: Männlichkeitskonstruktionen in Joseph Roths Radetzkymarsch, in Stefan Krammer (ed.), MannsBilder: Literarische Konstruktionen von Männlichkeiten (Vienna 2007), pp. 64–80, here p. 75; Louise Mirrer, Representing Other Men: Muslims, Jews and Masculine Ideals in Medieval Castilian Epic and Ballad, in Clare Lees (ed.), Medieval Masculinities: Regarding Men in the Middle Ages (Minneapolis 1994), pp. 169–186, here p. 170.

Konrad Petrovszky

Keeping One's Composure: Levantine Femininities in Hammer-Purgstall's Travel Accounts and Memoirs

1 In the name of good taste

In December 1799, literally in the very last issue of the century, the Weimar-based *Journal des Luxus und der Moden* (Journal of Luxury and Fashions) published an anonymous letter from Constantinople with the title "On the high stilt shoes of Greek women. Excerpt from a letter from Constantinople."[1] For the largest part, this "letter" contains a lengthy French poem entitled "*Les Galenses ou Galoches. Dediées à toutes les Dames qui en portent à Pera*," purportedly written by a "friend" bewildered at the sight of a particular kind of footwear, so popular among the Greek womenfolk of Constantinople.

> "When", asks the anonymous author, "when will you stop, Ladies and Damsels, to stir up the just wrath of a man who cherishes the Belles, [...] – Until when will you wear this wood, which you name Galoche? But which – pardon this reproach – much to your chagrin will never be more than a piece of furniture out of its place, a false foot, or a stilt? How long will you wear, against all Taste and Graces, these ridiculous playthings, these unbearable stilts?"[2]

Eventually, the anonymous author invites the ladies to step down from their wooden "pedestals" in order "to undertake an impartial examination"[3] of this

1 [Joseph von Hammer-Purgstall], Über die hohen Stelzenschuhe der Neugriechinnen: Auszug eines Briefs aus Constantinopel, in Journal des Luxus und der Moden 14 (December 1799), pp. 605–658, here pp. 611–622. All translations are the author's.
2 "Quand, quand cesserez-vous / Mesdames et Mesdemoiselles / D'exciter le juste courroux / D'un homme qui chérit les Belles, [...] – Jusqu'à quand l'on portera / Ce bois, que vous nommez Galoche / Mais qui, – pardonnez ce reproche –/ Malgré Vous jamais ne sera / Qu'un meuble fort hors de sa place / Qu'un pied postiche, d'une échasse. / Jusqu'à quand donc porterez Vous / En dépit du Goût et des Grâces / Ces très ridicules joujous, Ces insupportables échasses." Hammer-Purgstall, Über die hohen Stelzenschuhe, pp. 614–615. French orthography according to the original print. In the Greek dialect of Constantinople the terms γαλότσα and γαλέντζα both mean "clogs."
3 "Montés sur le beau piedestal / Mes Belles daignez en descendre, / Avec mou daignez entreprendre / Un examen impartial." Hammer-Purgstall, Über die hohen Stelzenschuhe, p. 615.

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fashion trend that proves to be a violation of the rules of good taste voiced in the name of all gentlemen.

The poem unfolds a maze of jocular and caustic remarks that revolve around the motif of Oriental (female) customs under the critical scrutiny of the Western (male) gaze. Hence, "you imitate the despots, starting with their boots first."[4] For no one else but Cyrus, the Persian king,[5] made up for his small size by elevating himself on high shoes, thereby reducing everyone else to the status of a slave.[6] Stilt shoes are therefore considered the despicable vestiges of Oriental despotism, compromising the "classic beauty" of their female wearers. If this is the case, so the author continues sarcastically, "if from an eastern Seraglio you imitate the airs, imitate them with all consequence. Cover your faces and necks, surround yourself with old eunuchs; Oh, how well it becomes you! But no! – Adorable descendants of the beauties of ancient Hellas, flee the Harem's trinkets, imitate the charming modes of these elegant Athenian women, whose charms are your own!"[7]

To the author's frustration, any attempt to retrieve the grace and beauty of the ancients is inevitably compromised by the repelling sight and sound of modern shoes. Therefore, the Western gentleman's interest is trapped between the young ladies' undeniable charms and his disenchantment with their unattractive footwear, as expressed in the following couplets: "Fancy now a European gallant; he is at your feet, waiting to receive your commands. But what a surprise! Instead of your feet, he kisses – a stilt, an arid wooden horse. Or image yourself being cruel and farouche, while he, trying to temper your anger, embraces your knees. How surprised must he be to discover his darling not standing firm but shaking like a pivot in a hole."[8] Eventually, the author, imitating the revolution-

4 "Vous imitez donc les despotes/ Commençant d'abord par leurs bottes." Hammer-Purgstall, Über die hohen Stelzenschuhe, p. 616.

5 Cyrus II King of Persia (c. 600 – 530 BCE).

6 A footnote explains: "It was Cyrus who introduced elevated shoes as a distinctive mark of Kings" ("C'est Cyrus, qui institua la chaussure elevée comme une marque distinctive des Rois"). Hammer-Purgstall, Über die hohen Stelzenschuhe, p. 616.

7 "Si d'un Serail oriental / Vous imitiez les étiquettes, / Imitez les jusqu'à la fin. / Couvrez Vos visages et nuques, / Entourez Vous de vieux eunuques ;/ Ah ! Que cela Vous iroit bien / Non ! – adorables descendantes / Des beautés de l'antique Hellas, / Fuiez des Harems le fatras, / Imitez les modes charmantes / De ces Atheniennes galantes, / Dont Vous possedez les appas!" Hammer-Purgstall, Über die hohen Stelzenschuhe, p. 616.

8 "Allons mettre plutôt en train / Un adorateur européen. / Il est à Vos pieds, il y passe / Son temps à recevoir vos loix – / Quel étonnement! – Il embrasse, / Au lieu de Vos pieds, une échasse, / Un aride cheval de bois. Ou bien mettez qu'une autre fois / Vous trouvant tout à fait cruelles, / Pour adoucir Votre courroux, / Il embrassera Vos genoux. / Le voilà bien surpris, ary pathos of his times, calls out for an act of liberation in the name of good taste: "Burn your fatal crutches, or throw them into the sea! Because rather than your dummy legs, and rather than those quirks and whims it is good taste that must be dear to you,"[9] only to conclude with a thinly veiled masochist fantasy: "For his indiscreet manner do always mistreat the poet […]. Rip these verses apart but – please – if you want to crush them, I beg you, get off your stilts and crush them with your beautiful feet."[10]

As I found out recently, this piece of poetic entertainment was written by none other than the young Joseph von Hammer, the later world-renowned Orientalist Joseph von Hammer-Purgstall (1774 – 1856), during his first years as a translator at the Austrian embassy in Constantinople. A first hint to his authorship is provided by his two-volume monograph *Constantinopolis und der Bosporus*, published in 1822, which reproduces the "letter" along with other material as part of an extensive supplement.[11] It is only in his memoirs, written throughout the 1840s, that the highly distinguished, and by then retired, scholar explicitly acknowledged his authorship of the satirical poem "that eventually spoiled my chances with the women of Pera."[12]

The cited excerpts from the young Orientalist's coquettish poem offer a very early example of female presence in his highly diverse work. Though not fully representative, the poem testifies to Hammer-Purgstall's acute awareness of fashion[13] and social etiquette, his sense of perception regarding gender conduct as well as his own expectations thereof. Moreover, it exemplifies the blend of classical and Oriental erudition with which he likes to approach these delicate issues

que sa Belle / Ne tient pas ferme mais chancelle/ Comme des pivôts dans leurs trous." Hammer-Purgstall, Über die hohen Stelzenschuhe, pp. 619 – 620.

9 "Brulez vos beguilles fatales / Ou bien jetez les dans la mer; / Car plus que vos jambes factices, / Et plus que lune et caprices, / Le bon gout Vous doit être chèr." Hammer-Purgstall, Über die hohen Stelzenschuhe, p. 621.

10 "Pour sa manière indiscrète / Maltraitez toujours le poëte; […] Dechirez les vers – mais, de grace – / Voulez Vous les fouler, je prie, / Demettez Vous de Vôtre echasse / Et foulez les de Vos beaux pieds." Hammer-Purgstall, Über die hohen Stelzenschuhe, pp. 621 – 622.

11 Joseph von Hammer-Purgstall, Constantinopolis und der Bosporus örtlich und geschichtlich beschrieben (2 vols., Pest 1822), vol. 2, pp. LXVIII–LXXIV, 116.

12 "Womit ich es mit allen Perotinen […] verdorben hatte." Joseph von Hammer-Purgstall, Erinnerungen aus meinem Leben (unpublished manuscript, c. 1841 – 1852), III, 14, p. 24 (= p. 202). On this work, henceforth quoted as "Erinnerungen" and the quotation method use here see below, note 21.

13 This aspect of his work has passed almost unnoticed with the notable exception of Donald Quataert, Clothing Laws, State, and Society in the Ottoman Empire, 1720 – 1829, in International Journal of Middle East Studies 29 (1997), pp. 403 – 425.

that cannot conceal his own desires and oftentimes surprisingly outspoken fantasies.

A closer examination of his travel-based writings on the Levant, including three monographs and large sections of his unpublished memoirs, will reveal the importance of these and other motifs that, already on account of their number, lend themselves to a gendered reading of Hammer-Purgstall. The present chapter, however, pursues the modest goal of offering some clues to an alternative approach to an author whose reputation and productivity has given way to rather stereotyped interpretations that completely ignore the elementary role of sociability and self-fashioning.

Before returning to representations and imaginations of women in Hammer-Purgstall's travel-related writings and trying to reassess his writings particularly vis-à-vis the dominant Orientalism paradigm, I would like to briefly address the nature of Hammer-Purgstall's travel narratives which, to my knowledge, has not been discussed so far.[14]

2 Itinerant knowledge

Born in 1774 in Graz (Styria) to the civil servant Joseph Hammer and his wife Anna, Joseph Hammer Jr. entered the preparatory school of the Academy of Oriental languages at the age of fifteen. The Academy was an institution created under the auspices of Empress Maria-Theresia (1717–1780) and was specifically designed for the training of a loyal and professional diplomatic staff in the eastern Mediterranean, which, at that time, was tantamount to the Ottoman Empire.[15] After two diplomatic missions to the Ottoman Empire from 1799 to 1800 and then, from 1802 to 1807, he returned to Vienna amidst the turmoil of the Napoleonic Wars.[16] While the imperial high authorities, most notably Clemens Wenzel Lothar Prince of Metternich (1773–1859) himself, thwarted his desire to

14 The only, yet certainly hard to find, exception is Harald Heppner, Die Reisen Hammer-Purgstalls ins Osmanische Reich und ihre kulturellen Rückwirkungen, in Blätter für Heimatkunde 54 (1980), pp. 111–118.

15 On the Oriental Academy see Ernst Dieter Petritsch, Erziehung in 'guten Sitten, Andacht und Gehorsam': Die 1754 gegründete Orientalische Akademie in Wien, in Marlene Kurz et al. (eds.), Das Osmanische Reich und die Habsburgermonarchie (Vienna et al. 2005), pp. 491–502. For an overview see David Do Paço, L'Orient à Vienne au dix-huitième siècle (Oxford 2015), pp. 19–64.

16 On the first period see Sibylle Wentker, Joseph von Hammer-Purgstalls erste Reise nach Istanbul im Spiegel seiner 'Erinnerungen aus meinem Leben', in Osmanlı Araştırmaları 25 (2005), pp. 225–247.

return to active diplomatic service, Joseph von Hammer (who became von Hammer-Purgstall in 1835) continued to be in charge of Oriental affairs as interpreter and librarian of the Imperial library in Vienna. This less demanding employment gave him plenty of time to indulge in literary and historical studies that largely drew on the knowledge and material accumulated during his years in Istanbul.[17]

Probably the most prolific scholar in Ottoman, Persian, and Arabic literature of the first half of the nineteenth century, the key proponent of the emerging discipline of Orientalism in the sense of Oriental studies (although he never held a university position)[18] and, eventually, founding president of the Austrian Academy of Sciences (in 1847), Joseph von Hammer-Purgstall is conspicuously missing from the vast and growing literature dedicated to travel writing. This oversight dovetails with the extremely selective reception of his work, characterized by over-magnification of some parts and complete oblivion of others. Asking about the reason of his omission implies, of course, invoking the shifting trends in scholarship on travel narratives. Thus, for a long time, travel writings, travelogues, and other related terms denoted a rather insignificant and minor literary genre and thus were not deemed appropriate for inclusion among such well documented scholarly works as the ones discussed here. In contrast, the rising interest in travel writing in the last few decades led to an almost complete axiomatic reversal, by emphasizing the autobiographical elements and by paying privileged attention to an author's personal experience while encountering other places or people.[19] Again, from the same point of view, Hammer's writings were not considered first-rate representatives, since, as he testifies himself, one of his primary tenets was "to efface his subjectivity as much as possible from his writings" and, instead, to exclusively privilege the information about the place he visited (see the full quotation below). This testimony notwithstanding, a number of Hammer-Purgstalls's works explicitly originate from what he calls *Selbstansicht*, literally autopsy, meaning that he

17 Surprisingly, a comprehensive biography of Hammer-Purgstall is still missing. Besides numerous biographical sketches in the vast literature on his writings, the most complete account of his life is provided by Walter Höflechner et al. (eds.), Joseph von Hammer-Purgstall: Briefe, Erinnerungen, Materialien. Teil 1: Einleitung – Joseph von Hammer-Purgstall. Eine Skizze – Erinnerungen, 2nd ed. (Graz 2018), accessed 4 April 2022, <https://hdl.handle.net/11471/559.10>.

18 On Hammer-Purgstall's contested role in the emergence of the academic study of Oriental cultures and languages see Klaus Kreiser, 'Clio's poor relation': Betrachtungen zur osmanischen Historiographie von Hammer-Purgstall bis Stanford Shaw, in Klaus Kreiser (ed.), Türkische Studien in Europa (Istanbul 1998), pp. 33 – 52; Sabine Mangold, Eine 'weltbürgerliche Wissenschaft': Die deutsche Orientalistik im 19. Jahrhundert (Stuttgart 2004).

19 For a brief overview of the study of travel writing and competing definitions of the genre see Carl Thompson, Travel Writing (London 2011), pp. 9 – 33.

could witness things with his own eyes and did not have to rely exclusively on second-hand information. This holds true for the following works based on his (mostly private) perambulations in the eastern Aegean and Propontic: *Topographische Ansichten gesammelt auf einer Reise in die Levante* (Topographic surveys, collected on a journey to the Levant, Vienna 1811), *Umblick auf einer Reise von Constantinopel nach Brussa und dem Olympos und zurück über Nicäa und Nicomedien* (Panorama of a journey from Constantinople to Bursa and Olympos and back via Nicaea and Nicomedia, Pest 1818) and the already mentioned two-volume *Constantinopolis und der Bosporus* from 1822.[20] Finally, as if confirming the fundamental relevance of traveling, or more specifically of knowledge gathered through traveling, his immensely voluminous and largely unpublished *Erinnerungen aus meinem Leben* (Memories of my life) prove to be a real treasure chest for his two sojourns in the Levant (especially the books III–VIII, for the period 1799–1801, and books XII–XVI for the second period).[21] Written between 1841 and 1852, when he was already in his seventies, these memoirs, according to Hammer-Purgstall himself, were supposed to supplement the allegedly sober style of the three aforementioned works with a profoundly personal tinge:

20 On the latter see Céline Trautmann-Waller, *Constantinopolis* (1822) de Joseph von Hammer-Purgstall ou la capitale ottomane vue par un philologue autrichien, in Sophie Basch et al. (eds.), L'orientalisme, les orientalistes et l'Empire ottoman de la fin du XVIIIe à la fin du XXe siècle (Paris 2011), pp. 219–237. For the sake of completeness, one should also mention *Zeichnungen auf einer Reise von Wien über Triest nach Venedig und von da zurück durch Tyrol und Salzburg im Jahre 1798* (Berlin 1800), a collection of travel letters "far more subjective than the later surveys" ("weit mehr subjektiv als die späteren Ansichten". Hammer-Purgstall, Erinnerungen, III, 11, p. 17 (= p. 162)), written before his first mission to Istanbul in the spirit of late Enlightenment *Völkerkunde* and Habsburg imperial patriotism. See Catherine Carmichael, Ethnic Stereotypes in Early European Ethnographies: A Case Study of the Habsburg Adriatic c. 1770–1815, in Narodna Umjetnost 33 (1996), pp. 197–209, particularly pp. 205–206 on Hammer's depictions (*Zeichnungen*).

21 Unfortunately, his memoirs have been known exclusively through the highly abridged and mutilated edition published by Reinhart Bachofen von Echt in the series *Fontes rerum Austriacarum* (Diplomatiaria et acta 70) in 1940. The autograph has about 5,900 handwritten pages (compare the Bachofen von Echt edition with 415 pages) consisting of 246 fascicles, which are organized in 68 chronological units called "books." Thanks to the efforts of Walter Höflechner, the typewritten copy of the autograph from the 1930s can be accessed online (accessed 4 April 2022, <http://gams.uni-graz.at/archive/objects/o:hpe.band3.2-5.1.1.2/datastreams/PID/content>). The autograph is kept in the special collection of the University Library of Graz (without shelfmark). As for the citation, I follow the conventional method of indicating the book number in Roman numerals, the fascicle number and the page number of the manuscript, followed by the continuing page number of the typescript in brackets. I would like to express my thanks to Thomas Csanády from the University Library of Graz for granting me access to the manuscript.

> Several objective remarks from my diary, which I kept during my two-time stay in Constantinople, have already been included and compiled in the work on Constantinople and the Bosporus; other more subjective remarks, which were removed with the intent of avoiding all personality in my descriptions of places and journeys and to wipe out the subject of the writer as much as possible, may find here their place denied to them there.[22]

The first of these descriptions, *Topographische Ansichten,* is largely based on the notes he had taken in the Aegean on an official mission to accompany the British campaign against the French invading army in Palestine and Egypt in late 1800,[23] while *Umblick auf einer Reise* and *Constantinopolis und der Bosporus* are based on the notes he had taken on various occasions between the fall of 1802 and the summer of 1806. On this second diplomatic mission to Constantinople, although formally promoted to the position of secretary to the imperial embassy (*Legationssekretär*), he found himself sidelined by the ambassador Ignaz Lorenz von Stürmer (1752–1829) already from the beginning. Thus, chronically underemployed and frustrated, he had plenty of time to pursue his scholarly interests, as we can glean from numerous passages of his memoirs.[24]

This corpus of writings offers plenty of valuable indications both of Hammer's use of travelogues and of his own standards, epitomized by the two terms *Selbstansicht* and *Buchforschung*, in other words, personal experience and the study of books. Thus, in his foreword to the *Topographische Ansichten*

22 "Mehrere objektive Bemerkungen meines während meines zweimaligen Aufenthaltes zu Constantinopel geführten Tagebuchs sind bereits in dem Werke Constantinopolis und des Bosporus aufgenommen und zusammengestellt worden, andere subjektive, welche aus Vorsatz in meinen orts- und reisebeschreibenden Werken alle Persönlichkeit zu vermeiden und das Subjekt des Schreibenden so viel als möglich auszulöschen, beseitiget worden mögen hier den ihnen dort verweigerten Platz finden." Hammer-Purgstall, Erinnerungen, III, 11, p. 17 (= p. 162); for similar remarks see Hammer-Purgstall, Erinnerungen, XIII, 54, p. 14 (= p. 613).

23 As we learn from his memoirs, he was also keeping his diary in Egypt, but he considered his stay too short for meeting his own requirements of a proper travel narrative. See Hammer-Purgstall, Erinnerungen, VIII, 36, p. 11 (= p. 462).

24 See, for example, Hammer-Purgstall, Erinnerungen, XIII, 55, p. 21 (= p. 625): "So many new acquaintances of interesting people and places […] had to compensate for my unpleasant relationship with my Jesuit boss" ("So viele neue Bekanntschaften von interessanten Personen und Orten […] mußten mich für das Unangenehme des Verhältnißes mit meinem jesuitischen Chef schadlos halten"). Indeed, Ignaz Lorenz von Stürmer had been a Jesuit before he entered the diplomatic service and made it to the imperial *internuntius* at the Sublime Porte from 1802 to 1818. Throughout the books XII to XIV, there are several references to this unsatisfying professional situation and his numerous excursions, especially during summertime, when the diplomatic delegations usually relocated from Pera to Büyükdere on the shores of the Bosporus.

from 1811, he introduces extensive perambulations as a privileged method of gathering knowledge in addition to book-based research:

> There is nothing so common in our days as travelogues, and nothing so rare as good ones. The more the field of science and the sphere of human knowledge widens, the greater the demands which the educated reader puts on educated travelers. The satisfaction of these requirements almost exceeds the powers of a single human being […] In addition to a depiction of the realms of nature, the demanding reader also expects the observing visitor of foreign countries to provide the history of the peoples and their governments; he wants to know not only how the sea and the land have moved and changed for millennia, but also how culture and the play of human passions have stirred and unfolded in the last decades. A good and complete travel description must therefore include not only the history of nature and nations, but also philology and politics […].

However, he also notes, with feigned modesty: "Of all of this, the readers will find little or nothing in this book, which therefore does not want to and cannot be a travel description."[25]

For these reasons, of all his aforementioned writings, it is rather *Constantinopolis und der Bosporus* that, according to Hammer, can be called a travel account. There, after having presented a critical inventory of Western travel narratives,[26] he lays down his own principles in detail:

> With these models in mind, the writer of these lines used the time of sojourning twice at the Porte uninterruptedly to undertake excursions to the city and its surroundings, to consort with their inhabitants, to read their writings, thereby gathering profound knowledge about the location and nature of these places, as well as on the customs and morals of the Ottomans, their constitution and administration, briefly about their history in the broadest

25 "Nichts ist so häufig in unsern Tagen als Reisebeschreibungen, nichts so selten als gute. Je mehr sich das Gebieth der Wissenschaften und der Umkreis menschlicher Kenntniss erweitert, desto grösser die Anforderungen, welche der gebildete Leser an den gebildeten Reisenden stellt. Die Befriedigung dieser Anforderungen übersteigt fast die Kräfte eines einzelnen Menschen […] Ausser der Darstellung der Natur in ihren Reichen verlangt der vielfordernde Leser vom beobachtenden Besucher fremder Länder auch die Geschichte der Völker und ihrer Regierungen; er verlangt zu wissen, nicht nur wie sich Meer und Land seit Jahrtausenden bewegt und gestaltet, sondern auch wie sich Cultur und das Spiel menschlicher Leidenschaften in den letzten Jahrzehenden geregt und entfaltet haben. Eine gute und vollständige Reisebeschreibung muss daher nicht nur Natur- und Völkergeschichte, sondern auch Philologie und Politik umfassen. […] Von Allem dem finden die Leser nichts oder wenig in diesem Buche, das daher auch keine Reisebeschreibung seyn will und kann." Hammer-Purgastall, Topographische Ansichten, pp. III–IV.

26 For his own use of travel writings see the extensive bibliography in Joseph von Hammer-Purgstall, Geschichte des Osmanischen Reichs, großentheils aus bisher unbenützten Handschriften und Archiven (10 vols., Pest 1835), vol. 10.

> sense of the word […]. In this work he puts before the eyes of the reader the sum of collected local knowledge that is based on both observation and research.[27]

Similarly to most of his fellow scholars of history and philology, Hammer's studies largely drew on travel narratives. Moreover, Hammer was a major promoter of editing Ottoman travel accounts,[28] among which Evliya Çelebi's (1611–c. 1687) famous *Seyahatnâme* (Book of Travels), one of the key narrative sources for Ottoman studies, which would have remained unknown to modern scholarship (at least for some time) if Hammer-Purgstall had not come upon it in Istanbul.[29]

To conclude this overview, travel writings were not subordinate in Hammer-Purgstall's preoccupations, but a key piece of knowledge production – both source, reference, and subject of criticism. Therefore, to speak of itinerary knowledge as one central feature of Hammer-Purgstall's work is more than just a figure of speech. Keeping in mind that his observations are explicitly or implicitly knitted into a web of references to other writings (historical or travel narratives, Western or Oriental) that are beyond the scope of this chapter, in the following I would like to direct my attention to a constitutive part of Hammer-Purgstall's sphere of observation, namely female and effeminate environments in the writings relating to his two stays in the Levant between 1799 – 1801 and 1802 – 1807.[30]

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27 "Solche Vorbilder ins Auge fassend, hat der Schreiber dieser Zeilen die Zeit seines zweymahligen Aufenthaltes an der Pforte ununterbrochen benützt, um durch Ausflüge in die Stadt und ihre Umgebungen durch Umgang mit ihren Bewohnern, und durch Lesung ihrer Schriften sich über Lage und Beschaffenheit des Orts, über Sitten und Gebräuche der Osmanen, über ihre Staatsverfassung und Staatsverwaltung, kurz über ihre Geschichte, im weitesten Sinne des Wortes, gründliche Kenntnisse zu sammeln […] So legt er in diesem Werk […] die Summe seiner durch Selbstansicht und Bücherforschung gesammelten örtlichen Kenntnisse vor Augen." Hammer-Purgstall, Constantinopolis und der Bosporus, vol. 1, pp. XXIII–XXIV.

28 See the inventory of editions in Caspar Hillebrand, Ottoman Travel Accounts to Europe: An Overview of their Historical Development and a Commented Researchers' List, in Bekim Agai, Olcay Akyıldız, and Caspar Hillebrand (eds.), Venturing Beyond Borders: Reflections on Genre, Function and Boundaries in Middle Eastern Travel Writing (Würzburg 2013), pp. 53 – 74, 227 – 262.

29 He provided the first, if only partial, translation of it into English: Narrative of Travels in Europe, Asia, and Africa in the Seventeenth Century by Evliyâ Efendi (Evliya Çelebi) (2 vols., London 1834 and 1850; reprint: London 2007). For further details see Caroline Finkel, Joseph von Hammer-Purgstall's English Translation of the First Books of Evliya Çelebi's Seyahatnâme (Book of Travels), in Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society 25/1 (2015), pp. 41 – 55.

30 The literature on gender and travel is, of course, vast. For my limited purpose, I took particular inspiration from Alain Grosrichard, Structure du sérail: La fiction du despotisme asiatique dans l'Occident classique (Paris 1979) (English translation: The Sultan's Court: European Fantasies of the East [London 1998]); Dagmar Heinze, Fremdwahrnehmung und Selbstentwurf: Die

3 Levantine femininities and the scholarly self

From the vast literature on Hammer-Purgstall, the representation of female gender – from metaphorical allusions to real-life encounters – is completely absent, although it is salient for a variety of reasons. To begin on a very manifest level, women feature prominently when it comes to his own experiences in the diplomatic milieu, in moments of friendship, during leisure time, or other circumstances. Secondly, the sheer recurrence and the tone of these encounters throughout Hammer's memoirs clearly testify to his affective involvement and to his sexual desires about which he is surprisingly forthright. Therefore, rather than "side issues," these remarks, observations, and descriptions prove to be constitutive of the construction of his own persona as an enlightened diplomat and sensitive erudite with a privileged access to what he calls "Oriental wisdom" (*morgenländische Weisheit*).[31]

Against this background, one may highlight the following set of recurring themes: a) feminine symbols and metaphors, b) linguistic erudition gained through female acquaintances, c) the tension between desire and scholarship, d) unsettling experiences of gender ambiguity.

3.1 Feminine figurations of the Orient

Not surprisingly for a scholar well educated in the classics at the turn of the nineteenth century, for Hammer the figure of Oriental knowledge becomes feminized just as the feminine figure of knowledge becomes Orientalized.[32] These

kulturelle und geschlechtliche Konstruktion des Orients in deutschsprachigen Reiseberichten des 19. Jahrhunderts, in Karl Hölz et al. (eds.), Beschreiben und Erfinden: Figuren des Fremden vom 18. bis zum 20. Jahrhundert (Frankfurt am Main 2000), pp. 45–92; İrvin Cemil Schick, The Erotic Margin: Sexuality and Spatiality in Alteritist Discourse (London 1999); Dror Ze'evi, Producing Desire: Changing Sexual Discourse in the Ottoman Middle East, 1500–1900 (Berkeley et al. 2006).

31 On scholarly self-fashioning see Lorraine Daston and H. Otto Sibum, Introduction: Scientific Personae and Their Histories, in Science in Context 16/1–2 (2003), pp. 1–9; Lorraine Daston, Die wissenschaftliche Persona: Arbeit und Berufung, in Theresa Wobbe (ed.), Zwischen Vorderbühne und Hinterbühne: Beiträge zum Wandel der Geschlechterbeziehungen in der Wissenschaft vom 17. Jahrhundert bis zur Gegenwart (Bielefeld 2003), pp. 109–136.

32 The literature on this topic is vast. For a short, yet very inspiring introduction to this intricate relationship in Western thinking see Karl-Heinz Kohl, Cherchez la femme d'Orient, in Gereon Sievernich and Hendrik Budde (eds.), Europa und der Orient: 800–1600 (Munich 1989), pp. 356–367.

motives can already be found in an early poem written in 1796 and reproduced in his memoirs serving as proof of his Orientalist vocation: "Get up, You noblemen! Get up! Break up the locks, Abduct the beckoning graces of knowledge from the harems! Should they keep on waving forever, being enviously sealed off?"[33] Thus, the well-educated male scholar is summoned to liberate the "Graces of knowledge" from the harem, symbolizing both Oriental ignorance and cruelty. As we learn from the same poem, Persia, another embodiment of Oriental knowledge and the paragon of Hammer-Purgstall's intellectual aspirations, is also filled with grief over scholarly neglect.[34] In the same vein, it is hardly surprising to find Constantinople herself, the place Hammer-Purgstall lived in for so many years and painfully missed later on, represented as an empress in the dedication to his two-volume *Constantinopolis und der Bosporus:* "Even if Constantinople had never been the throne of the Greek and Turkish empires, she would still reside, on the grounds of her ancestral majesty and innate beauty of nature, as the empress among the cities, receiving the tribute of the world which lays at her feet two continents and two seas."[35] One could go on enumerating examples that show how the exaltations of historical places, personal acquaintances, or reading experiences add up to an image of the Orient as the epitome of desire itself. It certainly comes as no surprise that Hammer-Purgstall, at the time the most vociferous advocate of fusing the Western poetic tradition with the Oriental genius, was a major proponent of this attitude.

Of course, there were limits to these unbridled exaltations. This was particularly the case when it came to the "harem," this perennial object of Western obsession or, according to Alain Grosrichard's classical study of Western representations – "this imaginary focus of *jouissance*."[36] Hammer's rendering of the

33 "Ihr Edlen! auf! auf! Sprenget die Schlösser auf, Entführet die mich winkenden Grazien Des Wissens aus Haremen! Sollen Neidisch verschlossen sie ewig winken?" Hammer-Purgstall, Erinnerungen, II, 9, 16 (= p. 134). The complete poem, entitled "An die Freunde der Literatur. Dem Hrn. Bernard v. Jenisch im Namen der Kaiserlichen Akademie der morgenländischen Sprachen gewidmet," originally appeared in the leading literary journal Der Neue Teutscher Merkur 3 (1796), pp. 309 – 313.

34 Here, the historical reference is to the Russian assault on the Persianate Chanate of Derbent in May 1796.

35 "Wäre Constantinopel auch nie der Thronsitz des griechischen und türkischen Kaiserthums gewesen, stände dieselbe doch durch angestammte Majestät und angeborne Schönheit der Natur unter den Städten als eine Kaiserinn da, die Huldigung der Welt empfangend, welche ihr dieselbe durch zwey Erdtheile und in zwey Meeren zu Füssen legt." Hammer-Purgstall, Constantinopolis und der Bosporus, vol. 1, p. IX.

36 "Ce foyer imaginaire de la jouissance." Grosrichard, Structure du sérail, p. 159. For an incisive survey see Jocelyne Dakhlia, Entrées dérobées: L'historiographie du harem, in Clio, Histoire, theme is highly ambivalent: conventional, dismissive attributions – see the dungeon of the "graces of knowledge" in the poem cited above, or else, the depository of "trinkets" (*fracas*) in his French poem on the Greek stilt shoes – alternate with levelheaded, at times appreciative, descriptions of some of its social aspects.[37] Quite indicative of this ambivalence is a lengthy account of his visit to the ruins of the former sultan's palace in Bursa which he speaks of as both "the pure sanctuary of women's honor and dignity" and "the enclosure, where the beautiful half of our race in Asia has been humiliated for centuries."[38]

3.2 Women and language(s)

In fact, in Hammer's personal experience the aforementioned "graces of knowledge" were more than just an erudite cliché. According to his memoirs, he owed his knowledge of languages partly to female acquaintances. Already during his first year, he took Arabic reading lessons with the wife of a certain Aide (fl. around 1799), an Armenian from Aleppo – "a real Arab woman full of spirit and fire who, albeit at an advanced age, most courteously approved of my request to read in Arabic with me."[39] He is very eager to clarify that he was also attracted to her daughters, who could, however, not distract him from the joys of reading *Antar*, the classic Arab chivalric novel, with their mother. This way, "my morning hours were devoted to office work, reading of Antar and talking to the old woman, the evening hours to walking on the quay in Bujukdere with young girls. I learned to speak Arabic in the morning and Modern Greek in the evening."[40]

femmes et sociétés 9 (1999), pp. 37–55; İrvin Cemil Schick, The Harem as Gendered Space and the Spatial Reproduction of Gender, in Marilyn Booth (ed.), Harem Histories: Envisioning Places and Living Spaces (Durham, London 2010), pp. 69–84.

37 See, for example, Hammer-Purgstall, Erinnerungen, III, 13, p. 16 (= p. 184); VI, 27, p. 15 (= p. 331).

38 "Der so reinen Zufluchtsstätte der Ehre und Würde der Frauen [...] dem Zwinger [...], wo durch die schöne Hälfte unseres Geschlechtes in Asien seit Jahrhunderten entwürdiget wird." Hammer-Purgstall, Umblick auf einer Reise, pp. 43, 45. The entire passage reads like a fascinating ride through the different meanings of the place in the Westerner's mind.

39 "Eine echte Araberin voll Geist und Feuer wiewohl schon in vorgerücktem Alter, meine sogleich an sie gestellte Bitte mit mir arabisch lesen zu wollen, auf das zuvorkommendste gewährte." Hammer-Purgstall, Erinnerungen, III, 13, p. 6 (= p. 179).

40 "Meine Morgenstunden waren den Kanzleiarbeiten, der Lesung des Antar's und dem Gespräche mit der alten Frau, die Abendstunden dem Spaziergange auf dem Quai von Bujukdere mit

The acquaintances of Greek ladies, alluded to in this passage, features prominently in Hammer's memoirs. While their attire was the object of the satirical poem cited at the beginning, numerous passages show that he was particularly charmed by their way of speaking:

> Right from the very beginning, I was very fond of this [their conversations], and the often repeated flattery of the women and girls among themselves like *Psyche mu*, my soul, *Kardia mu*, my heart, mixed with cries of Turkish *Aman* and Italian *O dio!* – all of this sounded very sweet in my ear that likes to retain these and other Greek phrases, so that, only by associating with the *kokonas* of Pera, as later with the *domnizzas* of Jassy, without master and muse, I learned to speak modern Greek as much as necessary for social conversation with them.[41]

By "*Domnizzen*" (from Romanian "*domniță*" for "young lady" or "princess") Hammer refers to the female members of the Greek nobility in Moldavia, where he spent his last year in the Ottoman Empire, until mid-1807. Although he does not conceal his feelings for several women he fell in love with in Constantinople as well as later in Jassy (Iași), again, he is eager to assure the potential reader of his memoirs that he "now courted several boyar ladies at the same time for the sake of progress in Modern Greek."[42]

By adding up examples of this kind, not only do we get a vivid impression of a gentleman versed in the "art of conversation,"[43] but there is also plenty of evidence that Hammer accredited women with a privileged relationship to language. Here, one could invoke his contribution from 1809 to the debate on the

jungen Mädchen gewidmet; Morgens lernte ich arabisch, Abends neugriechisch sprechen." Erinnerungen, III, 13, p. 9 (= p. 178).

41 "Diesem [ihrem Gespräch] war ich gleich von allem Anfang her hold, und die so oft wiederholten Schmeichelworte der Frauen und Mädchen unter sich wie Psychi mu, meiner Seel, Kardia mu mein Herz, vermischt mit den Ausrufen des türkischen Aman und des italienischen o Dio! tönten mir höchst lieblich im Ohr, welches dieselben und andere griechische Phrasen gern behielt, so daß ich bloß durch den Umgang mit den Kokonas Peras, so wie später mit den Domnizzen Yassis so viel, als zur gesellschaftliche Unterhaltung mit denselben gehört ohne Meister und Muse neugriechisch sprechen gelernt." Hammer-Purgstall, Erinnerungen, III, 12, p. 24 (= p. 176).

42 "So machte ich nun des Fortschrittes im Neugriechischen willen mehreren Bojarinnen zugleich den Hof." Hammer-Purgstall, Erinnerungen, XV, 63, p. 7 (= p. 7).

43 On conversation as a central medium of the Enlightenment see Benedetta Craveri, The Age of Conversation (New York 2005) (Italian original: La civiltà della conversazione [Milano 2001]).

so called "language of flowers," allegedly used by harem ladies and communicated to him by Greek and Armenian women who had access to the palace.[44]

While there is obviously a good dose of sublimated libido in these descriptions (which I will return to in the next paragraph), this is not to say that, in Hammer's mind, women figure only as some sort of auxiliaries to male scholarship without being capable of it themselves. An example was Euphrosyne Mavroyeni (1778 – 1850), a member of the Greek aristocracy, who devoted herself "to science and to no one else":

> I found her in such a tiny cabinet that the four walls of it were no higher and only a little longer than the four large maps of the four continents […] with which they were covered […]. She was sitting with an old Greek priest, with a long, silver beard flowing over his chest, at a lectern with a tome of a Greek church book on it, which she read with him. Although she was not expecting a visit, she was wearing bright red make-up, as was the case with all distinguished and wealthy Greek women at home, as well as numerous jewelry on her fingers and arms, and figures of birds and animals were embroidered on her magnificent dress. I apologized for my astonishment at the strange wallpaper of the study cabinet and the garments of the students, by invoking with embarrassment that I did not know what to study here first – the geography of the wall, the jewels on the hand, the embroidery of the dress, the hymns from the book, or astronomy from her young bright eyes. I had already learned so much Modern Greek that I could tell her this in her own language.[45]

Of course, despite being surprised, Hammer does not miss the chance to exhibit his own wiliness.

44 In Hammer's memoirs there is only a passing reference to this topic, which he elaborated on in his essay Sur le langage des fleurs, in Fundgruben des Orients 1 (1809), pp. 32 – 42.

45 "[D]en Wissenschaften und sonst Niemandem": "Ich fand sie in einem so winzigen Kabinette, daß die vier Wände desselben nicht höher und nur wenig länger als die vier großen Karten der vier Erdtheile […], womit sie bedeckt waren […] Sie saß mit einem alten griechischen Priester, dem ein langer, silbener Bart über die Brust floß, vor einem Kirchenpulte auf dem der Foliant eines griechischen Kirchenbuchs aufgeschlagen lag, den sie mit ihm las; wiewohl sie keinen Besuch erwartete, war sie doch hochroth geschminkt, trug, wie dies bei allen vornehmen und reichen Griechinnen auch zu Hause der Fall, zahlreichen Schmuck an Fingern und Armen und [an] ihrem prächtigen Kleide waren Figuren von Vögeln und Thieren eingestickt; ich entschuldigte das Erstaunen in das mich die seltsame Tapete des Studienkabinets und der Anzug der Studierenden versetzte, mit der Verlegenheit, daß ich nicht wiße was hier eher zu studieren[:] die Geographie von der Wand, die Juwelen von der Hand, die Stickerei [uncertain reading] von dem Kleid, die Kirchenlieder aus dem Buch oder die Astronomie aus ihren jungen strahlenden Augen. Ich hatte bereits so viel Neugriechisch gelernt, ihr dies in ihrer Sprache sagen zu können." Hammer-Purgstall, Erinnerungen, XIV, 58, p. 24 (= p. 658).

3.3 The trials of the erudite gentleman

Doing conversation, however, is not only about quick-wittedness, but also, and even more importantly, about self-control and restraint. It becomes a necessity in the various interactions of diplomatic life, from official ceremonies to the dinner parties in Pera and Büyükdere, and even more imperative in the unfenced field of private encounters. As a matter of fact, attending balls and soirées proved to be a frustrating duty for the young and low-ranking Hammer. Consequently, the description of such events, as the following scene in 1799, brims with scorn and sarcasm for the rigid and shallow conventions:

> In this circle [of diplomats], there could be no question of personal validity based on wit, knowledge or other social skills […]. Even the girls measured their dancers on no other scale than the more or less distant prospect of their potential performance as future suitors. The young, beautiful, and amiable women of the diplomatic corps, of which there were, in fact, no more than three educated European women (the wife of the English minister [i.e. *chargé d'affaires*]) Spencer Smith, of the Prussian minister, baroness von Knobelsdorf, and, later, the wife of the English ambassador, Lady Elgin)[46] made, of course, laudable exception from this diplomatic backwater [*Krähwinkelei*]. Yet, as the youngest language boy [*Sprachknabe*], I stood too far outside Pera's etiquette [i.e. refined society] to be able to talk much or to even court them.[47]

Even though his memoirs were written more than forty years later, he can barely conceal his frustration over the fact that, due to the stern difference of class, the gentlewomen of Pera (of European or local origin) were simply not within his reach. Still, Hammer is anxious to single out individual women from the mass of diplomats he usually qualifies as a dim-witted flock of real or would-be aristocrats. In contrast to the generic way women are oftentimes represented in Ori-

46 Constance Smith (née de Herbert Rathkeal, 1785 – 1829); Spencer Smith (1769 – 1845); Philippine von Knobelsdorff (née Freiin van Dedern to de Geldern, 1772 – 1860); Mary Hamilton Bruce, Countess of Elgin (née Nisbet, 1778 – 1855) .

47 "Von persönlicher Geltung in diesem Kreise [perotischer Diplomaten] durch Geist, Kenntniß oder andere gesellschaftliche Talente war keine Rede […]. Selbst die Mädchen maßen ihre Tänzer nach keinem anderen Maßstabe, als nach dem der mehr oder weniger entfernten Aussicht auf die Möglichkeit des Auftretens der Tänzer als einstmalige Freyer. Die jungen, schönen, und liebenswürdigen Frauen des diplomatischen Corps, welches deren bis auf drei zählen konnte (die Frau des englischen Ministers Spencer Smith, die des preussischen, die Baronin von Knobelsdorf und später die des englischen Botschafter Lady Elgin) machten von dieser diplomatischen Krähwinkelei freilich als gebildete Europäerinnen löbliche Ausnahme, aber als jüngster Sprachknabe stand ich denselben nach der Etikette Pera's viel zu ferne, als mit ihnen viel sprechen oder den Hof machen zu dürfen." Hammer-Purgstall, Erinnerungen, III, 12, p. 12 (= pp. 170 – 171).

ental travel literature, in Hammer's memoirs we thus find several individualized portrays. Apart from the ladies mentioned in the quotation and the aforementioned Ms. Aide, lengthy passages are devoted to conversations with a "Madame Varsy" (in Egypt),[48] "Kadinka Raab" (Pera),[49] Smaragda Mavrocordatos (Moldavia),[50] and most notably, "Madame Marini" (Pera), with whom he fell in love in his second period in Constantinople and who, avowedly, made him lose his composure.[51]

While Hammer habitually passes sarcastic judgments on the women – as he does on the men – of the refined society of Pera, apparently overplaying his own unreturned affections with contemptuous remarks on their lack of refinement, he is also very anxious to point out that even in situations of erotic attraction he is capable to control himself, guided only by the Eros of knowledge. Usually, these encounters are couched as scenes of hermeneutic quest – as, for instance, for the better understanding of Homer's *thalamos*[52]*:* "I finally found the Thalamos as a treasure chest and sleeping room in today's bedrooms, in which the female clothes and other treasures are kept in front of a lamp burning in front of the Panagia [Virgin Mary]; I rediscovered the Thalamos of Juno who adorns herself for the act of love."[53] Yet, before concupiscence takes over, the scholar comes to his senses: "I was startled, as if by blasphemy, when, after having studied Homer, I caught myself reading and appreciating him mainly with regards to etho- and ethnography rather than a masterpiece of poetry."[54] Maintaining or resuming the appropriate composure in delicate moments is a recurring strategy for reinstating his erudite self. This, on the one hand, prevents him from uncon-

48 Elisabeth Varsy (née Dormer, 1753 – 1828).
49 Catharina Raab (née Pisani, fl. around 1800).
50 Smaragda Mavrocordatos (née Mourouzis, 1784 – 1848).
51 Theresa Marini (b. around 1770), the illegitimate daughter of the former Austrian Ambassador and later minister of foreign affairs (*Staatskanzler*) Johann Amadeus Franz von Thugut (1736 – 1818). See Hammer-Purgstall, Erinnerungen, XIII, 55, pp. 7 – 12 (= p. 620 – 622) and XIV, 56, pp. 3 – 21 (= pp. 630 – 637).
52 Θάλαμος, the women's chamber or bedroom.
53 "Endlich fand ich den Θαλαμος als Schatz- und Schlafkammer in den heutigen Schlafzimmern wieder, worinnen vor einer vor der Panagia brennenden Lampe die Kleider der Frauen und andere Kostbarkeiten aufbewahrt werden, ich fand den Thalamos der Juno wieder, die sich zum Werk der Liebe schmückt." Hammer-Purgstall, Erinnerungen, III, 13, p. 10 (= p. 181).
54 "Ich erschrak wie vor einer Blasphemie, als ich nach vollendeter Lesung Homer's mich darauf ertappte, daß ich denselben hauptsächlich in etho- und ethnographischer Beziehung und nicht als ein Meisterwerk der Poesie gelesen und gewürdigt." Hammer-Purgstall, Erinnerungen, III, 13, p. 11 (= p. 181).

trolled indulgence while, on the other hand, it allows him to explore the liminal zones of taboo.

Similar "ethnographic explorations" (*ethnographische Erkundungen*) take up considerable space in Book VI of his memoirs, dedicated to his stay in Egypt. They include the customs of Arabian women (*die Sitten und Manieren arabischer Frauen*) such as the manners inside the harem (*die Sitten und Manieren des Harems*), an account of the stout body ideal of beauty, as well as an exploration of the physique of Copt and Abyssinian women (*Physiologie der Koptinnen und abessynischen Mädchen*) for whose closer examination (*sie näher zu prüfen*), as he assures us, he felt neither curiosity nor desire.[55] Borrowing an observation from Irvin Schick (on Bronislaw Malinowski, but perfectly fitting within our context), the following passages from Hammer's description of his stay in Rosetta (Rashid) intimate that " 'scientific language' was not the only form in which sex entered his mind during his long and apparently celibate journeys."[56] Thus, fascinated by the Egyptian belly dancers, the "almahs," which he also calls "holy slaves of the Asian Aphrodite" (*Hierodulen der asiatischen Aphrodite*) or "priestesses of Vulgivaga" (*Priesterinnen der Vulgivaga*),[57] Hammer approached one of those dancers after having witnessed her enticing performance – not to satisfy his carnal desire, as he is anxious to clarify, but his thirst for knowledge:

> [A]s [priestesses of Vulgivaga] they could not tempt me, but I was thinking of an ethnographic and antiquarian fantasy that I would have liked to satisfy for my instruction as an inquisitive traveler. I would have loved to see the most well-proportioned of them undressed, to see for myself whether her physique, like some claim, is like the female figures on the ancient sculptures of Egyptian temples and palaces. One wink was enough to have her join me as my companion, she led me outside the village to a deserted site with half-dilapidated and half-uncovered mud huts, which reminded me only too much of the Esquiline gardens of Horace […]. She led me into a room where there was nothing but the empty mud walls and the bare earth that seemed to be a hen house, the door was closed, but there was no lock, no bolt to lock it; I gave her a Spanish thaler, intimating that I do not ask for anything except to see her completely undressed. This, she replies, is impossible because it is against the Law, except for this, she would be completely at my command. Yet my repeated pleas and proposal were in vain, I showed her another one, two, three more Spanish thalers – all in vain, she could not be made to show more from her bosom down and from her ankles upwards, more than she had already revealed to the onlookers of her dance. Greater exposure is against the Law, disposing of herself is her legal revenue, but

55 Hammer-Purgstall, Erinnerungen, VI, 27, pp. 15 – 20 (= pp. 330 – 332).
56 Schick, Erotic Margin, p. 79.
57 A disparaging sobriquet of Venus.

> it must be done in a lawful manner without showing her innermost secret. So I returned from my antiquarian philological excursions without having achieved anything.[58]

Indeed, this passage would be worth a series of comments. Let it suffice to say here that the entire scene, featuring the representative of the invading power (Hammer accompanied the British military expedition against the French) offering money to the Egyptian belly dancer to strip herself naked before the intruder's greedy eye, articulates the gendered power relation of colonialism in a most blatant way. It is also true, however, that the paragraph reveals the limits of such an encroachment, for the dancer voices her refusal which is recorded and respected, albeit reluctantly, by Hammer-Purgstall.

3.4 Witnessing transgressions of rules and roles

Accepting these limits to his "antiquarian-ethnographic fantasies," Hammer continues to be puzzled by the astonishing difference between "European" and "Asian" female attitudes towards sexual morality:

> The reluctance of the Muslim women to be completely exposed (besides their indubitable abstinence in other respects) is one of the strangest contrasts of European and Asian morality. Poor but chaste Italian and English girls often sit or stand as models at painting aca-

58 "Als solche konnten sie mich nicht verlocken, aber mir ging eine ethnographische und antiquarische Fantasie durch den Kopf, die ich gerne zu meiner Belehrung als wissbegieriger Reisender befriediget hätte. Ich hätte die wohlgebildste derselben ganz gerne entkleidet gesehen, um mich durch den Augenschein zu überzeugen, ob ihr Körperbau wie Einige behaupten, ganz derselbe wie der weiblicher Figuren auf den alten Skulpturen ägyptischer Tempel und Paläste sey. Ein Wink genügte, sie mir als Begleiterin zuzugesellen, sie führte mich außer des Dorfes auf eine wüste Stätte mit halb verfallenen und halb unbedeckten Lehmhütten, die mich nur zu sehr an die esquilinischen Gärten des Horaz […] erinnerte […]. Sie führte mich in ein Gemach wo Nichts als die leeren Lehmwände und die blosse Erde, und das ein Hühnerhof zu seyn schien. Die Thür wurde zugemacht es war aber kein Schloss, kein Riegel da sie zu verschließen; ich gab ihr einen spanischen Thaler mit dem Bedeuten ich verlange dafür gar Nichts als daß sie sich mir ganz entkleidet zeige; Dies erwiderte sie sei unmöglich, indem es wider das Gesetz, bis auf dies, stünde sie mir ganz zu Gebote; meine wiederholten guten Worte und Anträge blieben aber vergebens, ich zeigte ihr einen, zwei, und bis auf drey spanische Thaler, alles vergebens sie war nicht dazu zu bringen vom Busen hinunter und vom Knöchel hinauf mehr sehen zu lassen als sie schon im Tanze den Schaulustigen Preis gegeben; größere Entblößung sei wider das Gesetz, sich selbst Preis zu geben sei ihr erlaubter Erwerb, aber dies müße auf gesetzmäßige Weise ohne dass sie ihr Geheimstes zu Schau stellte, geschehen. So kehrte ich von meinem antiquarischen philologischen Ausfluge unverrichteter Dinge zurück." Hammer-Purgstall, Erinnerungen, VII, 29, pp. 4–7 (= pp. 348–349).

> demies with veiled faces, and not a single man can pride himself on having laid down on their bodies with anything but their gaze; Muslim haeterae offer anything but the sight of their bare secret charms, while honorable Muslim women under the strictest custody of the harem, abiding by its customs and the laws, amuse themselves with the voluptuous, sikyonian[59] dances of the almahs and the grossest indecencies of the Chinese shadow play, whose hero, like any other human being, is of ordinary stature yet very well-hung as a man and wears his Greek Hercules's testicles as big as himself, loaded in front of him on an ox cart.[60]

Dancing and shadow plays (alluded to in this passage) as well as other forms of popular entertainment caught the particular attention of the ever curious scholar and embassy agent, who usually describes them at length, albeit with ambivalent feelings. On the one hand, Hammer took advantage of these performances to study their presumed ancient origins, to collect samples of spoken Arabic or Turkish (for which he gives many examples throughout his memoirs), or to observe the audience's behavior. One the other hand, in many cases these forms of entertainment profoundly shook his sense of decency since, besides the explicit sexual humor, the transgression of conventional or anticipated gender roles was pervasive. "What I saw and heard by far exceeded my expectation of the most shameful things. Only the faithful narrative can enable Europeans who are alien to such abominations to make a correct judgment of the rottenness of Turkish customs or rather bad customs, especially if they learn that not only depraved men, but also harem women were entertained by this spectacle."[61]

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59 "*Sikynnisch*", used by Hammer on several occasion to denote a special kind of lascivious dance, is most probably a corrupt form of "*sikyonisch*" which refers to the Peloponnesian city state of Sicyon (Σικυώv), famous for its painting school and theatre. His use of the term is idiosyncratic.

60 "Die Scheu der Mosliminen vor gänzlicher Enthüllung bei sonstiger zweifelloser Enthaltsamkeit ist einer der sonderbarsten Kontraste europäischer und asiatischer Sitte. Arme aber züchtige italienische und englische Mädchen sitzen und stehen auf Malerakademien oft mit verhülltem Gesichte als Modelle, ohne dass irgend ein Mann auf ihrem schönen Leibe anders als mit den Blicken geruht zu haben sich rühmen kann; moslemische Hetären gewähren alles nur nicht den Anblick ihrer unverhüllten geheimen Reize, und ehrbare Mosliminen, die unter der strengsten Obhut des Harems, der Sitte und den Gesetzen desselben getreu, erlustigen sich an den wollüstigsten, sikynnischen Tänzen der Almen und an den gröbsten Unanständigkeiten des chinesischen Schattenspiels, dessen Held von gewöhnlicher Statur wie andere Menschenkinder, nur als Mann mehr als riesig begabt, seine griechischen Herkuleshoden so groß wie er selbst auf einem Ochsenwagen geladen vor sich zur Schau trägt." Hammer-Purgstall, Erinnerungen, VII, 29, pp. 7–9 (= pp. 349–350).

61 "Was ich gesehen und gehört, hatte meine Erwartung des Schändlichsten bei weitem überstiegen. Nur die getreue Erzählung kann Europäer, denen solche Greuel fremd, zum richtigen Urtheil über das Fäulniß türkischer Sitte oder vielmehr Unsitte befähigen besonders wenn sie

Again, as can be seen in this passage, Hammer was shocked not so much by the ribaldry of language and contents, but by the fact that even women enjoyed this type of amusement, which was out of line with the gendered behavior he had observed otherwise.

Like so many other travelers to the Levant, Hammer was particularly outraged by another type of transgression, namely by the presence and company of effeminate men in the taverns of the Ottoman capital.[62] Yet again, his indignation at the sight of male belly dancers (the so-called *köcek*) or what he calls *Lotterbube* ("scoundrels" or "hustlers") could not outweigh his unabashed fascination with this display of sexuality. Having plunged on several occasions into the nightlife of the city, the young Hammer experienced

> profound disgust with the unnatural moral corruption [...] especially of the Janissaries, whose *yamak* [= auxiliary troops] were nothing more than Greek hustlers [...]. To convince myself of the unbelievable with my own eyes, I once visited a tavern in Galata at night, where Greek boys were performing sikyonian dances before the eyes of Janissaries and sailors. Except for a few curious strangers such as myself, the whole audience consisted of only three categories, i.e., catamites paid by their lovers, abominable men who paid to abuse them, and more disgraceful old men who paid others to be abused by them, three categories of outlaws of morality, which the Turks call *puşt*, *gulampara* and *ibne* [different ways for saying faggot].[63]

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erfahren, daß dieses Schauspiel nicht nur die Unterhaltung von verderbten Männergesellschaften, sondern auch die der Frauen im Harem." Hammer-Purgstall, Erinnerungen, XII, 51, p. 10 (= pp. 582–583). Hammer claims that such "abominable and hideous fantasies could only proliferate in the mud of Turkish tyranny and barbarism, while these things have never been reported of from Persia" ("Anderes Ungeheures und Abscheuliches verderbter Phantasie und Sitte [...] konnte nur im Schlamme türkischer Tyrannei und Barberei zu Constantinopel wuchern. In Persien, so viel aus Reisebeschreibungen bekannt, ist nie dergleichen erhört worden"). Hammer-Purgstall, Erinnerungen, XII, 51, p. 9 (= p. 582).

62 Serkan Delice, The Janissaries and Their Bedfellows: Masculinity and Male Friendship in Eighteenth-Century Ottoman Istanbul, in Gul Ozyegin (ed.), Gender and Sexuality in Muslim Cultures (Farnham 2015), pp. 115–136.

63 "Tiefe Abscheu vor der unnatürlichen Sittenverderbniß [...] besonders der Janitscharen, deren Jamak Nichts weiter als griechische Lotterbuben. [...] um mich von dem Unglaublichen mit eigenen Augen zu überzeugen besuchte ich einmal in der Nacht eine Taverne in Galata, wo griechische Knaben sikynnische [sic] Tänze aufführten, und Janitscharen und Galiardschi die Zuseher; Die ganze Versammlung bestand, ein Paar neugieriger Fremder wie ich abgerechnet, nur aus drei Klassen nämlich aus Lotterbuben, die von ihren Liebhabern gezahlt wurden, aus schändlichen Männern welche dieselben zahlend missbrauchten und aus noch schändlicheren Alten, welche Andere um von ihnen missbraucht zu werden zahlten, drei Klassen von Auswürflingen der Sittlichkeit wofür dem Türken die Benennungen Puscht, Ghulampara und Ibne gang und gäbe sind." Hammer-Purgstall, Erinnerungen, III, 12, p. 21 (= pp. 174–175).

Since girlish boys subverted the accepted gender binarity, catamites, to use the historically more accurate term for male prostitutes, were, not only in Hammer-Purgstall's mind, the epitome of the most unsettling aspect of Oriental sexuality. Curiously enough, these scenes were not too scandalous to be related at length. This way, the standard display of feigned indignation, indicated by expressions such as "depraved," "bewildering," or "abominable," proves to be a necessary framing for the voyeuristic lust for giving vivid depictions of such sceneries. As such, they serve as indications of the supposedly solid moral stature of the scholarly observer who passes the test of unsettling realities.

4 Towards a gendered reading of Hammer-Purgstall beyond the Orientalist paradigm

In his sweeping study of the sexual discourse in the Ottoman Middle East, Dror Ze'evi identifies two competing attitudes – "one more favorable and open to local discourse, the other hostile and unflattering" – that characterized descriptions of Eastern sexual morality in Western travel writings in early modern times.[64] Since the turn of nineteenth century and then particularly throughout the Tanzimat period (during Hammer-Purgstall's lifetime), this opposition became more nuanced while also intensifying. "While some chose to depict local sexuality as an instance of a different but no less moral outlook, in other accounts sexual behavior in the Ottoman world assumed an all-embracing character as an endemic vice that represents not only a morally depraved society but also morally corrupt politics."[65]

Most scholars would agree that Hammer-Purgstall should be placed in the first, more sympathetic and more judicious, group. It is true, however, that numerous passages cited in this chapter could just as well be invoked to demonstrate a pervasive Orientalist substratum to his writings. Already in his French poem from 1799, we find claims for Western superiority in the name of taste and refinement and a dismissal of Asiatic despotism combined with a specifically gendered gaze on the Levant. Also, particular narrative elements (such as the concomitance of sexual repression and perversion), corresponding imageries

64 Dror Ze'evi, Producing Desire: Changing Sexual Discourse in the Ottoman Middle East, 1500 – 1900 (Berkeley, London 2006), p.152.
65 Ze'evi, Producing Desire, pp. 155, 157.

(the feminine allegories in the depiction of moral decay of state and society), and rhetorical figures (the interplay of attraction and repulsion as a prominent way of framing the discourse of the other) are reminiscent of well-established discourses on the Orient. To single out these elements, however, would lead to a highly selective if not distorted reading of Hammer-Purgstall whose exceptional – and eccentric – position within the Orientalist mainstream of the early nineteenth century has been demonstrated by numerous scholars who pointed out the complex and intimate relationship Hammer-Purgstall entertained with the Orient.[66] Based on the material discussed above, it is clear that, for Hammer as for so many other contemporaries of the Austrian scholar, the despicable aspects of Oriental sexuality – the display of homosexuality, pederasty, and the seclusion of women as the most common triplet – are the paragon of the moral and political depravation of the Ottoman Empire.[67] However, these elements are far from dominating his depiction of gender, let alone the overall narrative.

Focusing on a few examples that could easily be expanded, I have tried to outline the various ways in which feminine imagery, female encounters, and feminine or effeminate environments in Hammer-Purgstall's writings on the Levant are presented and used for his self-fashioning. Needless to say, a truly gendered reading of Hammer-Purgstall would require much more than could be offered here. First, one would need, if not a broader focus on gender as such, a second focus on the (self-)construction of masculinity as a necessary corollary to the representations of femininity. Moreover, a wider material basis, including his historical works, translations, and poems would certainly contribute to refin-

66 For the most prominent appraisal of Hammer-Purgstall, although offering a similarly selective reading, see Jürgen Osterhammel, Unfabling the East: The Enlightenment's Encounter with Asia (Princeton 2018) (German original: Die Entzauberung Asiens: Europa und die asiatischen Reiche im 18. Jahrhundert [Munich 1998]). On Hammer's (contested) literary and philological achievements see Klaus Kreiser, Eine langatmige und unergiebige Polemik? Die Fehde zwischen Heinrich Friedrich von Diez und Joseph von Hammer-Purgstall, in Christoph Rauch and Gideon Stiening (eds.), Heinrich Friedrich von Diez (1751–1817): Freidenker – Diplomat – Orientkenner (Berlin, Boston 2020), pp. 243–272; Kreiser, 'Clio's poor relation', pp. 47–52; Mangold, Eine "weltbürgerliche Wissenschaft", pp. 79–82. On Hammer's awareness and dialogue with contemporary Ottoman historiography see Christoph Neumann, Primärquelle und Sekundärliteratur im Dialog: Zu den Beziehungen zwischen Ahmed Cevdet Paşa und Joseph von Hammer-Purgstall, in Nurettin Demir and Erika Taube (eds.), Turkologie heute: Tradition und Perspektive. Materialien der dritten Deutschen Turkologen-Konferenz, Leipzig, 4.–7. Oktober 1994 (Wiesbaden 1998), pp. 211–224.

67 It should be noted that his views on the Arab-speaking world and most notably on Persia (see above n. 61) are different.

ing our understanding. Despite these limitations, a series of preliminary conclusions can be drawn.

The focus on Orientalism, as inevitable as it is in the analysis of Western writings on the Levant, proves of limited use in understanding Hammer-Purgstall's views on female and effeminate spaces and their role for his self-understanding, which would rather call for a broader contextualization. With this aim, I would like to cite three largely accepted research findings concerning the interplay of gender roles and societal organization at the turn of the eighteenth century. First, we need to keep in mind the largely male-dominated homosocial organization of society in its various segments, with gradual, but not radical, differences between the Habsburg and the Ottoman realms. Thus, in the eyes of (predominantly male) observers, female presences in homosocial settings were *a priori* marked as other, especially when it came to observe female spaces cross-culturally.[68] Second, the era of late Enlightenment and Revolution prove to be a watershed for the firm establishment of gender roles according to the binary male/female distinction with its corresponding societal consequences.[69] The emergence of a male bureaucratic state apparatus was, thirdly, both contributory to and representative of this development.[70] Accordingly, well-known clichés such as the decrepit Empire run by the harem, or the effeminacy of its rulers, directly feed into this gendered political imagery of a feminized, deficient state.

Hammer's depictions of the female gender indeed appear in consonance with these general trends of his time and are certainly "less Orientalist" than the *prima facie* impression one might get from the enumeration of occasional instances. Rather, the, at times caustic and dismissive, tone in his memoirs ulti-

68 The issue has been discussed in many places. Suffice it to mention Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick, Between Men: English Literature and Male Homosocial Desire (New York 1985), a study that introduced the term into the social and historical sciences.

69 See the influential essay by Karin Hausen, Die Polarisierung der 'Geschlechtscharaktere': Eine Spiegelung der Dissoziation von Erwerbs- und Familienleben, in Werner Conze (ed.), Sozialgeschichte der Familie in der Frühen Neuzeit (Stuttgart 1976), pp. 363 – 393 (English translation: Family and Role-division: The Polarisation of Sexual Stereotypes in the Nineteenth Century – An Aspect of the Dissociation of Work and Family Life, in Richard J. Evans and W. R. Lee (eds.), The German Familiy: Essays on the Social History of the Family in Nineteenth- and Twentieth-Century Germany (London 1981), pp. 51 – 83).

70 Stefan Brakensiek, Die Männlichkeit der Beamten: Überlegungen zur Geschlechtergeschichte des Staates im Ancien Régime und an der Schwelle zur Moderne, in Jens Flemming et al. (eds.), Lesarten der Geschichte: Ländliche Ordnungen und Geschlechterverhältnisse (Kassel 2004), pp. 67 – 88; Francis Dodsworth, Masculinity as Governance: Police, Public Service and the Embodiment of Authority, c. 1700 – 1850, in Matthew McCormack (ed.), Public Men: Political Masculinities in Modern Britain (Basingstoke 2007), pp. 33 – 53.

mately testifies to the affective involvement and intellectual standards of a character who displayed similar attitudes when it comes to describe female acquaintances in London or Vienna. Moreover, by family background and education, Hammer-Purgstall was a representative – and declaredly so – of the Enlightened state bureaucracy in its specifically Austrian, Josephinist guise. His fundamental belief in the virtues of meritocracy turns him into a caustic critic both of what he would call Oriental indolence and fatalism and of the shallow formalism and rigidity of the Habsburg monarchy in particular.[71] Of modest upbringing, yet extremely talented, very industrious, but lacking the recognition he was expecting both of state bureaucracy and academia, Hammer was concerned with conveying an appropriate image of himself throughout his life, culminating in his monumental *Erinnerungen aus meinem Leben*. There, the way he likes to present himself very much conforms to the late eighteenth-century image of the self-controlled gentleman, polite and refined, yet critical of both rudeness and punctiliousness.[72] His scholarly interest helped him to maintain an ironic, sometimes even critical distance to the various official positions he held over the years. Also, the frequent occurrence of women in his memoirs (including numerous extensive and praiseful portrayals) invites the hypothesis that with female acquaintances Hammer, both emotionally and intellectually, found alternatives to (or at least occasional relief from) the otherwise barren milieu of bureaucracy he was at constant odds with for the longest part of his life.

As the passages cited show, the tone of sober description is frequently shot through by personal comment and even prejudices (most of them probably shared by his contemporaries), just as those passages suggesting intimacy and sexual desire are tempered with wake-up calls of scholarly self-restraint. This painstaking quest for equilibrium, maybe the most fundamental feature of his male self-fashioning, finds its equivalent in his general framing of the "Eastern Question" that largely coincides with his own biography. Thus, despite the concerns Hammer shares with regards to the political present and future of the Ottoman Empire, the keynote of his writing sets him apart from the large majority of contemporary comments that were suffused with the feeling of civilizational superiority.[73] In contrast to this growing opinion, instead of looking for signs of

71 On his intellectual profile see the incisive remarks by Paula Sutter Fichtner, Terror and Toleration: The Habsburg Empire Confronts Islam, 1526 – 1850 (London 2008), pp. 130 – 151.
72 For an overview of research on conceptions of masculinity in the early modern era see Karen Harvey, The History of Masculinity, circa 1650 – 1800, in Journal of British Studies 44 (2005), pp. 296 – 311.
73 In this sense see his preface to Hammer-Purgstall, Geschichte des Osmanischen Reichs, vol. 1, pp. XIII–LVII.

decay, Hammer-Purgstall responded to the manifold impressions of his travels with infinite curiosity, sympathy, or outright enthusiasm, in constant search for "the genius of the places described."[74]

74 "Der Genius der beschriebenen Orte." Hammer-Purgstall, Umblick auf einer Reise, p. X.

V Distant Readings and Digital History

Deniz T. Kılınçoğlu and Jörg Wettlaufer

The Reshuffling of Middle Eastern Identities in the Age of Nationalism: Insights from Nineteenth-Century Travelogues

Travelogues about the nineteenth-century Middle East are a rich source of information about the material culture, economic life, and social practices and customs of various religious and ethnic communities of the region. In addition, many European travelers provide us with colorful observations about inter-communal relations and sentiments. These accounts reflect the changing ideas and emotions about the "self" and the "other(s)," at a time when newly emerging national identities gradually overshadowed previous (mostly religious and local) dominant forms of self-identification. In this respect, travelogues contain first-hand observations about the sociopolitical dynamics of the rise of nationalisms and the consequent identity (re-)formation in the nineteenth-century Middle East.

However, many such accounts suffer from some well-known problems of this genre. We observe, for example, that the authors' own (mostly white, male, Christian, European) self-identification shapes their perceptions of the identity dynamics in the region. Most of these works reflect the Orientalist *Zeitgeist* of the age, openly favoring Christian, rather than Muslim, perspectives on social, political, and cultural issues. Moreover, we occasionally find that some of these accounts are (at least partly) copied from earlier sources, thereby not reflecting first-hand observations and experiences. An even bigger problem is that some of these texts are purely fictional narratives produced merely as sensational products for the market. These potential (and occasionally serious) pitfalls in using this genre as source have caused historians to approach this large body of historical documents with understandable caution. Nevertheless, in the present chapter we argue that travelogues are invaluable sources for historical research,[1] especially with the help of the recently developed analytical tools of digital humanities.

1 For earlier debates on travelogues as potential historical sources, despite all the problems mentioned here, see Barbara Korte, English Travel Writing: From Pilgrimages to Postcolonial Explorations (Basingstoke 2000), pp. 5–16; Daniel Carey, Truth, Lies and Travel Writing, in Carl Thompson (ed.), The Routledge Companion to Travel Writing (London 2015), pp. 3–14.

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This study reflects some preliminary observations resulting from our digital history project that aims at building and digitally analyzing an extensive corpus of English-, French-, and German-language travelogues about the nineteenth-century Ottoman Empire.[2] It discusses our initial findings in travelogues regarding the sociopolitical dynamics of the rise of Middle Eastern nationalisms and our methodological suggestions about the opportunities as well as challenges of employing digital tools to use travelogues for historical analysis. The chapter starts with a discussion on nations and nationalisms in the nineteenth-century Middle East, particularly in the Ottoman Empire. Then it deals with the question of using travelogues as historical sources, focusing on the history of nationalisms, and suggests that digital history tools are essential for increasing the reliability of this body of sources. Finally, we present our findings and suggestions on how and what kind of digital history tools can be used to open such corpora to historical research.

1 Nations and nationalisms in the Ottoman Empire

The nineteenth century was the age of great transformation for the Middle East as well as for the Western world. The pace of intellectual, cultural, economic, political, and social change was dazzling compared to earlier centuries. As the region opened itself to new ideas, concepts, and institutions, especially from Europe, these novelties inspired endeavors and plans for social, economic, and political change to adapt local institutional frameworks to the new market-oriented, industrial, and science-and-technology-led global world-system.

One of the novelties of the modern world-system was a new doctrine that had been reshaping the political and diplomatic institutional framework and common sense especially since the beginning of the century. This doctrine of European origin was called "nationalism." It held simply "that humanity is naturally divided into nations, that nations are known by certain characteristics which can be ascertained, and that the only legitimate type of government is national self-government."[3] Adapting to this new doctrine and its 'international' institutional framework was a great challenge for the empires that rose on multi-ethnic sociopolitical institutions. Eventually, the long nineteenth century ended with

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2 For more information about the project see Travels in the 19th-Century Ottoman Empire. A Digital History Research Project, accessed 4 April 2022, <http://middle-east-travelers.de/>.

3 Elie Kedourie, Nationalism, 2nd and revised ed. (London 1961), p. 9.

several empires collapsing and dissolving into nation-states or transforming themselves into nation-state-like formations. In any case, the following century would be the age of nations and nation-states. The Ottoman Empire was one of the collapsing empires. Its dissolution gave way to many nations and nation-states in the Balkans and the Middle East, leaving a lingering legacy in the economic, political, and cultural lives of its (mostly reluctant) inheritors in the region.

Starting from the early nineteenth century, the elites of the region, both of the imperial center and of various ethnoreligious provincial communities, tried to adapt to the nationalism-dominated new world order. In the process, they had to reinvent themselves and the sociopolitical institutional frameworks that they led and represented. This paved the way for various centrifugal and centripetal forces, and naturally, occasional clashes between these forces. The main centrifugal force in this sense was the rise of nationalist ideas and movements starting in the Balkans in the early nineteenth century. The central imperial elites tried to counter these endeavors by various potentially centripetal measures, from political reforms that granted equal citizenship rights to all ethnoreligious communities to violent military measures against nationalist uprisings. Nevertheless, they could not stop nationalist ideas and movements gaining more ground in the Empire, which culminated in its dissolution into nation-states at the end of the First World War.[4]

There is a now relatively rich literature on the rise of nations and nationalisms in the Middle East and the Balkans in the long nineteenth century. Many scholars have studied this question focusing on individual cases, such as Greek, Armenian, Turkish, and Arab nationalisms.[5] Following the dominant trends in nationalism studies in general, most of these works focus on the intellectual, political, and diplomatic aspects of the question.[6] Thanks to these studies, we have a relatively strong knowledge base about nationalist thinkers and

4 For a concise analytical account of the last Ottoman century, revolving around these issues, see M. Şükrü Hanioğlu, A Brief History of the Late Ottoman Empire (Princeton 2008).

5 Just to name a few examples: Hasan Kayalı, Arabs and Young Turks. Ottomanism, Arabism and Islamism in the Ottoman Empire, 1908–1918 (Berkeley et al. 1997); Rashid Khalidi et al. (eds.), The Origins of Arab Nationalism (New York 1991); Michael Provence, The Great Syrian Revolt and the Rise of Arab Nationalism (Austin 2005); Keith David Watenpaugh, Being Modern in the Middle East. Revolution, Nationalism, Colonialism, and the Arab Middle Class (Princeton, Oxford 2006).

6 For two reviews of this literature see Miroslav Hroch, National Movements in the Habsburg and Ottoman Empires, in John Breuilly (ed.), The Oxford Handbook of the History of Nationalism (Oxford 2013), pp. 175–198; Aviel Roshwald, Nationalism in the Middle East, 1876–1945, in Breuilly, Oxford Handbook of the History of Nationalism, pp. 220–241.

their ideas, and about the role of politics and diplomacy on the realization of these ideas into post-Ottoman nations and nation-states. In other words, the existing literature explains how the elites (e.g., intellectuals and the bourgeoisie) of these different Ottoman communities and international diplomacy played significant roles in reshaping the region in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

Despite some introductory efforts,[7] however, we are still far from having a satisfactory understanding of the social history of the rise of nationalisms in the Ottoman Empire. Hence, we still need analytical and comparative studies on the question of how inter-communal relations in the Ottoman Empire paved the way for and shaped post-Ottoman nations and nationalisms in the region. As some researchers have mentioned,[8] mutual emotions between the Ottoman communities influenced the early formation of nationalisms in the empire, which in turn shaped the post-Ottoman formulations of nations and nation-states in the region.

As emphasized by many scholars of nationalism, certain shared narratives in the forms of "myths, symbols, and memories" constitute vital elements of nationalism and of the feeling of nationhood.[9] Many of these elements are inherited from pre-nationalist cultural arsenal of ethnoreligious communities that dominate the cultural formation of modern nations.[10] In this regard, it is crucial to examine pre-national ethnoreligious sentiments of belonging and the intercommunal tensions and relations between these groups, which are more often than not translated into the realities of inter-ethnic and international relations in the age of nationalism. Ego documents from the age of the rise of nations and nationalisms, in this respect, provide us with unexplored areas of first-hand knowledge about these issues. Memoirs, autobiographies, and other forms of eyewitness accounts from the nineteenth-century Middle East stand out naturally for the research on the experiential history of nationalism in the region. However, eyewitness travel accounts about the nineteenth-century Middle East that are written by Europeans should also be considered in this respect as they enrich

7 See, for example, Fatma Müge Göçek (ed.), Social Constructions of Nationalism in the Middle East (Albany 2002).
8 M. Şükrü Hanioğlu, Turkish Nationalism and the Young Turks, 1889–1908, in Göçek, Social Constructions, pp. 85–97; Fatma Müge Göçek, Decline of the Ottoman Empire and the Emergence of Greek, Armenian, Turkish, and Arab Nationalisms, in Göçek, Social Constructions, pp. 15–83.
9 For a detailed treatment of the subject see Anthony D. Smith, Myths and Memories of the Nation (Oxford 2000).
10 Anthony D. Smith, The Ethnic Origins of Nations (Malden 1986).

our understanding of the ethnoreligious formations and inter-communal tensions in the region with their outsiders' perspectives.

2 Travelogues as a source for the history of nationalisms in the nineteenth-century Middle East

Travelogues about the nineteenth-century Middle East are a rich and still largely untapped source for historical research. They provide researchers with abundant information about the economic, cultural, social, political, and even intellectual life in the region in this tumultuous age. However, some well-known problems of the genre led historians to be highly skeptical about these sources. Moreover, the scattered and unstructured form of this important literature hinders systematic and comprehensive use of the genre. We believe, however, that the historians' methods, rather than the nature of the documents, will be determinant in turning this rich and interesting body of literature into more reliable sources for historical research.

The main reason for the historians' relative reluctance to use this body of literature as a historical source, and therefore the relative poverty of systematic research on this genre, is the "subjectivity" of these documents. Travel literature is indeed a "hybrid genre containing autobiographical, novelistic, essayistic, and journalistic elements"[11]. We observe, in most of these texts, that political, cultural, emotional, and stylistic concerns are interwoven with the observed "facts." This has led many historians to regard these texts as unreliable sources for research. Historical research on travelogues, as a result, has mostly focused on the travelers themselves, especially their perceptions of other cultures and political assumptions, rather than the material information that their travel writings contained.[12] Following this format, a currently running digital history project on

11 Elisabeth Oxfeldt, Journeys from Scandinavia: Travelogues of Africa, Asia, and South America, 1840 – 2000 (Minneapolis, London 2010), p. xxi.

12 Andrew Hammond, The Uses of Balkanism: Representation and Power in British Travel Writing, 1850 – 1914, in The Slavonic and East European Review 82/3 (2004), pp. 601 – 624; Iain Macleod Higgins, Writing East: The "Travels" of Sir John Mandeville (Philadelphia 1997); Geoffrey P. Nash, From Empire to Orient: Travellers to the Middle East, 1830 – 1926 (London 2005); Paul Manning, Strangers in a Strange Land: Occidentalist Publics and Orientalist Geographies in Nineteenth-Century Georgian Imaginaries (Boston 2012), pp. 28 – 58; Barbara Spackman, Accidental Orientalists: Modern Italian Travelers in Ottoman Lands (Liverpool 2017).

German-language travelogues focuses particularly on self-representation and otherness in these texts.[13]

We claim that despite their obvious problems, the travelogues are invaluable sources for historical research. It is imperative to remember at this point, regarding especially the issue of "subjectivity" in travel writing, that almost all primary sources that historians use in their research are subjective accounts. In other words, dismissing eyewitness travel accounts as subjective, and therefore unreliable, reflects an absurd scholarly assumption about the putative existence of "objective" historical sources that show us "how it actually was" ("*wie es eigentlich gewesen ist*") as Leopold von Ranke (1795–1886) once optimistically assumed. What makes this assumption rather dangerous is to attribute such a nature to more conventional sources, such as official documents or court registers, which obviously were shaped by certain political, ideological, and even economic assumptions and concerns. In any case, it is the historians' methods, more than the nature of these documents, that will reveal the useful content in these rich sources. As historians adopt a critical, analytical, and comparative approach to these narratives (such as by asking what these narratives tell, who composed them and why, and by comparing the contents with other similar documents), they will develop powerful methods to integrate these sources into their research. In this regard, recently developed tools and methods in the digital humanities will provide historians with previously unavailable scholarly command of these and other similar sources. These tools will especially be useful in two major issues of the literature, which render travelogues slightly more unreliable compared to other sources in the eyes of the historians: first, in separating fact and fiction, and second, in addressing copying within the genre. As discussed below, digital text analysis provides us with powerful tools to detect these problems and separate useful historical content from copied texts and authorial fantasies.

Travelogues about the nineteenth-century Middle East contain abundant information on material culture, economic life, social practices and customs, and biographical information about many urban and rural notables of the era. This is the reason why many historians have used these sources for their research.[14] Yet,

13 Travelogues: Perceptions of the Other 1500–1876 – A Computerized Analysis, accessed 18 May 2022, <https://travelogues.github.io/>.

14 Just to name a few examples among many: Benjamin Braude and Bernard Lewis (eds.), Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Empire: The Functioning of a Plural Society (2 vols., New York 1982); Christopher G. A. Clay, Gold for the Sultan: Western Bankers and Ottoman Finance 1856–1881 (London 2000); Suraiya Faroqhi and Christoph K. Neumann (eds.), Ottoman Costumes: From Textile to Identity (Istanbul 2004); Deniz T. Kılınçoğlu, Economics and Capitalism other difficulties in working with travelogues arise at this point. First, there is no systematic corpus or even a complete detailed bibliography of this genre.[15] Second, many of these sources are either not digitalized or the digital copies are scattered across various digital vaults. Therefore, historians must work manually to find relevant information for their research. This mostly leads them not only to spending much time and energy on finding useful information, but also to overlooking many relevant sources and their valuable content. These problems can be solved only by building a comprehensive and systematic corpus of travelogues and a powerful online portal that will provide the historians with various tools to extract information from these rich sources in organized and visualized ways.

Coming back to the question of using eyewitness travel accounts for understanding the rise of nationalisms in the region, many authors of this genre provide us with their observations about the inter-communal relations among various ethnic and religious communities of the region. Moreover, these accounts include detailed observations about the everyday life of various ethnoreligious communities, relationships between them, and some remarks on rising tensions resulting from newly emerging national(ist) sentiments. These observations about everyday life are enriched, in some travelogues, by visual representations of various cultural aspects of the ethnoreligious groups as well as depictions of scenes from everyday life.[16] Another element in some of these accounts that make them attractive sources for historians is their inclusion of conversations with local (naturally, mostly elite) people. An important example in this context

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in the Ottoman Empire (London 2015); Baki Tezcan, The Second Ottoman Empire: Political and Social Transformation in the Early Modern World (Cambridge 2010); Ehud R. Toledano, Slavery and Abolition in the Ottoman Middle East (Seattle 2012).

15 There have been earlier attempts to produce such bibliographies. However, they mostly focus on pre-nineteenth-century works. See, for example, Elisabetta Borromeo, Voyageurs occidentaux dans l'Empire ottoman (1600 – 1644): Inventaire des récits et études sur les itinéraires, les monuments remarqués et les populations rencontrées (Roumélie, Cyclades, Crimée) (Paris 2007); Julia Chatzipanagioti-Sangmeister, Griechenland, Zypern, Balkan und Levante: Eine kommentierte Bibliographie der Reiseliteratur des 18. Jahrhunderts (2 vols., Eutin 2006); Stephane Yerasimos, Les voyageurs dans l'Empire Ottoman (XIV^{e}–XVI^{e} siècles): Bibliographie, itinéraires et inventaire des lieux habités (Ankara 1991).

16 For a few interesting examples see Peter Edmund Laurent, Recollections of a Classical Tour through Various Parts of Greece, Turkey, and Italy. Made in the Years 1818 & 1819, 2nd ed. (2 vols., London 1822); Luigi Mayer, Views in the Ottoman Dominions, in Europe, in Asia, and Some of the Mediterranean Islands (London 1810); G. A. Olivier, Travels in the Ottoman Empire, Egypt, and Persia, Undertaken by Order of the Government of France, During the First Six Years of the Republic (2 vols, London 1801); [Julia Sophia H.] Pardoe, The Beauties of the Bosphorus […] (London 1838); J[erome] V[an] C[rowninshield] Smith, Turkey and the Turks (Boston 1854).

is the travel account of the well-known British economist and the first professor of political economy at Oxford (1825 – 1830), Nassau William Senior (1790 – 1864). Senior, in his *A Journal Kept in Turkey and Greece in the Autumn of 1857, and the Beginning of 1858*, recounts many conversations with Ottoman elites as well as European observers who resided in the Ottoman Empire at the time about the social, economic, and political conditions in the empire.[17] These conversations reveal not only first-hand observations about various issues in the Ottoman realm but also ideas, disputes, and emotions of the contemporary observers regarding these issues. In this sense, these accounts constitute an invaluable source for historians working in a wide range of fields from economic and diplomatic, to intellectual and cultural, history.[18]

European authors' observations reflect obviously subjective evaluations (mostly, for example, in favor of the Christians against Muslims) in most of these accounts. Nevertheless, they still provide us with significant insights into the social, political, and cultural settings in which Middle Eastern nationalisms emerged in relation to one another. In this regard, we also find occasional references to mutual emotions and other manifestations of rising (proto)nationalist tensions among these communities. It will suffice to give a few examples at this point, leaving a more comprehensive analysis to prospective digital research on the entire corpus.

The English traveler Charles Boileau Elliott (1803 – 1875) observes the following in the 1830s about Kastellorizo (Castellorizo, Castle Rosso, or Meyisti), which is now a Greek island that lies two kilometers off the south coast of Turkey:

> The defences of Castel Rosso are two forts, both in a state of ruin, one of which is tenanted by a Turk and his wife, the latter of whom greeted us unveiled [...]. The population consists of about three thousand Greeks; to whom a hundred Turks from the continent have hitherto been added to represent the Ottoman interests; but as their number is so small, they assume none of the airs of superiority peculiar to their nation, and even adopt Greek customs, as was strikingly evinced in the case of the unveiled female. A day or two before our arrival an order was received from Constantinople that these few Turks should vacate the island, which is henceforth to be consigned exclusively to the Greeks on payment of a fixed tribute. The rejoicing on this occasion was unbounded. Young and old seemed to partake the senti-

17 Nassau W[illiam] Senior, A Journal Kept in Turkey and Greece in the Autumn of 1857 and the Beginning of 1858 (London 1859).

18 For a few examples of such conversations between Senior and his Ottoman and European interlocutors about the economic conditions and policies in the Ottoman Empire see Kılınçoğlu, Economics and Capitalism, pp. 19, 25 – 26, 130.

> ment; even our grey-headed captain, a native of the rock, forgetful of his age and his cares, sang and danced with joy, evincing all the gaiety and light-heartedness of youth.[19]

Continuing on the theme of nationalist sentiments and mutual sentiments among ethnoreligious communities, the following words from the American statesman Samuel G. W. Benjamin (1837–1914) are particularly striking:

> Another feature noticeable in the character of Constantinople society is the almost total absence of public spirit. This arises from the circumstance that, figuratively speaking, every man's hand is against the neighbor. In the capital, as throughout the empire, we see the people divided into conquerors and conquered, oppressors and oppressed, and a war of races is the natural result. […] [T]he many nations of Turkey have guarded their individuality through long ages of misrule. As a consequence the Armenian regards the Greek with jealousy, and the Greek in turn regards the Armenian with distrust, each watching the lest the other acquire undue influence at the Porte, and both unite in cursing the Turk; while he hates them as Christian dogs who may eventually oust him from his dominion over them.[20]

As shown in these examples, travelogues contain many first-hand (and often very striking) observations about the sociopolitical dynamics of the rise of nationalisms and the consequent identity (re-)formation in the nineteenth-century Middle East. The job of the historian is not to take these observations at face value, but to analyze them critically and comparatively, using both other primary sources and relevant scholarly analyses. In this regard, the tools offered by the digital humanities provide unrivaled opportunities to sift through these texts to reveal relevant information and to employ intertextual analysis (with other travelogues as well as alternative historical sources) to analyze the information in historical context.

The first step toward turning travelogues into useful historical sources, we believe, is to build large-scale corpora that are optimized for global search options and large-scale intertextual analyses. Especially the latter will help us see intertextual borrowings that reveal both influences and copying. Detecting influences is important for intellectual historians wishing to observe continuities and change in perceptions about the region. However, picking out copying is especially critical in separating genuine observations from fictional and derivative ones. This is indispensable for building a reliable corpus that historians can use

19 C[harles] B[oileau] Elliott, Travels in the Three Great Empires of Austria, Russia and Turkey (2 vols., London 1838), vol. 2, pp. 199–201.
20 S. G. W. Benjamin, The Turk and the Greek; or, Creeds, Races, Society, and Scenery in Turkey, Greece, and the Isles of Greece (New York 1867), pp. 30–31.

for their research on the region. Since “[t]wo particular modes of writing – forgery and its respectable cousin, parody – have specially close, even parasitic, relationships with travel writing,”[21] scholars of the genre have always suffered from problems of authenticity in travel writing.[22] We believe that digital methods and tools for textual analysis will finally allow historians to minimize such problems, enabling them to explore this rich body of historical sources with more confidence.

3 Digital research tools and resources for travelogues

There are only few digital resources and online portals that can enable researchers to work with nineteenth-century travelogues about the Ottoman Empire. Digital libraries such as Google Books[23] or HathiTrust[24] do not offer the possibility of limiting text mining to predefined collections or to carry out more complex analyses such as topic modeling or navigation through the text with the help of named entities. Although some national libraries, such as the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, allow narrowing down the corpus to relevant collections within their extensive digitized resources, there is still no easy way to separate travels to the Ottoman Empire from the others.[25]

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21 Peter Hulme and Tim Youngs, Introduction, in Peter Hulme and Tim Youngs (eds.), The Cambridge Companion to Travel Writing (Cambridge 2002), pp. 5–6. For an analytical treatment of the interplay between “fictional and documentary texts on travel,” focusing especially on the literature about the Arctic, see Janicke Stensvaag Kaasa, Travel and Fiction, in Nandini Das and Tim Youngs (eds.), The Cambridge History of Travel Writing, (Cambridge 2019), pp. 474–487.

22 For a brief historical analysis of the “long tradition of suspicion about the veracity of travel writing,” see Daniel Carey, Truth, Lies and Travel Writing, in Carl Thompson (ed.), The Routledge Companion to Travel Writing (London 2015), pp. 3–14.

23 Google Books, accessed 18 May 2022, <https://books.google.de/>.

24 HathiTrust. Digital Library, accessed 18 Mai 2022, <https://www.hathitrust.org/>.

25 As an example, see Édouard Charton et al. (eds.), Le Tour du monde, nouveau journal des voyages (Paris 1860–1895, new series 1895–1914), accessed 18 May 2022, <http://catalogue.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cb32878283g>. *Le Tour du monde* was a weekly journal that published travels accounts from all around the world. One way for narrowing down the corpus to travels in the Ottoman Empire is keyword search within the collection. Another has been described recently by Jan Rörden et al., Identifying Historical Travelogues in Large Text Corpora Using Machine Learning, in Anneli Sundqvist et al. (eds.), Sustainable Digital Communities. 15th International Conference, iConference 2020. Boras, Sweden, March 23–26, 2020. Proceedings (Cham 2020), pp. 801–815.

In the early 2000s, Ralph C. Müller prepared an exhaustive database on travelers and migrants in the Ottoman Empire between 1396 and 1611. Müller eventually published the database in ten hard-copy volumes and on CD-ROM.[26] In this regard, it represents a rather typical approach in the transitional period between non-digital and digital research tools. More recently, digital resources have become available online usually through thematic portals. For example, Jörg Wettlaufer started the portal *www.digiberichte.de* in 2006/2007 as part of a project supported by the Göttingen Academy of Sciences and Humanities.[27] It offers prosopographical and bibliographical information as well as access to full texts of European travelers of the late Middle Ages (1250 – 1530), primarily on pilgrimages to the Holy Land. However, the functionality in this portal is rather limited compared to contemporary standards. Only simple keyword in context (KWIC) queries are possible, and the plain texts are stored and queried in a relational database, which is no longer the state of the art. The portal has enjoyed great popularity in the scholarly community since its public release and is often used by researchers from Southeast Europe.

The travelogues project of the Greek Aikaterini Laskaridis Foundation focuses on the visual materials in travel reports about the Middle East and the Mediterranean from the fifteenth to the twentieth centuries.[28] The project website exhibits many examples of such graphic materials and provides access to valuable additional sources for this period. Another recent research project on travelogues using methods of the digital humanities and natural language processing is the

26 Ralph C. Müller, Prosopographie der Reisenden und Migranten ins Osmanische Reich (1396 – 1611) (Berichterstatter aus dem Heiligen Römischen Reich, außer burgundische Gebiete und Reichsromania) (10 vols., Leipzig 2006). Another source for this period is Hélène Pignot's La Turquie chrétienne: Récits des voyageurs français et anglais dans l'Empire ottoman au XVII[e] siècle (Vevey 2007). For similar bibliographies see note 15 above.

27 The website builds on the following series of three volumes edited by Werner Paravicini between 1994 and 2001: Europäische Reiseberichte des späten Mittelalters, Eine analytische Bibliographie, vol. 1: Deutsche Reiseberichte, bearbeitet von Christian Halm (Frankfurt am Main 1994); vol. 2: Französische Reiseberichte, bearbeitet von Jörg Wettlaufer in Zusammenarbeit mit Jacques Paviot (Frankfurt am Main 1999); vol. 3: Niederländische Reiseberichte, bearbeitet von Jan Hirschbiegel (Frankfurt am Main 2000). For a detailed description of the project, see Jörg Wettlaufer, Europäische Reiseberichte des Späten Mittelalters: Das Projekt einer Digitalisierung der Editionen und eines Themenportals im Internet, in Bernard Guenée and Jean-Marie Moeglin (eds.), Relations, échanges et transferts en Europe dans les derniers siècles du Moyen Age: Hommage à Werner Paravicini (Paris 2010), pp. 539 – 555.

28 TRAVELOGUES – TRAVELERS' VIEWS. Places – Monuments – People. Southeastern Europe – Eastern Mediterranean – Greece – Asia Minor – Southern Italy. 15[th]–20[th] Century, accessed 18 May 2022, <http://eng.travelogues.gr/>.

"Travelogues" project located in Vienna and Hannover.[29] The emphasis here is on the semi-automatized collection and analysis of German language travelogues in the holdings of the Austrian National Library printed between 1500 and 1876. The thematic focus of the project is on the identification of intertextual relations among and the analysis of perceptions of "otherness" and "Orient" in the travelogues based on the (imperfect) full texts created by Google Books with the help of Optical Character Recognition (OCR) engines.[30]

4 An online portal for research on travelogues to the Ottoman Empire[31]

As described earlier, we believe that effective research on large corpora of travelogues needs support from tools and methods developed within the digital humanities. Therefore, our interdisciplinary project is situated at the intersection of digital research and history. It proposes methods such as named entity recognition and aims to apply them to multilingual and historical corpora with the help of machine learning (ML) and neural networks in particular. Further project goals are the provision of a text mining environment and the establishment of linked open data for the identified entities and metadata within the travelogues.[32]

29 TRAVELOGUES: Perceptions of the Other and the Orient in Modern Times: A Mixed-method Approach for the Analysis of Large-scale Travel Account Series, accessed 18 May 2022, <https://travelogues.github.io/>. On this project see Doris Gruber, Elisabeth Lobenwein, and Arno Strohmeyer, Travelogues – Perceptions of the Other 1500–1876: A Computerized Analysis, in Thomas Wallnig, Marion Romberg, and Joëlle Weis (eds.), Achtzehntes Jahrhundert digital: zentraleuropäische Perspektiven (Vienna et al. 2019) (= Das Achtzehnte Jahrhundert und Österreich. Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Gesellschaft zur Erforschung des Achtzehnten Jahrhunderts 34), pp. 129–131; Doris Gruber et al., Travelogues: Fremdwahrnehmungen in Reiseberichten 1500–1876, in Marlene Ernst et al. (eds.), digital humanities austria 2018: empowering researchers (Vienna 2020), pp. 62–66, accessed 18 May 2022, <https://epub.oeaw.ac.at/?arp=0x003b3d14>. See also Rörden et. al. cited in note 25.

30 The project is using the platform Recogito, developed by the Pelagios consortium (accessed 18 May 2022, <https://recogito.pelagios.org/>). See also the resources published on Github, accessed 18 May 2022, <https://github.com/Travelogues>.

31 Travels in the 19th-Century Ottoman Empire: A Digital History Project, accessed 18 May 2022, <www.middle-east-travelers.de>.

32 Jörg Wettlaufer and Deniz Kilincoglu, Linked Open Travel Data: Erschließung gesellschaftspolitischer Veränderungen im Osmanischen Reich im 19. Jahrhundert durch ein multimediales Online-Portal, in Patrick Sahle (ed.), DHd 2019. Digital Humanities: multimedial & multimodal.

The methods used in our project are both quantitative and qualitative. While research into the automated recognition of entities such as places and people is based on a quantitative approach, research into the emergence of nationalism is carried out with a mixed approach of quantitative and qualitative methods (e. g., text mining, topic modeling, visualization of entities, and hermeneutic inquiry). The project as a whole, therefore, adopts a mixed-method approach. This approach is becoming increasingly prominent in the field of digital humanities.

For all aspects of the project, the creation of a multilingual historical corpus is a prerequisite. For this purpose, the published reports of European travelers have been identified via Worldcat[33] and other online catalogs, and collected in a Zotero[34] bibliography, covering both the primary and secondary literatures. The criterion for the selection of the sources is the existence of a published travelogue of a West European or North American traveler to the Ottoman Empire, which refers to an actual travel experience in the period roughly between 1789 and 1914. For practical reasons, we focus on reports in German, French, and English. So far, we have identified manually about 800 individual reports that fit these criteria. We have completed the preliminary assessments of these reports, especially with respect to the identity of the travelers, and we have built a portal in which the collected and linked information can be queried via a simple user interface. The portal provides a freely accessible bibliography of the reports, collected in a Zotero group library, a working list of travelers with links to Wikipedia entries, outlines of itineraries, sample pictures from printed travelogues, and search functionality across the corpus. In a later stage of the project, a public accessible text-mining environment will be provided. According to initial samples, digitized copies from Google Books and HathiTrust are available for approximately ninety-five percent of the travelogues. Those will be used primarily for the project. So far, a sample of 185 volumes has been downloaded and, if necessary, machine-readable text has been extracted with Optical Character Recognition. Results are satisfactory for our purpose. In particular and rare cases, reports will also be retro-digitized within the project.

Konferenzabstracts. Universitäten zu Mainz und Frankfurt (Frankfurt am Main 2019), pp. 315–317.

33 Worldcat, accessed 18 May 2022, <https://www.worldcat.org/>.

34 Zotero, accessed 18 May 2022, <https://www.zotero.org/>.

5 Named entities and text mining

Text mining is a largely automated process of knowledge discovery in textual data, which should enable the effective and efficient use of available text archives.[35] The rapid development of the processes of deep learning with neural networks opens up new perspectives in the field of text mining and the recognition of entities. Natural Language Processing (NLP) has changed fundamentally in recent years due to the advances in deep learning and neural networks. Until recently, conditional random fields (CRF) were the standard model for labeling specific word sequences and recognizing named entities. Today, deep learning has replaced CRFs in terms of performance in sequence labeling, and the focus has shifted from feature engineering to the design and implementation of effective neural network architectures. However, just as it is possible and useful to integrate neural network functions into a CRF, CRFs have influenced some of the best deep learning models for labeling sequences. The inclusion of gazetteers, i. e., controlled word lists, can further increase the recognition rate in particular situations and thus further minimize the effort involved in manual post-treatment and correction. Based on word2vec research[36] and word or sense embeddings[37] with long short-term memory (LSTM) in combination with CRFs, F1 values of approximately ninety percent on modern English-language corpora are possible. Experiments with bidirectional LSTM and convolutional neural networks (CNN) have also shown very promising results.[38]

One of the challenges in our project is the automated recognition of named entities in a multilingual and historical corpus. The project is therefore based on a combination of different approaches, which overall aims at improved detection and a low error rate.[39] The multilingual nature of the corpus is a particular chal-

35 Alexander Mehler and Christian Wolff, Einleitung: Perspektiven und Positionen des Text-Mining, in Zeitschrift für Computerlinguistik und Sprachtechnologie 20/1 (2005), pp. 1–18; Caroline Sporleder, Natural Language Processing for Cultural Heritage Domains, in Language and Linguistics Compass 4/9 (2010), pp. 750–768.

36 Tomas Mikolov et al., Efficient Estimation of Word Representations in Vector Space, in Proceedings of the International Conference on Learning Representations (ICLR 2013), accessed 18 May 2022, <http://arxiv.org/abs/1301.3781>.

37 Jose Camacho-Collados and Mohammad Taher Pilehvar, From Word to Sense Embeddings: A Survey on Vector Representations of Meaning, in Journal of Artificial Intelligence Research 63 (2018), pp. 743–788.

38 Jason P. C. Chiu and Eric Nichols, Named Entity Recognition with Bidirectional LSTM-CNNs, in Transactions of the Association for Computational Linguistics 4 (2016), pp. 357–370.

39 We are planning to use frameworks like Apache Spark (accessed 18 May 2022, <https://spark.apache.org/>) or TensorFlow (accessed 18 May 2022, <https://www.tensorflow.org/>).

lenge. This challenge does not only exist at the work level, but also within texts, for example, if longer passages in other languages are quoted in the text. While NER has already been well researched for modern English with the help of LSTM and CNN, it remains a research desideratum for other languages and, above all, language levels.[40] Testing NER on historical language levels is also just in its early phase.[41] Another challenge of the corpus is presented by historical place names, which travelers often reproduce through onomatopoeia. These entities must not only be recognized, but also identified in an automated way. The aim here is to research new technologies for the most exact and language-tolerant recognition of entities with minimal post-processing.

In close cooperation between historians, natural language processing specialists, and software engineers, our project aims to explore new ways of increasing recognition rates while creating a generic application profile. The extracted metadata about people, places, publications, and travel routes will ultimately be made available as machine-readable linked open (travel) data. These data will in turn be linked to other resources such as norm data sets like Wikidata[42] and thematically similar projects mentioned above. Furthermore, the identified entities and travel routes can be displayed using GIS functionality. Incorrectly geolocated data can be corrected easily with the help of draggable markers through crowdsourcing in a graphical user interface.

For the content indexing of the travelogues, the machine-readable texts are processed in an NLP pipeline and relevant entities are extracted. This enables a faceted search in the Apache / Solr index (Fig. 1). The research on the emergence of national identities and sentiments using the corpus of travel reports will be carried out by using and further developing the open source software, Open Semantic Search (OSS). The core of this enterprise search engine is a Lucene SOLR indexer,[43] which can be used to index documents of various formats thanks to the integration of Apache Tika.[44]

The information contained in the corpus can thus be found and referenced as Key Word In Context (KWIC). An Open Semantic Extract-Transform-Load (ETL) framework is integrated in the OSS, in which the texts are prepared for extrac-

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40 Sebastian Ruder, Ivan Vulić, and Anders Søgaard, A Survey of Cross-Lingual Word Embedding Models, in Journal of Artificial Intelligence 65/1 (2019), pp. 569 – 631.

41 Martin Riedl and Sebastian Padó, A Named Entity Recognition Shootout for German, in Proceedings of the 56th Annual Meeting of the Association for Computational Linguistics, vol. 2: Short Papers (Melbourne 2018), pp. 120 – 125.

42 Wikidata, accessed 18 May 2022, <https://www.wikidata.org/wiki/Wikidata:Main_Page>.

43 Solr, accessed 18 May 2022, <http://lucene.apache.org/solr/>.

44 Apache Tika, accessed 18 May 2022, <https://tika.apache.org/>.

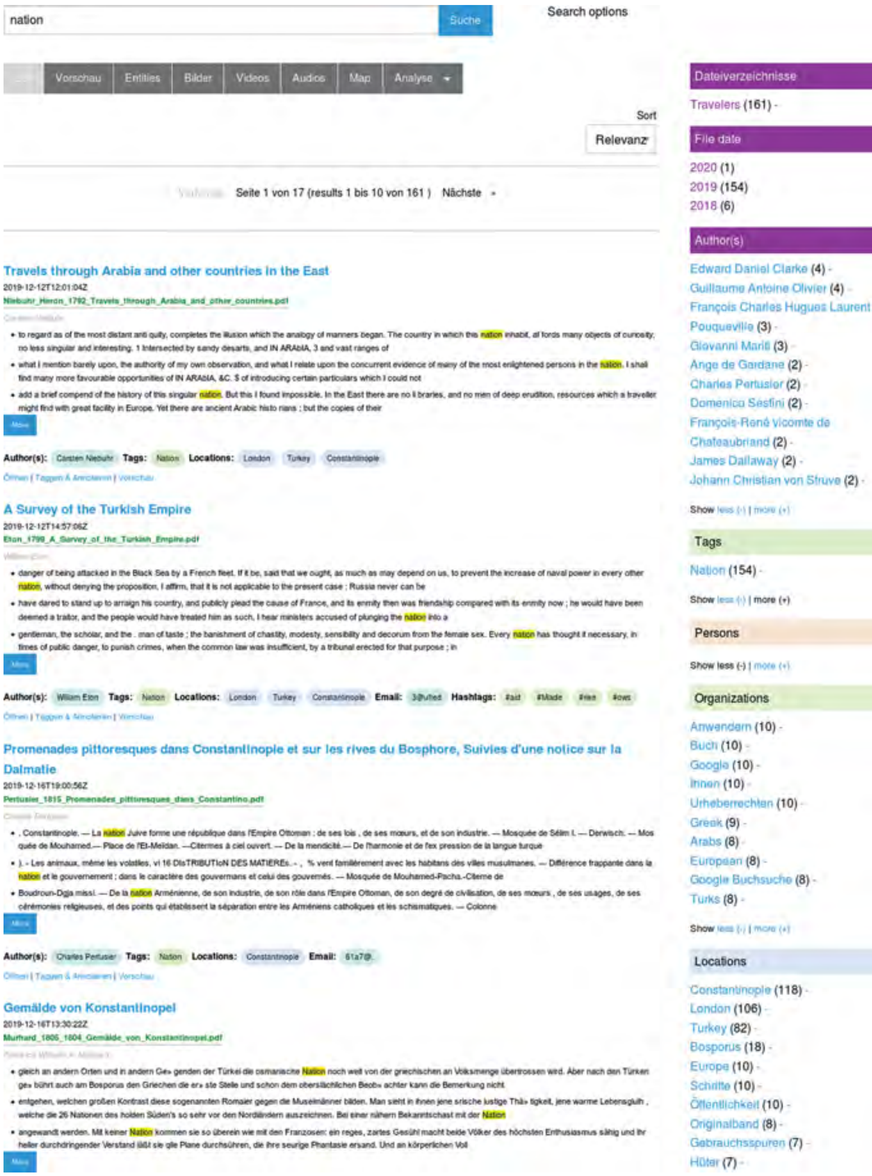

Fig. 1: Open Semantic Search User Interface with processed raw data from the corpus.

tion, integration, analysis, and enrichment. Finally, the OSS provides a web service (residual Application Programming Interface [API]) for machine communication as well as a user-friendly interface (Django),[45] with which the search engine can be operated, configured, and, of course, the data can be searched. The faceted search plays a special role here since the facets are automatically formed from the linguistic analysis of the texts and on the basis of named entities gazetteers (persons, places, nations, etc.) Through the OSS framework, external gazetteers can be fetched from Wikidata and integrated in the ETL process. We assume that the combination of these different methods can increase precision and minimize the effort for post-processing.[46] The OSS comes with integrated Named Entity Recognition (NER), powered by spaCy or Stanford NER. The out-of-the-box recognition rate with default models is too low to be useful for research purposes. At this point, the NER based on self-trained and better adapted models will be tested in the tool chain and will help to increase precision and recall. More importantly, due to the language-independent method, the developed set of tools can be used in a variety of ways for other corpora.

As an ultimate objective, the platform's adapted functionality will present the extracted and processed texts, images, and metadata in a multimodal form. It will visualize the travelers' itineraries, display the copyright-free graphical materials that are found in these works, or provide links to such material in other projects, such as the Greek travelogues project mentioned above. As a result, the travel experiences will become visible and the texts will be placed in a geographical and medial context.

Conclusions

Travelogues are invaluable sources for historical research. They provide historians with detailed and mostly uncensored first-hand observations on all aspects of life in the time and places that they cover. Besides, they reflect the cultural and intellectual factors that shape the perception of the author, thereby informing us not only of the observed but also of the observer in their historical context. Many historians, therefore, have benefitted from these highly informative and interesting primary sources in their research on both sides of the observation dynamics. However, conventional methods in using travelogues for research purposes have some significant difficulties and pitfalls.

45 Django, accessed 18 May 2022, <https://www.djangoproject.com/>.

46 OSS LOD integration, accessed 18 May 2022, <https://www.opensemanticsearch.org/doc/datamanagement/opendata/>.

The first difficulty arises from the sheer size of the corpus. Regarding the works on the Middle East, for example, one can find hundreds of travel accounts that cover the decades or the century in question. Considering that each of these works consists of hundreds of pages, we can simply see that one must sift through tens of thousands of pages to find the information relevant to the subject matter. The second difficulty, which exacerbates the first one, is the problem of reliability. Many travelogues contain information and at times even entire passages copied from earlier works, thereby not reflecting real observations. Some authors add fantastical elements in their accounts to create sensation, mainly for marketing purposes.[47] In some cases, authors wrote entirely fictional accounts that pose as travelogues.[48] All these misleading narratives create serious pitfalls for the researchers who would like to benefit from these otherwise unrivaled historical sources.

Although it is not easy to avoid all such risks entirely, we believe that digital tools and methods provide us with considerable potential to minimize them. In this respect, we need to develop strong yet intuitive tools to open these vast and mostly untapped historical sources to the use of researchers. User-friendly tools and interfaces for simple and complex search queries, intertextual analyses, and especially for data extraction, organization, and visualization purposes will expand the horizons of historical research in all disciplinary subfields.

With these broad objectives in mind, we set out to develop a digital history project on nineteenth-century travelogues about the Middle East, and particularly about the Ottoman Empire. Following a mixed-method approach, which includes both digital and conventional historical methods and questions, we aim to identify and compare the descriptions of the sociopolitical conditions and developments of the age, observed by foreign travelers. Our project focuses particularly on the rise of nations and nationalisms in this era. However, it aims at building a digital research environment for researchers who work on all aspects of life in the nineteenth-century Middle East.

Although we are still in the early phases of our project, and it still needs considerable amount of time and funding to reach its goals, we have made significant observations regarding the potential of digital research on travelogues. We

47 For a critical analysis of such a nineteenth-century travelogue on Egypt, which “transcended the established boundaries of the travel genre in order to become part of nineteenth-century popular entertainment culture,” see Daniela Richter, Inside the Oriental Spectacle: Hermann von Pückler-Muskau’s Egyptian Travelogue, Colloquia Germanica 46 (2013), pp. 229 – 244.

48 For one of the most “successful” medieval examples, namely the *Book of Mandeville,* see Sharon Kinoshita, Medieval Travel Writing (2): Beyond the Pilgrimage, in Das and Youngs (eds.), Cambridge History of Travel Writing, pp. 59 – 61.

extracted some illuminating observations on (proto)nationalist tensions and sentiments, for example, using digital, but still manual, methods. These examples testify to the unrivaled and hitherto untapped wealth of these sources, which can be extracted fully and organized effectively only through digital methods. Based on these observations, we plan to develop a multilingual digital corpus and the necessary automatic and semi-automatic digital tools to extract metadata about people, places, publications, and travel routes from this corpus. Our goal is to link these metadata to each other and also to other similar resources and develop more advanced tools to make this knowledge base available as machine-readable linked open (travel) data. In addition, we plan to develop a portal with intuitive tools for data extraction and visualization to offer an open, rich, and reliable resource for all scholars and research groups interested in the nineteenth-century Middle East. Finally, as another ultimate goal, we envision to reuse the specific adaptations in the NLP Toolchain of the OSS search environment for prospective research projects that use all sorts of historical texts from this period.

Doris Gruber

German-Language Travelogues on the "Orient" and the Importance of the Time and Place of Printing, 1500 – 1876

Every travelogue is shaped by specific circumstances. The content and material form result from individual experiences, perceptions, and expectations. Yet the sociocultural background of the travelers and other actors involved in its production, as well as material and economic realities affect each individual travel report as well. Based on these assumptions, the project "Travelogues: Perceptions of the Other 1500 – 1876 – A Computerized Analysis" explored new digital methods for quantitative and qualitative analyses apt to identify the dominant factors and patterns that shaped the content of travelogues and, in turn, what this tells us today about the process of solidification and change of stereotypes and prejudices. The geographical focus was on the "Orient," here defined as the Ottoman Empire and Persia (the latter as ruled by the Safavid and Qajar dynasties).[1]

This chapter concentrates on one aspect of this process: the importance of the time and place of printing for the travel destinations described in German-language travelogues. While travelogues became and remained an intensely studied topic in the humanities in recent decades, and researchers keep assembling more and more travel narratives from the modern period,[2] until now stat-

1 This FWF/DFG-DACH project was funded by grants from the Austrian Science Fund (FWF: I 3795-G28) and the German Research Foundation (DFG: 398697847). Several institutions were involved: the Institute for Habsburg and Balkan Studies (IHB) at the Austrian Academy of Sciences, the Austrian Institute of Technology (AIT), the Austrian National Library (ONB), the University of Salzburg, and the L3S research center at the University of Hannover. Project website, accessed 09 May 2022, <https://travelogues.github.io/>.

2 For comprehensive bibliographies that often focus on specific geographic regions or languages see G[illes] Boucher de la Richarderie, Bibliothèque universelle des voyages, ou notice complète et raisonnée de tous les voyages anciens et modernes […] (6 vols., Paris, Strasbourg 1808); Wendy Bracewell et al. (eds.), A Bibliography of East European Travel Writing on Europe (Budapest 2008); Eutiner Landesbibliothek (ed.), Bibliografie Reiseliteratur vom 18. bis 20. Jahrhundert, accessed 09 May 2022, <https://lb-eutin.kreis-oh.de/index.php?id=275>; Anne S. Troelstra, A Bibliography of Natural History Travel Narratives (Zeist 2016); Stephane Yerasimos, Les voyageurs dans l'Empire ottoman (XIVe–XVIe siècles): Bibliographie, itinéraires et inventaire des lieux habités (Ankara 1991). On statistical overviews see also Gerald MacLean, Early Modern Travel Writing (I): Print and Early Modern European Travel Writing, in Nandini Das et al. (eds.), The Cambridge History of Travel Writing (Cambridge 2019), pp. 62 – 76, here pp. 64 – 65;

https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110698046-019

istical data have been lacking on the aforementioned time-place nexus. As Wolfgang Neuber has shown, a discussion of this linkage could not even be made speculatively.[3] The present analysis therefore seeks answers to the question whether printing place and time were important for the regions portrayed in travelogues – and, ultimately, in which way this affected the circulation of knowledge about these regions.

1 Corpus creation

To enable such analyses the project team first needed to determine what exactly constitutes a travelogue and then create a corpus, collaborative tasks which have already been described in more detail elsewhere.[4] In short, a travelogue was defined as a specific type of media that reports on a journey that actually took place. Hence, two elements characterize each travelogue: the first is content-based (description of travels) and the second biographical (factuality of travels). Travels represent movements in space and time that have a starting point, and lead the traveler via a variable set of further points outside his or her familiar cultural environment.[5] This notion was described specifically in terms of authorship, content, materiality, and provenance, aiming for a broad concept. It includes, for instance, travelogues in various material forms (e.g. oral narrative, text, image, or video) describing long-term movements connected to professional

Daniel Roche, Humeurs vagabondes: De la circulation des hommes et de l'utilité des voyages (Paris 2003), especially pp. 24 – 28.

3 Wolfgang Neuber, Der Reisebericht, in Alexander Schwarz and Mechthild Habermann (eds.), Textsorten und Textallianzen um 1500: Handbuch (2 vols., Berlin 2009), vol. 1, pp. 209 – 220, here p. 215.

4 Doris Gruber et al., Searching for Travelogues: Semi-Automatized Corpus Creation in Practice, in Marius Littschwager and Julian Gärtner (eds.), Traveling, Narrating, Comparing: Travel Narratives of the Americas from the 18th to 20th Century (Göttingen [expected in 2022]); Jan Rörden et al., Identifying Historical Travelogues in Large Text Corpora Using Machine Learning, in Anneli Sundqvist et al. (eds.), Sustainable Digital Communities. 15th International Conference, iConference 2020. Boras, Sweden, March 23 – 26, 2020. Proceedings (Cham 2020), pp. 801–815, here pp. 803 – 804. This definition builds on the careful considerations of Almut Höfert, Den Feind beschreiben: "Türkengefahr" und europäisches Wissen über das Osmanische Reich 1450 – 1600 (Frankfurt am Main et al. 2003), pp. 119 – 121.

5 In contrast to Wolfgang Treue, we do not assume that a traveler necessarily needs to return to the starting point or to its cultural environment, as we consider artifacts of people who died while traveling as travelogues and assume that (forced) emigrations begin with a journey. Wolfgang Treue, Abenteuer und Anerkennung: Reisende und Gereiste in Spätmittelalter und Frühneuzeit (1400 – 1700) (Paderborn 2014), p. 8.

circumstances (e. g. residences of ambassadors or missionaries and their families, as well as tours of craftsmen, the nobility, and soldiers), and short-time movements (e. g. connected to hikes or mountaineering), but the notion excludes permanent movements (e. g. nomads, vagabonds) and fictional travelogues, the latter referring to narratives that are not based on journeys actually undertaken.[6]

Operating with this definition, the project team collected a corpus of German-language travelogues in the holdings of the Austrian National Library (ONB) that were printed between 1500 and 1876. These focal points had one main reason: the availability of digital data that enabled the exploration of new methods for digital analyses. Thanks to the project “Austrian Books Online (ABO)” – a private-public partnership with Google Books – approximately 600,000 volumes from the historical holdings of the ONB have been digitized and their texts have been extracted with Optical Character Recognition (OCR) software. The digitization process started with those holdings that were printed after the end of the incunable period (1500) and moved forward diachronically. By the beginning of the “Travelogues Project,” the digitization had reached the year 1876, providing access to digitized copies and imperfect full texts of these sources.[7] The focus on one language facilitated the comparability of the texts, and German is the language in which most travel reports have been published in modern times according to previous bibliographies and research.[8] The project team, however, did not assume that the ONB owns a copy of all German-language travelogues published during the envisaged period, and historical coincidence certainly played a role in the constitution of the holdings of the library and consequently in the creation of the corpus.

The corpus creation itself took place in a threefold process. The first two steps root in classic methodologies of the humanities with keyword search in the library catalog as well as the harvesting of bibliographies on the topic. The third step represents a novel approach for this domain: machine learning, in this case embodied in algorithms trained for the identification of travelogues

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6 Gruber et al., Searching for Travelogues; Rörden et al., Identifying Historical Travelogues, pp. 803 – 804.

7 Austrian Books Online, in Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, accessed 09 May 2022, <https://www.onb.ac.at/digitaler-lesesaal/austrian-books-online-abo>; Max Kaiser et al., Austrian Books Online: Die Public Private Partnership der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek mit Google, in Bibliothek, Forschung und Praxis 37/2 (2019), pp. 197 – 208.

8 E. g. Eutiner Landesbibliothek, Bibliografie Reiseliteratur; Boucher de la Richarderie, Bibliothèque universelle; MacLean, Early Modern Travel, here pp. 64 – 65.

based on their OCR full texts. By applying these algorithms, 345 travelogues surfaced that the project team had not identified before.[9]

By July 2021, the corpus consisted of 3,528 travelogues, probably the most comprehensive collection of digital travelogues available so far (Fig. 1).[10]

printing year	total number of travelogues	digitized travelogues	undigitized travelogues	marker for the search in the OPAC of the ONB
1500–1599	84	73	11	travelogueD16
1600–1699	230	218	12	travelogueD17
1700–1799	895	850	45	travelogueD18
1800–1876	2,319	2,088	231	travelogueD19
total number	3,528	3,229	299	travelogueD*

Fig. 1: Number of travelogues in the corpus of the "Travelogues Project" by July 2021.

The whole corpus and metadata about it are accessible via an open license on GitHub and via the Online Public Access Catalog (OPAC) of the ONB – including the digital copies and OCR full texts.[11] The corpus is divided into the aforementioned four sets, and you can find each set by searching for the markers "travelogueD16," "travelogueD17," "travelogueD18," and "travelogueD19". If you look for "travelogueD*" the results represent the entire corpus. You can also combine these markers with additional search terms. For example, the travelogues project team set the historical marker "Orient" for travelogues regarding the region of the former Ottoman and Persian empires, the regions in which the "Travelogues Project" is most interested in. Additionally, there are eight geographical markers for the main world regions in the German language.[12] If more than one geograph-

9 For more details on this methodology for our semi-automatic corpus creation see: Gruber et al., Searching for Travelogues; Rörden et al., Identifying Historical Travelogues.

10 Since previous publications some of these numbers have changed due to the cleansing of doublets and further identifications of travelogues.

11 Travelogues, in GitHub, accessed 09 May 2022, <https://github.com/travelogues>; QuickSearch, in Austrian National Library, accessed 09 May 2022, <https://search.onb.ac.at/>. For a guide on how to retrieve the full texts of the corpus see Martin Krickl, Fulltexts for Travelogues, accessed 09 May 2022, <https://travelogues-project.info/2021-07-26-fulltext-for-travelogue/>.

12 Only the German terms in brackets are searchable:

ical region is described, multiple markers are included. A journey that led through Europe to Jerusalem, for example, is marked with "*Europa*" (Europe), "*Asien*" (Asia), and "Orient". You can also sort and combine your search with other search terms. This and some of the more complex search queries have already been described elsewhere.[13]

2 The importance of time

Quantitative analyses of the corpus shed new light on the importance of external factors such as the timelines of the production of travelogues. By taking a closer look at the total numbers of travel accounts in diachronic perspective, the reports present themselves as strongly embedded within their sociocultural and political framework, as their production and geographical foci responded to ongoing crises, wars, and various other cultural, economic, political, or social developments. Fig. 2 shows the total numbers of travelogues (black) as well as the numbers of reports that include descriptions of the "Orient" (grey) in the corpus of the "Travelogues Project."[14] In the early sixteenth century, the numbers were relatively low, with a few travelogues published per annum, but started to grow in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, most notably regarding reports on Asia and the Americas. This geographical focus was most likely heightened by curiosity about newly encountered parts of the world.[15] From 1619 onwards, however, the numbers of travelogues as published *per annum*

- North America (*Nordamerika*): including the Caribbean. The border is today's Panama Canal.
- South America (*Südamerika*): including Tierra del Fuego and offshore islands.
- Africa (*Afrika*).
- Europe (*Europa*): including Iceland. The borders are the Straits of Gibraltar, the Bosporus, and the Ural Mountains and River.
- Asia (*Asien*).
- Oceania (*Ozeanien*): including Australia and Papua New Guinea.
- Arctic (*Arktis*): including all frozen areas in the Arctic Ocean, the Northwest Passage, and Greenland.
- Antarctica (*Antarktis*): including all frozen areas in the Antarctic Ocean.

13 Gruber et al., Searching for Travelogues.

14 The data have been partially normalized. If the time of printing presumably stretched over several years, the project operated with the middle date or, in the case of two consecutive years, with the older date. If no printing date is given an approximate year is estimated.

15 On the notion of curiosity changing and becoming more positive, to some extent precisely because of these "discoveries" during the modern period, see Lorraine Daston and Katharine Park, Wonders and the Order of Nature: 1150 – 1750, 2[nd] ed. (New York 1998).

decreased decisively. This decline most likely resulted out of the Thirty Years War (1618 – 1648) that tied human, financial, and printing resources in the Holy Roman Empire[16] – the same period was the heyday of broadsheets and pamphlets regarding the conflict.[17] From about 1650 onwards, the numbers of travelogues increased again, notably with respect to accounts describing the "Orient" and mostly the Ottoman Empire. The dominance of the latter probably reflected its expansionist policies and continuous clashes with the Holy Roman Empire and other powers, especially Venice, Poland, and Russia, which generated a need to gain information about the opposite side. A stark decrease of travelogues in the corpus (about the Ottoman Empire) after the end of the military campaign marked by the Treaty of Karlowitz in 1699[18] as well as further increases during the wars of 1714 – 1718 and 1736 – 1739 confirm this assumption.

In the first half of the eighteenth century, the numbers of reports in the corpus remained relatively low once again, but gained momentum from the 1770s onwards. The following decades show a very high production of travelogues. Numbers peaked in 1825, with 64 travel reports published that year, and remained high until the end of the study period in 1876. A few low points in the production are exceptions, which probably emerged out of special circumstances that tied printing, personnel, and other resources, for example during the Congress of Vienna (1814 – 1815) or the revolutionary events of 1848 – 1849. The height of production from the late eighteenth until the late nineteenth century most likely resulted out of a multitude of factors. Travel became cheaper and more accessible to larger parts of society, including women and a few people of color who by then also started to publish travelogues. In previous periods in Europe, it was white, highly educated men from the nobility, the clergy, and the upper

16 For an overview on the Thirty Years War see, e. g., Herfried Münkler, Der Dreißigjährige Krieg: Europäische Katastrophe, deutsches Trauma 1618 – 1648 (Berlin 2017); Peter H. Wilson, Der Dreißigjährige Krieg: Eine europäische Tragödie (Darmstadt 2017).

17 Daniel Bellingradt and Michael Schilling, Flugpublizistik, in Natalie Binczek, Till Dembeck, and Jörgen Schäfer (eds.), Handbuch Medien der Literatur (Berlin 2013), pp. 273 – 289, here pp. 278, 282; Hans-Joachim Köhler, Die Flugschriften der frühen Neuzeit: Ein Überblick, in Werner Arnold et al. (eds.), Die Erforschung der Buch- und Bibliotheksgeschichte in Deutschland (Wiesbaden 1987), pp. 307 – 345, here p. 309; John Roger Paas, The German Political Broadsheet: 1600 – 1700 (12 vols., Wiesbaden 1985 – 2014), vol. 1, pp. 15 – 16.

18 For further information on Ottoman-European relations during this period see, for example, Jean Bérenger (ed.), La paix de Karlowitz, 26 janvier 1699: Les relations entre l'Europe centrale et l'Empire ottoman (Paris 2010); Colin Heywood and Ivan Parvev (eds.), The Treaties of Carlowitz (1699): Antecedents, Course and Consequences (Leiden, Boston 2020); Arno Strohmeyer and Norbert Spannenberger (eds.), Frieden und Konfliktmanagement in interkulturellen Räumen: Das Osmanische Reich und die Habsburgermonarchie in der Frühen Neuzeit (Stuttgart 2013).

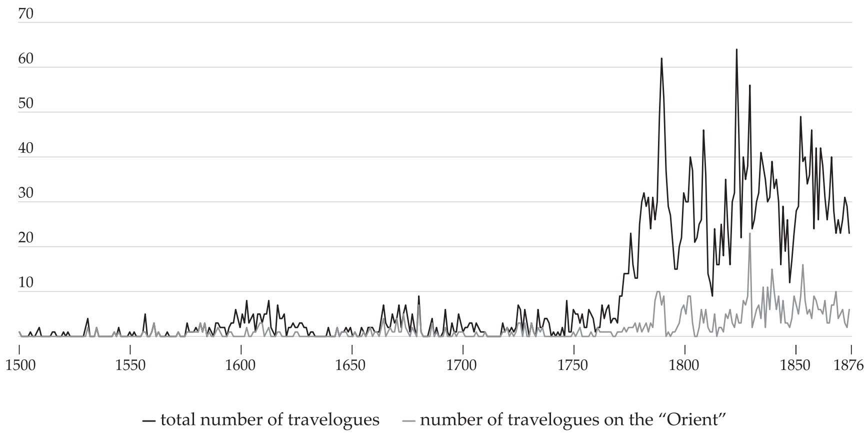

Fig. 2: Number of travelogues in the corpus of the “Travelogues Project” as printed *per annum* (1500–1876). © Doris Gruber and Marian Waibl, CC BY-SA.

bourgeoisie who had usually authored travelogues – with individual exceptions, of course, such as soldiers, pirates, or ordinary servants.[19] Further positive effects on the production of travelogues during this period were rooted in the rise of the Enlightenment that went along with more secular tendencies and a heightened interest in areas that to Europeans were “unknown” and “exotic” places. This went hand in hand with shifts in the structure of society that manifested, for example, in the rise of the bourgeoisie, the emergence of traveling solely for pleasure and recreation – tourism –, or in the expansion of (travel) infrastructures, from railroads to paved roads, and steamships, and the introduction of charter vacations and bicycles. Additionally, the literacy rate increased, while printing itself and paper became cheaper and therefore more accessible. Not to be under-

19 For statistical evaluations of the “social status” of authors of travelogues see, e. g., Yerasimos, Les voyageurs dans l’Empire ottoman, pp. 10–11. For more details on the growing diversification of authors and its effect on the content of travelogues see, e. g., Gabriele Habinger, Frauen reisen in die Fremde: Diskurse und Repräsentationen von reisenden Europäerinnen im 19. und beginnenden 20. Jahrhundert (Vienna 2006); Sara Mills, Discourses of Difference: An Analysis of Women’s Travel Writing and Colonialism (London, New York 1993); Ron Ramdin, Mary Seacole, 2nd ed. (London 2012); Jane Robinson, Wayward Women: A Guide to Women Travellers (Oxford 2001); Clare Broome Saunders (ed.), Women, Travel Writing, and Truth (New York 2014).

estimated is the effect that successful travel narratives had in themselves, as they inspired other people to write their own reports. These outcomes were heightened during the nineteenth century by sociopolitical objectives that often aimed to increase the spread of nationalist, colonial, and Eurocentric ideas.[20]

By focusing on travelogues on the “Orient,” shifts become clearer if one summarizes their share in the corpus and compares it to the share of all geographical regions across the four centuries. In absolute numbers, the importance of travelogues on the “Orient” increased, just like travelogues on all world regions, since the average numbers of travelogues published *per annum* kept rising significantly from one century to the next. Travel narratives on the “Orient” increased from 38 texts printed in the sixteenth century to 75 in the seventeenth, 124 in the eighteenth, and 433 in the nineteenth (Fig. 3). This increase in numbers, however, is not to be equated with increasing popularity. On the contrary, if one takes a closer look at the percentage of travelogues regarding the “Orient” in the corpus, numbers are mostly decreasing, from 45.2 percent in the sixteenth, to 32.6 in the seventeenth, and 13.9 in the eighteenth century. In the nineteenth century, the percentage figures rise again slightly, up to 18.7 percent (Fig. 4).[21]

One might ask why interest in the “Orient” appears to be decreasing. Again, this seems to have been a multifaceted process shaped by many factors. First of all, one needs to keep in mind that though all travelogues in the analyzed corpus are in the German language only, from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century the majority of texts were originally written in other languages. They represent translations, mostly from Dutch, English, French, Italian, Latin, Spanish, Swedish, or Portuguese. These translations make up 51.7 percent (46/89) of the corpus in the sixteenth century, 61.3 percent (141/230) in the seventeenth, 50.6 percent (453/895) in the eighteenth, and 21.3 percent (494/2319) in the nineteenth. As a result, the analysis presented here does not exclusively reflect relationships be-

20 For more details on these and further reasons for the well-documented increase in the production of travelogues from the mid-eighteenth century see, for example, Doris Gruber, Europeans Encounter the World in Travelogues, 1450–1900, in European History Online (EGO), published by the Leibniz Institute of European History (IEG), Mainz, 08 March 2022, accessed 09 May 2022, <http://www.ieg-ego.eu/gruberd-2022-en>; Nigel Leask, Eighteenth-Century Travel Writing, in Das, The Cambridge History, pp. 93–107, here p. 94; Tim Youngs (ed.), Travel Writing in the Nineteenth Century: Filling the Blank Spaces (London 2006); Carl Thompson, Nineteenth-Century Travel Writing, in Das, The Cambridge History, pp. 108–124.

21 It needs to be noted that the Ottoman Empire and Persia underwent very different developments and were perceived very differently during this period. A comparative analysis of travelogues on both empires might lead to further findings. In the corpus of the “Travelogues Project”, among reports regarding the “Orient,” those on Persia represent a minority compared to those on the Ottoman Empire during the whole period examined.

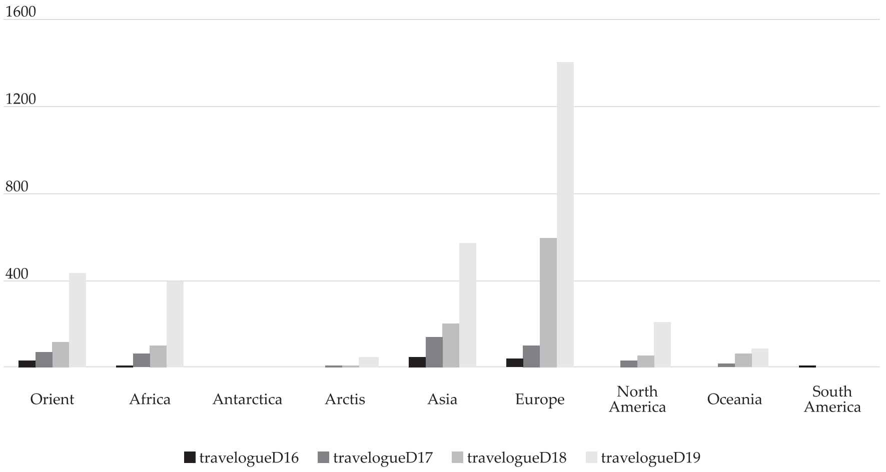

Fig. 3: Total numbers of travel reports in the corpus of the “Travelogues Project” with substantial descriptions of the different world regions.

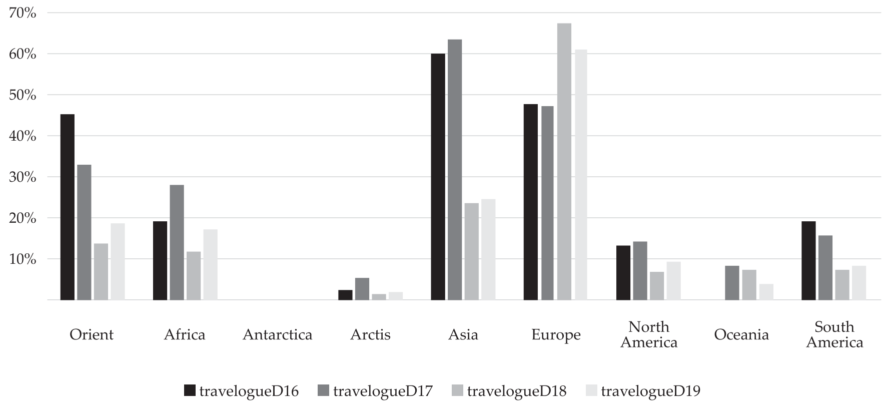

Fig. 4: Percentage of travel reports in the corpus of the “Travelogues Project” with substantial descriptions of the different world regions.

tween the German-speaking world and the "Orient," although adaptations to the "taste" of the intended German-speaking audience for travel narratives in the course of such translations and in the process of their selection were most likely common throughout the envisaged period.[22]

Regarding our analysis, one also needs to keep in mind that the region labelled here as the "Orient," was a diverse entity, and that the Ottoman Empire and Persia went through very different developments: both empires were perceived very differently in "the West" and especially in the Holy Roman Empire. While the Ottoman Empire was, for a long time, predominantly perceived as an enemy, the perception of Persia was more positive earlier on: during the period 1500 – 1876, there were constantly far more travelogues published on the Ottoman Empire than on Persia.[23] One of the reasons for the dominance of the Ottoman Empire was the number of travelogues on pilgrimages to biblical sites, the "Holy Land" – then a part of the Ottoman Empire –, which remained predominant among accounts of the "Orient" throughout the period under study here, but decreased in popularity as measured in percentage figures.

This decline probably was partly rooted in the growing secularization of European societies in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, but was also bound to the circulation of information itself. The "Orient" and most of all the "Holy Land" had been known to Europeans for millennia and were very popular topics of travelogues during the sixteenth century and before.[24] Consequently, there was already a comparatively significant amount of trustworthy information circulating about the region, which is why there was a greater demand for descriptions of less well-explored areas. To Europeans the latter often represented

22 On differences in content between German and Latin travelogues and on translations from one language to the other in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries see Michiel van Groesen, A First Popularisation of Travel Literature, in Dutch Crossing 25/1 (2001), pp. 103 – 131; Michiel van Groesen, The Representations of the Overseas World in the De Bry Collection of Voyages (1590 – 1634) (Boston, Leiden 2008).

23 For deeper insights on these perceptions, see, e. g., Elisabetta Borromeo, Voyageurs occidentaux dans l'Empire ottoman (1600 – 1644) (2 vols., Paris, Istanbul 2007); Charis Goer and Michael Hofmann (eds.), Der Deutschen Morgenland: Bilder des Orients in der deutschen Literatur und Kultur von 1770 bis 1850 (Munich 2008); Höfert, Den Feind beschreiben; Annette Katzer, Araber in deutschen Augen: Das Araberbild der Deutschen vom 16. bis zum 19. Jahrhundert (Paderborn et al. 2008); Jürgen Osterhammel, Die Entzauberung Asiens: Europa und die asiatischen Reiche im 18. Jahrhundert, 2nd ed. (Munich 2010); Andrea Polaschegg, Der andere Orientalismus: Regeln deutsch-morgenländischer Imagination im 19. Jahrhundert (Berlin, New York 2005); Yerasimos, Les voyageurs dans l'Empire ottoman.

24 See, e. g., Borromeo, Voyageurs occidentaux; Yerasimos, Les voyageurs dans l'Empire ottoman, especially pp. 12 – 13.

'blank spots' on the map that people driven by curiosity aimed to fill. This led, for example, to relatively large shares of travelogues that described the penetration of the inner parts of the African, American, and Asian continents in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.[25] In contrast, however, journeys to remote and climatically challenging regions remained relatively rare. While traveling and seafaring became cheaper and more accessible to wider sections of society throughout the period under consideration here, this did not have a strong impact on travels to regions like Oceania, the Arctic, and Antarctica, which remained resource-intensive undertakings and – according to the numbers in the corpus – exceptions throughout the period.

The decrease in the popularity of travelogues about the "Orient," however, was also due to accessibility, economic resources, as well as to cultural and political traditions. During all four targeted centuries, Europe was one of the most frequently described regions. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, only Asia was described more often. Accessibility certainly facilitated the outstanding position of Europe. It was naturally the region that Europeans knew best and could visit in the easiest and cheapest way.[26] Moreover, the Grand Tour – educational trips of upper-class young men and women who usually traveled to destinations across Western Europe – became more and more fashionable and led to the production of a substantial number of travelogues.[27] Further, the relatively late infrastructural expansion of roads and railroads in the Ottoman Empire and Persia as well as the comparatively late onset of more intense economic relations with the Holy Roman Empire may have played their part in the percental decline of German-language travelogues on the "Orient." Moreover, the frequent description of European cultural and natural goods has most likely to do with a Eurocentric tunnel vision, as Europeans and other "Westerners" often tended to see European culture and nature as superior to others and therefore more relevant, which fulfilled colonial and imperialistic purposes[28] and probably had a positive effect on the production of travelogues about Europe. In addition,

25 Gruber, Europeans Encounter the World.

26 The great majority of the authors of the corpus of the "Travelogues Project" was European.

27 For more details on the Grand Tour see, e. g., Attilio Brilli, Quando viaggiare era un'arte: Il romanzo del Grand Tour (Bologna 1995); Eva Bender, Die Prinzenreise: Bildungsaufenthalt und Kavalierstour im höfischen Kontext gegen Ende des 17. Jahrhunderts (Berlin 2011); Edward Chaney and Timothy Wilks, The Jacobean Grand Tour: Early Stuart Travellers in Europe (New York 2014); Annette C. Cremer, Anette Baumann, and Eva Bender (eds.), Prinzessinnen unterwegs: Reisen fürstlicher Frauen in der Frühen Neuzeit (Berlin, Boston 2018).

28 Edward W. Said was famously the first to uncover these power relations: Edward W. Said, Orientalism (New York 1978).

some journeys to other continents started in Europe and even if the final destination was outside of it the travelogues included substantial descriptions of Europe. The share of such travelogues is, however, relatively low in the analyzed corpus.[29]

3 The importance of place

Another factor related to the percental decline in popularity of travelogues about the "Orient" is the importance of the printing place and related publishing strategies of the printers and publishers, as a closer look at the places of travelogues' production reveals.

3.1 The sixteenth and seventeenth centuries

During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, German-language travelogues were printed and published in many places across Europe. Most of these places were naturally situated in or near German-speaking areas, and well-known printing centers such as Nuremberg, Augsburg, or Leipzig played an significant role, but no place was as important as Frankfurt am Main.[30] In the sixteenth century, the travel accounts in the corpus of the "Travelogues Project" were printed and published in 22 different places, by far the most in Frankfurt am Main (26), followed by Augsburg (11), Nuremberg (10), Görlitz (4), and Vienna (4).[31] In the seventeenth century, 43 different places were confirmed: Frankfurt am Main again

29 In the subset for the eighteenth century, out of 599 travelogues that include or solely represent descriptions of Europe 535 focus on Europe exclusively (12 of are marked with "Orient" due to descriptions of the European parts of the Ottoman Empire). In the subset for the nineteenth century, this ratio is 1157 to 1406 travelogues (50 of which include "Oriental" descriptions).
30 For further information on these printing and cultural centers see their entries in Wolfgang Adam and Siegrid Westphal (eds.), Handbuch kultureller Zentren der Frühen Neuzeit: Städte und Residenzen im alten deutschen Sprachraum (3 vols., Berlin 2012).
31 Followed by three travelogues each printed in Basel, Cologne, Leipzig, and Strasbourg; two each in Dillingen (Danube), Freiburg (Üechtland), Lauingen (Danube); and one each in Antwerp, Güstrow, Hagenau, Halle (Saale), Ingolstadt, Marburg, Neuhoffen (?), Oppenheim, Zerbst (Anhalt), and Zurich. The numbers here and below are above the total numbers of travelogues for each century, because, if more than one place is given in a publication, both were counted individually.

occupied the first place (73), followed by Nuremberg (33), Leipzig (18), Oppenheim (11), Amsterdam (10), Augsburg (9), and Geneva (7).[32]

Frankfurt am Main was also the place where most travelogues with descriptions of the "Orient" appeared. In the sixteenth century, Frankfurt am Main (12) was followed by Augsburg (5), Görlitz (4), and Leipzig (3).[33] In the seventeenth century, slightly more travelogues on the "Orient" appeared in Nuremberg (14), but Frankfurt am Main still occupied the second place (11), followed by unconfirmed places (7), Geneva (6), and Leipzig (6).[34]

The dominance of Frankfurt am Main and the position of Nuremberg are worth a closer look, although at first glance this result may not seem that surprising, as both Frankfurt am Main and Nuremberg were two of the most important printing centers of their time.[35] On closer inspection, however, it becomes clear that Frankfurt am Main's outstanding position was connected to the fact that it was the place where the majority of the volumes of the most important German-language travel collections of the time appeared: those of the de Bry and the Hulsius families.

Travel collections were established as a sub-genre of travel literature in Western Europe from the early sixteenth century onwards. Such collections were often meant to showcase a specific region or country and usually assembled multiple travelogues on or from a specific geographical region, or a certain time period, within single volumes or a series of books. Most accounts that appeared in travel collections had previously been published elsewhere, often in other languages. The choice of travel reports for a travel collection was of course subjective, and new editions and translations affected their content, intentionally or uninten-

32 Followed by six prints each in Hamburg, Munich, and Vienna; four prints in Schleswig; three prints each in Hanau, Ingolstadt, Jena, Tübingen, and Ulm; two prints each in Arnheim, Heidelberg, Helmstedt, Konstanz, Strasbourg, and Würzburg; and one print each in Altenburg, Basel, Bayreuth, Bern, Breslau (Wrocław), Brixen, Cologne, Dillingen (Danube), Gera, Lübeck, Magdeburg, Mainz, Oldenburg, Rothenburg (Tauber), Ruhstorf-Sulzbach, Castle Bevern, Stockholm, Stuttgart, Sulzbach-Rosenberg, Zittau, and Zurich. 15 prints appeared in unconfirmed places.
33 Two each were published in Basel, Lauingen (Danube), Nuremberg, Strasbourg, and Vienna. One each was published in Antwerp, Freiburg (Üechtland), Güstrow, and Zerbst (Anhalt).
34 Followed by Schleswig (four travelogues), three each in Amsterdam, Jena, and Vienna; two each in Augsburg, Helmstedt, and Munich; and one each in Altenburg, Hamburg, Hanau, Heidelberg, Breslau (Wrocław), Cologne, Gera, Konstanz, Lübeck, Mainz, Rothenburg (Tauber), Ruhstorf-Sulzbach, Strasbourg, Stuttgart, Tübingen, Würzburg, and Zurich.
35 For Frankfurt am Main see, e. g., Marina Stalljohann, Frankfurt am Main, in Adam and Westphal, Handbuch kultureller Zentren, vol. 1, pp. 535 – 593. For Nuremberg see, e. g., Michael Diefenbacher and Horst-Dieter Beyerstedt, Nürnberg, in Adam and Westphal, Handbuch kultureller Zentren, vol. 3, pp. 569 – 1610.

tionally.[36] The first known travel collection is either *De orbe novo decades* by Pietro Martire d'Anghiera (1457–1526), an assortment of Spanish explorations in the Americas,[37] or Fracanzio da Montalboddo's (fl. 1507–1522) *Paesi novamente retrovati*, first published in 1507, on travels to America, Africa, and Asia.[38]

The aforementioned de Bry collection of voyages was established by Theodor de Bry (1528–1598), a trained goldsmith and copper engraver from Liège, in 1590. His sons, Johann Theodor de Bry (1561–1623) and Johann Israel de Bry (1565–1611), continued editing the collection – or rather collections since they comprised several distinct series – until 1634. In terms of travel collections, Theodor de Bry could build on his experiences in London between 1586 and 1588, where he had also worked with Richard Hakluyt (1552–1616), who himself edited several famous travel collections from the 1580s onwards, mostly regarding the English colonization of North America.[39]

The volumes in the de Bry collections were usually dedicated to the (re)issue of single travelogues and appeared in Frankfurt am Main, though some of the volumes were (also) published in Oppenheim. The collections brought numerous accounts together, on the Americas, Africa, Asia, and Oceania, and they were written by a variety of European authors. Most of these travelogues had been published before and were now reprinted or translated into German and Latin. Additionally, they were equipped with often newly created copper plates; images

36 For more details on European travel collections see van Groesen, The Representations of the Overseas World, pp. 35–41; Matthew W. Binney, The Rhetoric of Travel and Exploration: A New "Nature" and the Other in Early to Mid-Eighteenth-Century English Travel Collections, in Revue LISA/LISA e-Journal. Littératures, Histoire des Idées, Images, Sociétés du Monde Anglophone – Literature, History of Ideas, Images and Societies of the English-Speaking World 13/3 (2015), accessed 09 May 2022, <https://doi.org/10.4000/lisa.8687>; Max Böhme, Die großen Reisesammlungen des 16. Jahrhunderts und ihre Bedeutung (Osnabrück 1985; reprint of Strasbourg 1904); Daniel Carey and Claire Jowitt (eds.), Richard Hakluyt and Travel Writing in Early Modern Europe (Farnham 2012), see especially the introduction and section 1.
37 The first complete edition appeared in Compluti [=Alcalá de Henares] in 1530. See Pietro Martire d'Anghiera, De orbe novo decades: I-VIII, edited by Rosanna Mazzacane (2 vols., Genova 2005), vol. 1, pp. 9–15, 21; Norbert Ankenbauer, "das ich mochte meer newer dyng erfaren": Die Versprachlichung des Neuen in den *Paesi novamente retrovati* (Vicenza, 1507) und in ihrer deutschen Übersetzung (Nürnberg, 1508) (Berlin 2010), pp. 95–97.
38 Van Groesen, The Representations of the Overseas World, p. 35.
39 For more details on Richard Hakluyt see, for example, Carey and Jowitt, Richard Hakluyt; Peter C. Mancall, Hakluyt's Promise: An Elizabethan's Obsession for an English America (New Haven, Conn., London 2007).

that strongly shaped representations of the respective regions during the following centuries.[40]

The travel collection of the Hulsius family started to appear a little later and was established by Levinus Hulsius (c. 1550 – 1606), a Calvinist religious refugee, author, and teacher from Ghent, who came to Frankfurt in 1602 via stops in Frankenthal and Nuremberg.[41] The collection that Hulsius' widow Maria Hulsius (née Ruting, fl. 1606 – 1619) and his other heirs continued, amounted to twenty-six volumes between 1598 and 1630, most of them published in Frankfurt am Main, but several in Nuremberg, Oppenheim, and Hanau. The volumes of the Hulsius collection usually represented reprints of travelogues from the de Bry collection, with the difference that the texts appeared in German only and were at times greatly abbreviated. The books of the Hulsius collection were also published in a smaller, cheaper, and therefore more accessible format than the one offered by the de Bry collection.[42]

As mentioned above, these collections were one factor that explained the outstanding position of Frankfurt am Main among the printing places of German-language travelogues. A closer look at all printers and publishers in Frankfurt am Main of texts from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in the corpus of the "Travelogues Project" confirms that the de Bry and Hulsius families published by far the greatest numbers. In the sixteenth century, 11 out of 26 travelogues were published by Theodor de Bry or his sons, though none by the Hulsius family.[43] Other printing and publishing families in Frankfurt am Main published a maximum of 8 travel reports during this century: the Feyerabend family occu-

40 For a comprehensive study of the de Bry series see van Groesen, The Representations of the Overseas World. See also Susanna Burghartz (ed.), Inszenierte Welten: Die west- und ostindischen Reisen der Verleger de Bry, 1590 – 1630 = Staging new worlds. De Brys' illustrated travel reports, 1590 – 1630 (Basel 2004).

41 Josef Benzing, Hulsius, Levin, in Neue Deutsche Biographie 10 (1974), p. 30, accessed 09 May 2022, <https://www.deutsche-biographie.de/pnd117056235.html#ndbcontent>.

42 For more information on the travel collection of the Hulsius family see A[dolph] Asher, Bibliographical Essay on the Collection of Voyages and Travels, Edited and Published by Levinus Hulsius and his Successors at Nuremburg and Francfort from Anno 1598 to 1660 (London, Berlin 1839); Böhme, Die großen Reisesammlungen, pp. 120 – 136; van Groesen, The Representations of the Overseas World, pp. 346 – 352. Sven Trakulhun, Three Tales of the New World: Nation, Religion, and Colonialism in Hakluyt, Hulsius, and de Bry, in Carey and Jowitt, Richard Hakluyt, pp. 57 – 66.

43 By then, the Hulsius collection appeared in Nuremberg, with four volumes in the corpus of the "Travelogues-Project".

pies second place (8 travelogues) and the Wechel family third place (6 travelogues).[44]

For the seventeenth century, specialization is even more evident. Out of 73 travelogues published in Frankfurt am Main, 19 appeared with the de Bry and 25 with the Hulsius family.[45] From the 30 other publishers and printers, most appeared with Wolfgang Richter (d. 1626: 9 travelogues), the Becker family (8 travelogues) [46], and Christoph le Blon (d. 1665: 7 travelogues). Wolfgang Richter and the Becker family, however, acted exclusively as printers for the de Bry and the Hulsius travel collections.[47]

Yet, in both travel collections the "Orient" is notably absent. None of the travelogues in the de Bry or Hulsius collections from the sixteenth century describes the "Orient," and only one from the seventeenth century does so: Samuel Braun's (1590 – 1668) *Schiffahrten*.[48] The latter does not treat the "Orient" exclusively, but mostly other regions in Africa, Asia, and Europe. This broad geographical focus might explain why this travelogue appeared in the de Bry and the Hulsius collections.

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44 Eight were published by the Feyerabend family: Hieronymus (1563 – 1581), Johann (1550 – 1599), or Sigmund Feyerabend (c. 1528 – 1590). Six appeared with the Wechel family: two with Johann Wechel (1549 – 1593), and four with the heirs of the latter's cousin Andreas Wechel (c. 1527 – 1581) – the heirs being his sons-in-law Johann Aubry (d. 1600) and Claude Marne (d. 1610). Three travelogues each appeared with Weigand Han (1526/29 – 1562) and his heirs; Georg Rab (d. 1580), and Johann Schmidt (d. 1596). Two each were published by Matthaeus Becker the Elder (before 1573 – 1606), Johannes Saur (1573 – 1636), and David Zöpfel (c. 1525 – 1563). The numbers here and below again surmount the total numbers of travelogues of each century, because, if more than one printer or publisher is given in a publication, both were counted individually. Some of the aforementioned printers also published travelogues together with the de Bry family.

45 Four further travelogues from the de Bry collection of the seventeenth century appeared in Oppenheim, nine further reports from the Hulsius collection appeared in Hanau, Oppenheim, and Nuremberg. Note that the larger numbers of volumes in the Hulsius collections result out of reprints.

46 One appeared with Matthaeus Becker the Elder , five with his son Matthaeus Becker the Younger (1576 – 1612), and two with the latter's widow Katharina Becker (née Müller, fl. 1603 – 1618).

47 With the other printers or publishers in Frankfurt, no more than five travelogues could be confirmed.

48 Samuel Braun, Die Neunzehende Schiffarth/ Jnhaltendt/ Fünff Schiffarthen Samuel Brauns Burgers vnd WundArtzt zu Basel/ so er vor kurtzen Jahren in vnterschiedliche frembde Königreich vnd Landschafften glücklich gethan/ [...] (Frankfurt am Main 1626), VD17 23:299809S, accessed 09 May 2022, <http://data.onb.ac.at/rep/104A6BF2>. This travelogue was originally published in Basel in 1624, VD17 23:254429Y, accessed 09 May 2022, <https://kxp.k10plus.de/DB=1.28/CMD?ACT=SRCHA&IKT=8079&TRM=%2723:254429Y%27>.

The main reason why the de Bry and Hulsius collections hardly included any travelogues on the “Orient” is most likely the publication of another collection that first appeared in Frankfurt am Main as well. It is called *Reyßbuch deß heyligen Lands* (Travel Book on the Holy Land) and represents a travel collection that assembles multiple travelogues and mostly pilgrimages to the Holy Land within a single volume.[49] The first edition of *Reyßbuch deß heyligen Lands* brings sixteen accounts together and was edited by Sigmund Feyerabend (c. 1528–1590), who came from a printer family, was born in Heidelberg and was very well established in Frankfurt am Main when the first volume of the collection appeared in 1584 – six years before the first volume of the de Bry collections.[50] During the seventeenth century, the “Travel Book on the Holy Land” was reprinted at least three times. The first two reissues also appeared in Frankfurt am Main. Franz Nicolaus Roth (d. 1657) enlarged the collection to a two-volume edition of eighteen accounts in 1609, which was reprinted in 1629.[51] The third reissue, now extended to twenty-one accounts, appeared in Nuremberg in 1659.[52]

Reyßbuch deß heyligen Lands was meant to be a success, as suggested by its title alone: it was most likely based on the successful *Itinerarium Sacrae Scripturae. Das ist/ Ein Reisebuch/ Vber die gantze heilige Schrifft/ […]* (An Itinerary of the Holy Scriptures …) by Heinrich Bünting (1545–1606): a lavishly illustrated book that described the biblical geography of the Holy Land, was first published in Helmstedt in 1581 and reissued at least sixty times in many places except in Frankfurt am Main between 1582 and 1757.[53]

49 For more details on this travel collection see Anne Simon, Sigmund Feyerabend’s *Das Reyßbuch deß heiligen Lands*. A Study in Printing and Literary History (Wiesbaden 1998).

50 Sigmund Feyerabend (ed.), Reyßbuch deß heyligen Lands : Das ist Ein gründtliche beschreibung aller vnd jeder Meer vnd Bilgerfahrten zum heyligen Lande/ so bißhero/ in zeit dasselbig von den Vngläubigen erobert vnd inn gehabt/ […] (Frankfurt am Main 1584), VD16 F 902, accessed 09 May 2022, <http://data.onb.ac.at/ABO/%2BZ176245508>.

51 Reyßbuch deß heyligen Landts/ Das ist Ein gründtliche beschreibung aller unnd jeder Meer unnd Bilgerfahrten zum heyligen Lande […] (Frankfurt am Main 1629), VD17 1:071746U, accessed 09 May 2022, <http://resolver.staatsbibliothek-berlin.de/SBB00022CC200000000>.

52 Franz Nicolaus Roth (ed.), Reyßbuch deß Heyligen Lands […] (2 vols., Frankfurt am Main 1609), VD17 23:232191B and VD17 23:232199N, accessed 09 May 2022, <http://data.onb.ac.at/ABO/%2BZ163300405> and <http://data.onb.ac.at/rep/104F85F0>; Bewehrtes Reißbuch deß Heiligen Lands/ Oder/ Eine gründliche Beschreibung aller Meer- und Bilgerfahrten zum heiligen Lande/ […] (Nuremberg 1659), VD17 3:313657Y, accessed 09 May 2022, <http://data.onb.ac.at/ABO/%2BZ157645002>. On the reissues see also Simon, Sigmund Feyerabend’s *Das Reyßbuch*, pp. 116–135.

53 Henk A. M. van der Heijden, Heinrich Büntings Itinerarium Sacrae Scripturae, 1581. Ein Kapitel der biblischen Geographie, in Cartographica Helvetica 23 (2001), pp. 5–14, here pp. 6, 13.

In Frankfurt am Main, however, it seems that the editors of the de Bry and Hulsius collections as well as those of the *Reyßbuch deß heyligen Lands* probably acted upon well-planned publishing strategies, and coordinated their content to avoid mutual competition. This seems even more likely since the de Brys and the Feyerabends had cooperated before. A cousin of Sigmund Feyerabend, Johann Feyerabend (1550 – 1599), even printed one of the first volumes of de Bry collections in 1597.[54] Another reason for such an agreement of cooperation might have been that, given Sigmund Feyerabend's reputation, it was deemed prudent not to make him an enemy. Feyerabend was considered one of the most important printers of his time and is also known as a shrewd and at times ruthless businessman who was involved in numerous legal proceedings because he published unauthorized reprints or disregarded imperial and municipal privileges.[55]

Just like the cooperation between the de Bry and the Hulsius families,[56] this strategy of cooperation rather than competition between travel collections ultimately proved to be a success, at least regarding the flourishing travel collections by the de Bry and Hulsius families. The publishing house of Feyerabend, however, did not survive long after the death of Sigmund Feyerabend and the publication of *Reyßbuch deß heyligen Lands*, which, according to the number of volumes and reissues, was the least successful of the described travel collections. At the same time, this strategy probably also restricted the circulation of knowledge about the "Orient" during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, precisely because *Reyßbuch deß heyligen Lands* was not reissued that often and therefore most likely circulated a lot less than the volumes of the de Bry and Hulsius collections.

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54 Girolamo Benzoni, Das sechste Theil der neuwen Welt. oder Der Historien Hieron. Benzo von Meylandt/ Das dritte Buch. Darinnen warhafftig erzehlet wirdt/ wie die Spanier die Goldreiche Landschafften deß Peruanischen Königreichs eyngenommen/ den König Atabalibam gefangen vnd getödtet. […] (Frankfurt am Main 1597), VD16 B 1750, accessed 09 May 2022, <http://data.onb.ac.at/ABO/%2BZ185157909>. Michiel van Groesen called Sigmund Feyerabend even a "business partner" of the Theodor de Bry in the late 1580s. Van Groesen, The Representations of the Overseas World, pp. 41 – 42.

55 For more details on the biography of Sigmund Feyerabend see, for example, Thomas Bauer, Feyerabend, Sigmund, in Frankfurter Personenlexikon, accessed 09 May 2022, <http://frankfurter-personenlexikon.de/node/2172>; Josef Benzing, Feyerabend, Sigismund, in Neue Deutsche Biographie 5 (1961), p. 119, accessed 09 May 2022, <https://www.deutsche-biographie.de/pnd118683527.html#ndbcontent>; [Ernst] Kelchner, Feyerabend, in Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie 6 (1877), pp. 755 – 756.

56 The cooperation between the de Bry and Hulsius families has been discussed in greater detail in van Groesen, The Representations of the Overseas World, pp. 346 – 349.

3.2 The eighteenth and nineteenth centuries

During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the picture appears different, especially due to the sharply rising numbers of travelogues, though some of the already described trends continued throughout this period. Regarding the printing centers, it was no longer Frankfurt am Main but Leipzig that dominated the picture. For the eighteenth century, 87 publishing and printing places are confirmed. Most travelogues were published in Leipzig (272), Berlin (115), Vienna (92), Frankfurt am Main (73), Nuremberg (42), Hamburg (37), Zurich (35), Augsburg (28), Brünn (Brno) (23), and Göttingen (22).[57] In the nineteenth century, out of 158 printing and publishing places, most travelogues appeared again in Leipzig (631), followed by Vienna (440), Berlin (265), Stuttgart (227), Tübingen (106), Weimar (71), Hamburg (63), Dresden (60), Braunschweig (52), and Graz (51).[58]

If one considers only the printing and publishing places of travelogues regarding the "Orient," the results are very similar. In the eighteenth century, Leipzig (36) was followed by Augsburg (15), Berlin (14), Frankfurt am Main (12), Vienna (12), Graz (10), and Nuremberg (9).[59] And in the nineteenth century, Leipzig (103) was followed by Vienna (76), Berlin (62), Stuttgart (44), Graz (25), Tübingen (14), and Pest (13).[60]

Regarding the printers and publishers, it becomes obvious that successful printers and publishers of travelogues operated in multiple places. During the eighteenth century, most travelogues in the corpus of the "Travelogues Project" appeared with Franz Anton Schrämbl (1751–1803) in Brünn (Brno), Troppau

57 Followed by 19 in Gotha; 18 in Stettin (Szczecin); 16 in Graz; 13 each in Bern, Copenhagen, and Saint Petersburg; 12 in Dresden; 10 each in Halle (Saale), Jena, Prague, Rostock, and Troppau (Opava). In other locations, no more than nine travelogues were confirmed. 18 prints appeared in unconfirmed places.

58 Followed by Pest (44), Jena (38), Frankfurt am Main (32), 31 each in Halle (Saale) and Saint Petersburg, 28 each in Munich and Zurich; 26 in Augsburg, 19 in Breslau (Wrocław), 17 in Gotha and Prague; 16 in Sankt Gallen; 15 in Hannover, Naumburg, Nuremberg, and Regensburg; 14 in Linz; 13 each in Altona and Bremen; 12 in Bern and Rudolstadt; 11 in Heidelberg, 10 each in Brünn (Brno), Darmstadt, Innsbruck, and Mainz. In other locations, no more than nine travelogues were confirmed. The top positions of Vienna and Graz in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries may or may not result from the focus on the ONB, the most comprehensive repository of publications that appeared in locations of today's Austria.

59 Followed by Jena (7), and 4 each in Erlangen, Hamburg, Rostock, Troppau (Opava). In other locations, no more than three travelogues were confirmed.

60 Followed by Weimar (12), Nuremberg (11), and Halle (Saale: 10). In other places, no more than nine travelogues were confirmed.

(Opava), and Vienna (56 travelogues), followed by Adam Gottlieb Schneider-Weigelsche Kunst- und Buchhandlung (41) in Cologne, Frankfurt am Main, Leipzig, and Nuremberg, and Joseph Georg Traßler (1759 – 1816) in Brünn (Brno) and Troppau (Opava) (33 travelogues). During the nineteenth century, most travelogues appeared with J. G. Cotta'sche Buchhandlung (127), usually in Stuttgart, but also in Augsburg, Tübingen, Munich, and Leipzig; followed by F. A. Brockhaus (106), which mostly operated in Leipzig, but also in Altenburg, Amsterdam, Berlin, Bremen, Breslau (Wrocław), Hamburg, London, Schaffhausen, and Vienna; the Arnoldische Buchhandlung (60), which mostly published in Leipzig and Dresden, as well as the Landes-Industrie-Comptoir (59). The latter is the only one among these dominant publishers that operated in one place only – in Weimar.

Again, travel collections played their part in these remarkable rankings. In the eighteenth century, Franz Anton Schrämbl edited two travel collections: *Magazin von merkwürdigen neuen Reisebeschreibungen* (Magazine of Memorable New Travelogues) as well as *Sammlung der besten Reisebeschreibungen* (Collection of the Best Travelogues). The latter was co-edited by Joseph Georg Traßler in Troppau (Opava) and Brünn (Brno)[61] and both travel collections include travelogues regarding the "Orient." In the nineteenth century, some of the dominant publishers also edited travel collections: J. G. Cotta'sche Buchhandlung published *Reisen und Länderbeschreibungen der älteren und neuesten Zeit* (Travels and Country Descriptions of the Older and Most Recent Times), and Landes-Industrie-Comptoir zu Weimar brought out *Bibliothek der neuesten und wichtigsten Reisebeschreibungen zur Erweiterung der Erdkunde* (Library of the Latest and Greatest Travelogues for the Expansion of Geography) as well as *Neue Bibliothek der wichtigsten Reisebeschreibungen zur Erweiterung der Erd- und Völkerkunde* (New Library of the Latest and Greatest Travelogues for the Expansion of Geography and Ethnology). All these travel collections include travelogues describing the "Orient."

By focusing exclusively on travelogues on the "Orient", we find that most travelogues from the eighteenth century appeared with the heirs of the brothers Philipp Martin and Johann Veith (both fl. before 1725) in Augsburg and Graz (14), August Mylius (fl. 1763 – c. 1846) in Berlin (8), as well as the aforementioned Franz Anton Schrämbl (7), Adam Gottlieb Schneider-Weigelsche Kunst- und Buchhandlung (7), and Joseph Georg Traßler (6).[62] Again, travel series made

61 Both were also part of the same "*Lesezirkel*." See V. Petrbok, Trassler (Traßler, Traszler), Joseph Georg (1759 – 1816), Buchdrucker, Buchhändler und Herausgeber, in Österreichisches Biographisches Lexikon (ÖBL) 1815 – 1950, vol. 14 (Lfg. 66, 2015), pp. 427 – 428, accessed 09 May 2022, <https://www.biographien.ac.at/oebl/oebl_T/Trassler_Joseph-Georg_1759_1816.xml>.

62 For the eighteenth century, no other printer or publisher present in the corpus of the "Travelogues Project" published more than five travelogues.

up a large share of their output: the Veith publishing house edited the *Neuer Welt=Bott* (New World Messenger) between 1725 and 1736, a collection of letters, writings, and travelogues written by Jesuit missionaries; and August Mylius published the travel collection *Sammlung der besten und neuesten Reisebeschreibungen in einem ausführlichen Auszuge* (Collection of the Best and Latest Travelogues in Detailed Extracts).

Throughout the nineteenth century, most travelogues on the “Orient” appeared with Johann Andreas Kienreich (1759 – 1845) in Graz (23), an outstanding rank chiefly due to the travel collection he brought out: *Taschen-Bibliothek der wichtigsten und interessantesten See- und Landreisen, von der Erfindung der Buchdruckerkunst bis auf unsere Zeiten* (Pocket Library of the Most Important and Interesting Sea and Land Trips from the Invention of the Art of Printing to our Times). Kienreich was followed by Konrad Adolf Hartleben (1778 – 1863), who published mostly in Vienna, but also in Leipzig and Pest, as well as the aforementioned J. G. Cotta’sche Buchhandlung (12) and F. A. Brockhaus (12).

In contrast to the previous centuries, two dominant trends seem new in the nineteenth century: the outstanding positions of Stuttgart and Tübingen, which are clearly linked to the rise of the Cotta publishing house, as well as the strong production in places of today’s Austria, which may or may not result out of the focus of the present analysis on travelogues in the holdings of the ONB.

Conclusions

This chapter underlines the importance of time and place in the analysis of travelogues. Previously lacking statistical evaluations of the production of printed German-language travel reports confirm well-known research hypotheses, provide new information, and raise further questions. In terms of temporality, travelogues turned out to be children of their time. Their production acted in accordance with and responded to general social, economic, and political tendencies, conflicts, and wars. With respect to the “Orient,” the production rose especially at times when the “Orient,” and most of all the Ottoman Empire, was perceived as a threat to the “West,” which led to greater interest in information about the region. Exactly how these factors affected the content of the accounts needs to be determined in the future, just as a differentiation between and a comparative analysis of travelogues on the Ottoman Empire and Persia might offer further findings, since both empires underwent very different developments and were at times perceived very differently in the “West” during this period.

In terms of the places of production and especially printing locations, the present analysis sheds new light on the importance of certain places – most of all Frankfurt am Main and Leipzig – as well as on resident publishing houses and printer families and the outcomes of their publishing agendas. At times, even the geographical foci of travelogues and their circulation were the result of deliberate decisions based on publishing strategies. This is particularly evident with regard to Sigmund Feyerabend's *Reyßbuch deß heyligen Lands*, which was probably the reason why reports on the "Orient" were not included in the travel collections of the de Bry and Hulsius families and therefore circulated less during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

It is clear, however, that in all four centuries travel collections had a significant impact on the circulation of travelogues. These collections certainly contributed to the popularity of the genre, but further research is still needed to understand these processes and trends. Most travel collections from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries have not even been recorded bibliographically, and research into their reception, reach, and effect on other discourses and corpora is still lacking. Furthermore, the relationship to travelogues in languages other than German and from other regions in and beyond the "West" needs to be clarified, including, but not exclusively, with regard to translations and adaptations.

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