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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 Strohmeier, 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 Strohmeier, 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/>>.

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-

³ The project led 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 Faruqi, *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 transepochnalen 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 Gislénus Busbequius, *Legationis Turcicae epistolae quattuor. Quarum priores dvae ante aliquot annos in lucem prodierunt sub nomine Itinerum Constantinopolitani & Amasiani [...]* (Paris 1589); Salomon Schweigger, *Ein neue 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, conditionibus 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 möglich, 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 Strohmeier, 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 Bosphorus” 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 Strohmeier, *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 the 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

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 Reismethodik 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. 204f.

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, post-colonial 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 Faroghi, *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 *rhétorique 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 of which were 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

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 Schöning (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 pub-

lished 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 STEFANIA 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. Demchuk 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 ba-

zaar 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 YILDIZ 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 *siyāhatnāma* 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 İPŞİRLİ 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 interpreta-

tions. 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 Petrovsky 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. Petrovsky 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, DENİZ T. KILINÇOĞLU and JÖRG WETTLAUER 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*. Borås, 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*.

