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Multilingualism in 19th-Century Travel Writing

A First Typology

Abstract: Travel writing was one of the most popular genres in the 19th century. As it often deals with journeys across linguistic boundaries and reports on experiences with other people, other countries, and other cultures, it is a genre that seems bound to be multilingual. Still, the multilingualism of travelogues has hitherto hardly been studied. The present chapter attempts to fill this gap and proposes a first typology of the use of multilingualism in 19th-century travel writing in Europe. It discusses translingual travel writers, examines forms of manifest and hidden (latent) multilingualism, and analyzes multilingual intertextuality. In addition, the article considers the various functions of multilingualism in these texts: it may be used to create atmosphere or to confirm authenticity, it may serve to stage the author's self, it may be used to create difference, or the authors might use it to illustrate their linguistic interest.

Keywords: Travel Writing, Europe, 19th Century, Typology, Manifest Multilingualism, Latent Multilingualism, Multilingual Intertextuality, Metamultilingualism

1 Introduction

In the long 19th century, travel writing was an extremely popular genre across Europe.¹ Both factual as well as fictional travel accounts were popular, both original works and translations of travelogues.² These texts give accounts of very different kinds of journeys: from travels to faraway lands, perhaps exotic or made-up places – such as Ida Pfeiffer's travelogues or Jules Verne's novels that often include journeys – to journeys within one's own land, such as Heinrich

¹ See for instance Korte (2016: 173) and Martin (2008) who both corroborate the popularity of travel writing at the time.

² For translations of travelogues see Scheitler (1999) and Willenberg (2012).

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Heine's *Die Harzreise* [1826; *The Harz Journey*], and even within one's room, such as Xavier de Maistre's *Voyage autour de ma chambre* [1795; *Voyage Around My Room*]. Whatever kind of journey the texts talk about, they most likely include an encounter between the narrator/traveler³ and the outer world. Accordingly, Carl Thompson defines traveling as: "the negotiation between self and other that is brought about by movement in space" (2011: 9). But how does this negotiation take place? Most likely, it includes some kind of language, or even languages. Travel writing, the written documentation of an encounter between self and other, reflects this linguistic aspect of traveling. Therefore, we may assume that travel writing, in particular if it talks about journeys across national borders, is a genre that is predisposed to multilingualism. On the other hand, we find many travelogues that include very little linguistic material in languages other than the main one, even though they may report on journeys to very distant places. By analyzing the different kinds of multilingualism in travel writing we can find out how and for what purpose travel authors in the 19th century use different languages in their texts. Furthermore, why do others decide not to mark other languages in their texts and why do they opt for a form of *hidden multilingualism*?

In what follows, I propose a first typology of the forms and functions of multilingualism in travel writing of the 19th century. In order to do so, I will refer both to findings from the field of travel writing studies as well as from the field of literary multilingualism studies. I aim to identify various types of multilingualism in the texts in question and will draw on examples from a variety of travelogues written by European authors from the 19th century. I concentrate on texts that talk about journeys that have actually taken place and that authors undertook themselves. The suggested classification of multilingualism is, of course, not exhaustive. Rather, it is intended to spark further research on an aspect that has hardly been studied to date.

In travel writing studies, translation – a process which may be defined as involving forms of multilingualism – has been addressed and has in fact been called "another form of journey" (Johnston 2016: 2).⁴ However, as Michel Cronin (2000) observes, many of the studies in question pay little attention to the actu-

³ Scholars of travel writing have pointed out the difference between the author (who is external to the text), the narrator (who might also be understood as the implied author, constructed by the readers) and the traveling persona (i.e., the self-fashioning of the traveling protagonist in the text). See Drace-Francis (2019).

⁴ For studies on translation and travel writing, see Bassnett (2019) and Cronin (2000). For a recent overview, see Aedín Ní Loingsigh (2019) and Pickford (2020).

al linguistic processes of translation. Rather, they use translation in a metaphorical way and concentrate on aspects such as cultural translation (i.e., mediation), not least the one that the writers attempt for their readers. Rarely have scholars analyzed concrete situations of translation in travel writing or referred to translation studies as a basis for their work.⁵ Other scholars are more interested in the dissemination of travelogues in translation and in the translator's role in this process.⁶ Still, the multilingualism of these texts has yet to be studied in detail, even though multilingualism – be it manifest, latent or hidden (forms I will explain in more detail below) – is a typical phenomenon that can be found in this genre.

Literary multilingual studies to date have concentrated on contemporary literature and authors, while research on historical context is still scarce – a gap this volume intends to close.⁷ Although travel writing has not yet been a major focus in this field, Mary Besemers (2022) rightly points out that many language memoirs, that is life writing about experiences that include language change, learning a new language or encounters with different languages, are classified as travel writing by critics and booksellers. Examples would be Alice Kaplan's *French Lessons: A Memoir* (1993), Tim Park's books on his life in Italy, as well as Vladimir Nabokov's *Speak, Memory* (1966 [1951]). However, in literary multilingualism studies these texts have not been studied as travel writing, nor have more conventional travelogues been analyzed. The genre's particularities, therefore, have not been taken into consideration yet.

An analysis of literary multilingualism used in travel writing can give us new insights into these texts: it will tell us more about the writers' intentions, the texts' functions, and their reception. This is particularly relevant because of the genre's popularity referred to above. There are a number of reasons for this popularity. One of them is that, due to improved infrastructure and increased opportunities to travel, there was an increased general interest in journeys. In the 19th century, traveling was not restricted to the highest social classes anymore but began to be affordable and attractive also to other walks of life. First forms of (mass) tourism arose in the form of organized excursions, for instance those arranged by Thomas Cook in the United Kingdom. Reading travel writing

5 See Cronin (2000: 102–103) and Ní Loingsigh (2019: 269) who both state this lack.

6 See Agorni (2002) and Pickford (2020) who both focus on translations and translators of travel writing.

7 For exceptions see the three articles in the section on ancient translingualism in the recently published *Handbook of Literary Translingualism*: (Bozia and Mullan 2022; Mahmoud 2022; Patel 2022) as well as Anokhina, Dembeck and Weissmann (2019).

was often a way to prepare for one's travels. For those who still could not afford to travel, the increased number of travelogues offered a way of traveling at least in one's mind (also referred to as armchair travel).

Additionally, the act of traveling was part of the project of Enlightenment: by reading travelogues, one could find out about different places, whether far-away and exotic or more familiar to the reader.⁸ Travelogues satisfied people's curiosity about other countries and continents but also included information on numerous other aspects of life, such as climate, landscape, architecture, art, education, food, clothing, traditions, routines and the like. One could find out about current socio-political events, such as the French Revolution, through travel writing.⁹ At the same time, in the period of imperialism, travel writing was a source of information on new parts of one's own Empire. Travel writing in colonial contexts – such as the expeditions of Henry Morton Stanley – thus furthered the – actual and symbolic – appropriation of these regions. It enabled the readers to identify with the colonized territories and with the project of colonialism itself.¹⁰ At the same time, 19th-century travel writing furthered and fed into identity discourses in general. This is true both for the construction of collective as well as of individual identities.¹¹ Whereas the former was part of the development of national states and national cultures, the latter can be attributed to the growth of the middle classes that had been going on since the late 18th century. In travelogues, we can often find both discourses: people are described and presented as representatives of a nation, the narrator/traveler themselves at times explicitly identifies with a nation, and/or readers are addressed as belonging to a particular nation. At the same time, the traveler/narrator in a travelogue is an exemplary individual that on the one hand can be a model for the individual's position in society and the new national collective. On the other hand, they can probe what it means to be an individual subject by exploring a distinct identity as a singular member of society. As we will see, multilingualism in travel writing partly also serves to depict, perform, and negotiate identities. Language is constitutive of individual and collective identity; that is, language

⁸ For the importance of travel writing in the Enlightenment see Jäger (1989; 1992) and Brenner (2015).

⁹ For travelers to France at the time of the Revolution, see Boehnke and Zimmermann (1988), Emma Macleod (2007; 2013).

¹⁰ This also led to the perception (and criticism) that travel writing was a rather conservative genre and resulted in a more concentrated focus (of postcolonial scholars) on colonial contexts in travel writing studies. See Korte (1996: 122–127), Lindsay (2016: 173) and Thompson (2001: 137–153).

¹¹ See Vlasta (2021) for a more detailed discussion of this aspect of travelogues.

is used to construct these identities. In so doing, it not only serves as a vehicle for conveying ideas but also speaks for itself and, in literary texts in particular, gestures beyond itself. This is even more the case with multilingual elements in literary texts. In fact, the use of different languages in travel writing can either resist nationalist developments or reinforce the idea of cultural identity and/or difference.

In this chapter, I propose three main forms of multilingualism in travel writing: forms of manifest multilingualism expressed by different forms of code-switching, multilingual intertextuality, and forms of latent multilingualism, in which I will include the category of hidden multilingualism. Before I go into detail on these different forms, I would like to refer to a form of multilingualism that we find on the authorial level rather than on the level of text, namely that of the multilingual or translingual travel writer.¹² For instance, Johann Caspar Goethe, Johann Wolfgang von Goethe's father, wrote his travelogue on Italy, *Viaggio per l'Italia* (1740–1741/1932), in Italian. This travelogue, which was based on a journey undertaken between 1740 and 1741 and was intended for private use only, was published for the first time in 1932. Goethe presumably chose to write it in Italian simply because he knew the language and was able to do so. Another example of a multilingual travel writer is Alexander von Humboldt, who wrote his travelogues in French and later translated them into German.¹³ There are different reasons for his choice of language: first, he participated in French expeditions and therefore also needed to publish his findings in this language; second, he was a member of the Parisian *Académie des sciences* and it was important for him to continue to gain visibility as a scholar also in the French scientific world. Finally, as a German polymath, it was important to Humboldt to be read also by a wider German-speaking audience and he thus translated his own writings into the language.¹⁴ A final example is Georg Forster (and his father Johann Reinhold Forster), who wrote and published the account of his *Voyage round the World* (1777) with Captain James Cook first in English and then translated it himself into his native German.¹⁵ The first edition was published in English was due to the fact that Johann Reinhold Forster had been commissioned to write the official report about the journey. However, when he

¹² I use the term *translingual* as defined by Steven Kellman (2000), i.e., to refer to authors who write in a language or even more languages) that are not their first one (although they might continue to write in their first language at the same time).

¹³ See Humboldt (1810) and (1805–1834).

¹⁴ Johannes Görbert (2014) has shown that Humboldt not only translated but also adapted his texts for the German audience.

¹⁵ The first German edition was published in 1778–1780.

submitted the first draft, the text was rejected by the admiralty. The ensuing dispute led to a complete withdrawal of his commission to compose the official travelogue; furthermore, Forster was denied permission to use the images by the painter William Hodges for his text. Still, as father and son urgently needed money, they decided to write their own version of the travelogue – based on the father's records but written by Georg, whose English was much better than his father's. He wrote the report as quickly as possible in order to publish it before James Cook's book came out. In this case, the choice of language was based on the target audience: the Forsters hoped to sell the travelogue to readers in Great Britain. Nevertheless, Georg Forster had already started working on the German version parallel to the English one, well aware of his father's high profile in Germany and the importance of a German edition. The difference in reception is also underscored by the titles of the travelogues: in the English title, the fact that the expedition was commissioned by the Crown and undertaken by James Cook is stressed (*A Voyage round the World in His Britannic Majesty's Sloop Resolution, Commanded by Capt. James Cook*). The German title, on the other hand, puts Johann Reinhold Forster center stage (*Johann Reinhold Forster's [...] Reise um die Welt [...] [Johann Reinhold Forster's [...] voyage round the world]*).

These three cases of multilingual travel writers – Johann Caspar Goethe, Alexander von Humboldt and Georg Forster – led to translingual texts, i.e., to texts that were written in languages that were not the authors' first languages. Even in these texts we furthermore find instances of multilingualism, for example in the form of expressions in native languages Forster records and discusses in his travelogue. The following sections are dedicated to this kind of multilingualism in the texts.

2 Forms of manifest multilingualism in travel writing

In 2011, Giulia Radaelli suggested differentiating between manifest and latent forms of multilingualism in literary texts. Manifest multilingualism denotes all forms of multilingualism that are visible to the readers on the surface of a text. It includes forms of code-switching and code-mixing, that is both language change and the mixing of different languages in order to create a new idiom.¹⁶ Latent multilingualism describes a situation in which other languages are not

¹⁶ See Dembeck (2017) who distinguishes between these forms of language change.

visible on a text's surface, when they are only implicitly present or perhaps even hidden. Translation, references to other languages and reflections on language are possible examples of latent multilingualism – they are at the center of the next section. It is important to note that a text is not usually characterized by *either* manifest *or* latent multilingualism. Rather, both forms may occur in one and the same text and to different degrees. In fact, Radelli argues that manifest and latent multilingualism should not be isolated but thought of in a parallel manner: "Bei der Analyse eines literarischen Textes sollen vielmehr die zwei Kriterien der Wahrnehmbarkeit und der Diskursivierung miteinander verknüpft werden, um zu beschreiben, wie wahrnehmbar die jeweiligen diskursiven Figuren der Mehrsprachigkeit sind." (Radaelli 2014: 165) [Rather, when analyzing a literary text, the two criteria of perceptibility and discursivization should be linked in order to describe how perceptible the respective discursive figures of multilingualism are. (my translation)]. Accordingly, although in what follows I analyze manifest and latent multilingualism in travel writing in two different sections, I view them as different forms (that have a variety of manifestations) that may occur within the same texts.

Travel writing seems to be predestined for manifest multilingualism, in particular if it deals with travels abroad. And still, in many of the texts in question we find relatively little manifest multilingualism. This is even more surprising as many of the authors of travelogues were multilingual: Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, for instance, knew Italian which he was taught by his father.¹⁷ Similarly, Mary Shelley, who had lived in Italy for some time as a young woman, read and spoke Italian, and so did Charles Dickens. George Sand understood Spanish when she traveled to Majorca in 1838/39, and Karl Philipp Moritz knew English and Italian when he journeyed to England and Italy, respectively.

A common form of manifest multilingualism is code-switching. Code-switching denotes language change, which can occur on different levels of a text: for instance, on the intrasentential level, i.e., within a sentence, when one or more words in (a) language(s) different to the main one are introduced in a text. Intersentential code-switching, on the other hand, signifies the switching of languages between sentences or, at least, between longer phrases. We can find both forms of code-switching in Charles Dickens' *Pictures from Italy* (1846).¹⁸ This travelogue narrates Dickens' stay in Italy from 1844 to 1845. The writer had traveled there with his family after first visiting places in France,

17 On Goethe's language biography see Bär (in this volume).

18 For a more detailed analysis of the use of multilingualism in Charles Dickens' travelogue see Vlasta (2022). Here, I rely on this earlier research.

such as Paris, Lyons and Avignon. In Italy, they rented a place in Genoa, from where Dickens, either on his own or with his wife, traveled to various places: he visited a number of north Italian cities, such as Verona, Mantua, Milan and Venice, and eventually traveled to Rome and Naples.

Dickens uses single words or a small number of words in Italian and French in his otherwise English text, mainly to refer to realities and facts: for place names, buildings, objects, or local customs, he uses the original names. For instance, Genua's famous "Strada Nuova" (Dickens 1998 [1846]: 39, now: Via Garibaldi) and "Strada Balbi" (Dickens 1998 [1846]: 39), "the church of the Annunciata" (Dickens 1998 [1846]: 48), the "Monte Faccio" (Dickens 1998 [1846]: 55), and the "Acqua Sola" (Dickens 1998 [1846]: 55, a public promenade in Genova) are mentioned with their Italian names. The woman who guides the Dickens family through the former rooms of the Inquisition in the Palace of the Popes refers to her profession as a "Government Officer", and her original job title is given in parentheses: "How she told us, on the way, that she was a Government officer (*concierge du palais apostolique*), and had been, for I don't know how many years" (Dickens 1998 [1846]: 21). Also, references to food are given in the original: Dickens mentions "real Genoese dishes, such as Tagliarini" and "Ravioli" (Dickens 1998 [1846]: 38) and he watches "sellers of maccaroni and polenta" (Dickens 1998 [1846]: 42–43). In all these cases of code-switching, the matrix-language of the text is English while Italian and French are the imbedded languages.

The author uses these instances of multilingualism to render the text more authentic – the place names as well as the job title are verifiable and confirm the validity of Dickens' report and of his authority. Small errors, such as Monte Faccio, which is most likely Monte Fasce, would probably not have been detected by his readers. Furthermore, examples such as the ones referring to food create atmosphere, something the contemporary readers of such a travelogue would expect. These Italian words are not translated, and they are not even italicized, thus suggesting that the author expects his readers to be familiar with the Italian terms. They might have gained this familiarity from the many travel texts that at the time had already been written – a fact Dickens himself refers to in the preface, entitled "The Reader's Passport", of his own travelogue, where he mentions the "the many books [that] have been written upon Italy" (Dickens 1998 [1846]: 5). Dickens relies on these precursor texts when he does not translate certain Italian words. And he further builds on them, when he takes multilingualism a step further and even advises his readers on pronunciation. In fact, to a number of Italian words he adds accents that serve to indicate stress, for instance "Vetturíno" (Dickens 1998 [1846]: 60), "Avvocáto" (Dickens 1998

[1846]: 62), “Piazza di Spagna” (Dickens 1998 [1846]: 130), and “bambíno” (Dickens 1998 [1846]: 132). Here, Dickens assumes an almost didactic role and becomes a guide or even teacher to his audience, thus confirming the authority he has expressed right at the beginning of his text by issuing a passport to his readers. The multilingual insertions in his text present the author as an educated traveler who is familiar with the places he visits and acts as a cultural mediator for his readership – language skills are part of this expertise. It is interesting to note that despite his knowledge of Italian the traveler Dickens is never depicted as using Italian or French himself. This confirms his role as a distant yet attentive observer who is never too much involved himself and thus remains in control. In this manner, he has the potential to relate an objective as well as original view of Italy.

George Sand, too, in her travelogue *Un hiver à Majorque* (1842, *Winter in Majorca*) uses multilingualism in the form of one or more word interferences. In autumn 1838, Sand traveled, together with her two children and her lover Frederic Chopin, to Majorca, where they stayed until February 1939. In her notoriously negative travelogue, Sand uses the stylistic devices of irony and hyperbole to mock the locals and their customs. The travelers were particularly annoyed by the lack of hospitality and, at times, open hostility with which they were confronted on the island. The bad weather made their stay even worse – they hadn't expected the winter to be so fierce on a Mediterranean island. To narrate their experiences, Sand every now and then uses insertions in different languages: Catalan (the local language of Majorca, also referred to by Sand as *patois*), Spanish, English, Italian, and Latin. She does so to refer to local particularities, for instance to refer to the name of a house – “La Maison du Vent (*Son-Vent* en patois) [...]” [The House of Wind (*Son-Vent* in patois) [...] (my translation)] (Sand no year: 81) – or to a linear measure whose Spanish name she cites: “Le *palmo* espagnol est le *pan* de nos provinces méridionales.” [“The Spanish *palmo* corresponds to the *pan* in our Southern provinces.” (my translation)] (Sand no year: 101, footnote).¹⁹ When she speaks about housing, Sand uses English, Italian, and Latin:

Mais que dire et que penser des moeurs et des idées d'une famille dont le *home* est vide et immobile, sans avoir l'excuse ou le prétexte de la propriété? (Sand no year: 95) [But what of a family that cannot offer cleanliness as either an excuse or a pretext for an empty and static home (Sand 1956: 53)]

¹⁹ In an English translation of Sand's travelogue, the footnote is rendered as “Five palms make a metre.” (Sand 1956: 56)

[...] comme le *cortile* des palais de Venise, [...] (Sand no year: 91) [...] resembling the *cortile* of a Venetian palace (Sand 1956: 52)]

Ce sont de véritables préaux, peut-être un souvenir de l'atrium des Romains. Le puits du milieu y tient évidemment la place de l'impluvium. (Sand no year: 91) [They [...] are genuine inner courts, perhaps harking back to the Roman *atrium*. The central well obviously derives from the *impluvium*. (Sand 1956: 52)]

Sand uses these instances of multilingualism in a similar manner as Dickens, i.e., for realities and for local denominations, in rare instances she uses intersentential code-switching and cites a complete phrase in Spanish in order to reproduce a part of a dialogue. In this way, Sand's use of multilingualism has a similar effect as Dickens': it creates atmosphere, it stresses the report's claim to authenticity, it has anthropological qualities, and it emphasizes the author's position as an observer.

Although Goethe, once he entered Italy was glad to be able to speak Italian, there are only few instances of respective code-switching in his travelogue. In a manner similar to Dickens, he sometimes cites Latin inscriptions he reads on buildings or statues.²⁰ Other instances include a letter Goethe receives from home that is written (and rendered) in French and a diploma in Italian Goethe was given when accepted into the society of the *Arcadia*.²¹ The latter, too, is reproduced in Italian and the author himself comments on his decision not to translate it, as otherwise it would lose its idiosyncrasy.²² However, as a speaker of Italian, Goethe seems to want to demonstrate to his readers that he uses the Italian language frequently at the very beginning of his text. An example of this can be found just after he enters Italophone territory, south of Trent. It is a case of intersentential code-switching and deals with a rather intimate issue – the search for a toilet: “[...] drittens fehlt eine höchst nötige Bequemlichkeit, so daß man dem Naturzustand hier ziemlich nahe kömmt. Als ich den Hausknecht nach einer gewissen Gelegenheit fragte, deutete er in den Hof hinunter, ‘qui abasso puo servirsi!’ ich fragte: ‘dove?’ – ‘da per tutto, dove vuol!’ antwortete er freundlich.” (Goethe 1992 [1813–1817]: 29) [“Finally, a highly necessary convenience is lacking, so that one is almost reduced to a state of nature. When I asked the servant for a certain place, he pointed down into the courtyard: ‘Qui, abasso puo servirsi!’ – ‘Dove?’ I asked. ‘Da per tutto, dove vuol!’ was his friendly answer.” (Goethe 1970: 42) ‘Here, down there you can help yourself!’ – ‘Where?’ I

²⁰ For example, the inscriptions on the gable ends of the Villa Rotonda (designed by Palladio) in Vicenza and on a bust of cardinal Bembo in Padova (Goethe 1992 [1813–1817]: 65, 69).

²¹ See (Goethe 1992 [1813–1817]: 527, 570–571).

²² See (Goethe 1992 [1813–1817]: 570).

asked. ‘Anywhere, wherever you like!’ was his friendly answer (My translation of the final sentence).

Thus, on the one hand, in the case of Goethe we seem to find a similar position as in Dickens’ and Sand’s: Goethe presents his traveling persona as the informed traveler who knows Italian. The multilingualism in this scene adds atmosphere and authenticity to the text. On the other hand, just before the quoted scene, he shares with readers his positive feelings about the Italian language – a language which he was already taught by his father, to whom he directly and indirectly refers in his travelogue. Also, we see him actively using the language; thus, he is not depicted as a distant observer, but as someone who is involved.

3 Travelogues as multilingual intertexts

Apart from these forms of code-switching, some travel writers use a particular form of multilingualism in their texts, which I propose calling multilingual intertextuality. Recent studies in travel writing have shown that travelogues are a highly intertextual genre, that is to say that the texts in question are full of implicit and explicit references to other texts.²³ For instance, Goethe mentions a book by Johann Hermann von Riedesel he carries with him when travelling in Sicily.²⁴ Furthermore, to finish his travelogue, Goethe cites verses by Ovid who describes his melancholic thoughts of Rome in his exile in order to express his own nostalgia for the eternal city when he had to leave to return to Weimar.²⁵ On the first pages of her account, George Sand names several books about Majorca that inspired her and served as sources for her own travelogue.²⁶ Intertextuality is thus a widespread practice in travel writing; accordingly, in current hand-

²³ Here, I refer to Julia Kristeva’s concept and the idea that every text needs to be read in the context of other texts, in its references to other texts and its demarcation from others. See Kristeva (1972).

²⁴ See Goethe (1992 [1813–1817]: 344).

²⁵ See Goethe (1992 [1813–1817]: 654).

²⁶ More than a century before, Daniel Defoe, on the other hand, did not explicitly name his sources, even though he wrote some of his travelogues without ever having travelled to the place in question but relying exclusively on other travelogues (for instance, *Madagascar or Robert Drury’s Journal* (1729). See Pfister (1993: 112–113).

books on the genre, chapters are dedicated to the intertextuality of travel writing.²⁷

In 1993, Manfred Pfister presented a first typology of intertextuality in travelogues that comprises forms such as suppressed intertextuality, compiling intertextuality, intertextual references that pay homage to someone, and dialogical intertextuality. The category of multilingual intertextuality can be added to this typology. A number of 19th-century travel writers use intertextual references in different languages in their texts. The practice of using epigraphs, also in foreign languages, at the beginning of chapters or parts was popular with British and French Romantics.²⁸ In travel writing, these insertions of quotes in other languages, which, linguistically speaking, is a form of intersentential code-switching, had various functions. Like the instances of code-switching discussed above, it serves to underscore the author's authority as a mediator for the language and culture he is writing about and is thus part of a writer's "self-fashioning", as Stephen Greenblatt (1980) called the process of constructing one's identity and public persona. It may also be seen as an even deeper examination of a foreign land that is not restricted to superficial description but allows readers to immerse themselves fully in the language at least for the moment of the foreign quote. Finally, quotes in other languages may serve the authors to reinforce the general aim of their travelogue.

Mary Shelley's travelogue *Rambles in Germany and Italy in 1840, 1842, and 1843* (1844) is based on two journeys to Italy (and through Germany) which the author undertook together with her son, Percy Florence. Shelley's travelogue has a political aspect: in its preface, she expresses her sympathy with the Italian people and their difficult fight for independence (a process that did not conclude until 1870, when Italy was finally unified and gained independence). Shelley also discusses the role that other European states played in this political situation, in particular Britain, given the number of English travelers to Italy and the many members of the Italian resistance who were in exile in the United Kingdom. Furthermore, she states that a political point of view has not yet been expressed in other travelogues on Italy. In contrast, she is particularly interested in the people. This becomes obvious right from the beginning of the text, when she writes (or cites, respectively): "But to speak of the state of Italy and the Italians – / Non è poleggio da picciola barca / Quel, che fendendo va l'ardita prora, / Nè da nocchier, ch'a se medesmo parca." (Shelley 1844: vol. 1, ix) [this is no crossing for a little bark—the sea that my audacious prow now cleaves—nor

27 As examples for such contributions see Beilein & Schaff (2020) and Hagglund (2019).

28 For an analysis of mottoes in the Romantic era see Grutman (2010).

for a helmsman who would spare himself. (Dante 1980–1984 [1321/1472]: Canto 23, Verses 67–69)] Shelley does not provide any translation for these lines. However, the quote will have been recognized by the educated readers that were familiar with Italian literature: these lines are from “Paradise”, the final part of Dante’s *Divina Commedia*, the *Divine Comedy*. On the level of content, they refer to what Shelly discusses in her work, of course – one could argue that with these lines she stresses how difficult it is to speak about the ‘state’ of Italy (perhaps also to be understood as the ‘nation’ of Italy) and the Italian people, a huge task that she does not aim to undertake. At the same time, with this insertion of Dante’s text in the original (further quotes can be found throughout the travelogue) Shelley underlines her political stance and takes a clear position: she lets the Italians themselves speak through the words of their most important national poet, through their culture and literature, and, above all, she does so in Italian. She thus clearly takes a stand for the Italian people and in this way uses the political potential of the genre. This is even more remarkable for a woman, as politics was a field that was usually dominated by men. However, the genre of the travelogue and its heterogeneous style that, for instance, allowed for this kind of multilingual intertextuality, enabled female writers to comment on socio-political events.²⁹

The intertextual multilingualism in Shelley’s text – which is not restricted to Dante, but includes quotes of Giovanni Battista Niccolini and Catullus (in Latin) – is furthermore a marker that distinguishes her account from the many other travelogues on Italy. As Hagglund reminds us, the multiplicity of voices created through intertextual and, in Shelley’s case, multilingual references underscore the extent to which the travelogue’s uniqueness lies in “the combination, the meeting, the encounter” (Hagglund 2019: 134). Finally, by quoting Dante in Italian, Shelley invites her readers to engage and actively interact (perhaps by consulting a dictionary or a translation of the *Commedia*) with the language and culture on which she is reporting, thus reminding her readers that travelling essentially involves interaction and confrontation with something new.

In Karl Philipp Moritz’ travelogue *Reisen eines Deutschen in England im Jahre 1782* (1783) [*Journeys of a German in England. A Walking Tour of England in 1782*], the use of multilingual intertextuality has quite a different function.³⁰

²⁹ See Butler (2021) for a detailed analysis of female British travel writers in Italy and their political roles.

³⁰ I am aware that Moritz’s travelogue strictly speaking was published at the end of the 18th rather than in the 19th century. Still, its publication year falls into what has been called the “long 19th century”. Furthermore, the text is an example of the modern, more subjective and

Moritz' Dante is John Milton whose *Paradise Lost* (1667) he takes with him on the journey. German readers were familiar with Milton's book, which had been translated into German by Johann Jakob Bodmer.³¹ Still, his detailed reading of the text as well as the many quotes in the English original reinforce Moritz' image as an expert on English literature. Furthermore, they are part of the newness of his travelogue, which distinguishes itself from other German travelogues about England for different reasons. First, because Moritz often travelled by foot and wrote about this experience in his travelogue. Second, because of its itinerary: while most travelers would travel to and report on London, "the university cities of Oxford and Cambridge, spa towns such as Bath and also the new industrial centres, for example Manchester and Birmingham" (Maurer 2010: 19), Moritz chose to travel further North and visit Peak cavern in the Peak District. Third, his travelogue is part of a new tradition of travel writing that concentrates on the travelling subject and the impressions the journey makes on them. His reading of Milton, depicted and reflected in the travelogue, is part of this experience. For instance, Moritz frames his visit to the Peak cavern with lengthy quotes in English from *Paradise Lost* that at one point seem the perfect description of the landscape he sees when approaching the cave: "— delicious Paradise, / Now nearer crowns with her Enclosure green. / As with a rural Mound, the Champain [Champion] Head / Of a steep Wilderness, Whose hairy sides / With Thicket overgrown, grottesque and wild. / Access denied. —" (Moritz 2000 [1783]: 132–133). Like Shelley, he refrains from translating the quotes but rather delegates this work to his readers.

This non-translation – in Moritz' case just like in Shelley's – can be read as having an elitist ring to it, addressed to a particular group of readers, namely those whose education allows them not only to recognize but also to understand Milton (or Dante) in the original, within the very broad audience to which travel writing appealed. Still, Moritz was also a teacher of English and in fact a year later published an English textbook for a German readership.³² His quote in the original, just like the remarks he makes in the course of his travelogue about pronunciation and use of words and phrases may have been part of his linguistic interest and pedagogical endeavor and not intended as snobbish at all.

aesthetically interested travelogue that is concentrated on the traveling subject rather than on the encyclopaedic collection of scientific facts that started to develop around 1800.

³¹ I take this information on the translations of Milton from Kofler (2007: 1726–1727) and Maurer (2010: 22).

³² For the textbook see Moritz (1784) as well as Schmidt (1993) for more information on Moritz as a language teacher and linguist.

4 Forms of latent multilingualism and other forms of hidden multilingualism in travel writing

Radaelli calls latent instances of multilingualism “wenn andere Sprachen nur unterschwellig vorhanden und nicht unmittelbar wahrnehmbar sind; er weist also auf den ersten Blick eine einsprachige Oberfläche auf” [if other languages are present only implicitly and are not directly perceptible; the text therefore, at first sight, features a monolingual surface (my translation)] (Radaelli 2001: 61). Typical examples of this kind of multilingualism are dialogs that take place in a different language than in the one in which they are expressed (because it is made clear that the protagonists speak in a different language) or documents that are cited in the text’s main/matrix-language but were written in a different one (e.g. letters). Radaelli furthermore cites translations, references to other languages and reflections on language as examples of latent multilingualism.

Natalia Blum-Barth (2020) uses the term “exkludierte Mehrsprachigkeit” [excluded multilingualism] to refer to a similar phenomenon, namely to denote “wenn im Text eine andere Sprache erwähnt oder thematisiert wird, ohne dass sie die Basissprache des Textes beeinflusst” [if another language is mentioned or thematized in the text without influencing the basic language of the text (my translation)] (Blum-Barth 2020: 61). According to Blum-Barth, excluded multilingualism talks about multilingualism without putting it into practice in the actual language of the text. She cites “inquit formula” (Blum-Barth 2020: 61) (e.g. he said in English/in French etc.) and references to other languages as its two main forms.

Rather than an exclusion of multilingualism, I would prefer to see latent multilingualism as a form of hidden multilingualism and agree with Johanna Domokos and Marianna Deganutti (2022) who have coined another term for this phenomenon, namely zero-degree code-switching, which they define thus: “[...] scenes where the story de facto happens in another language, but the cinematic or literary narrator does not address this phenomenon, and the characters speak the language of the targeted audience.” (Domokos 2018: 46) Reading this kind of latent multilingualism as a hidden, implicit, or zero-degree form of code switching, means acknowledging processes of translanguaging within a text, despite their invisibility on the surface or at first glance. In the case of 19th-

century travel writing, it is indeed very useful to read texts for this kind of multilingualism, as this is the most common form we find in them.³³

At times, latent forms of multilingualism may be so obvious that they go unnoticed by the reader (and thus, again, seem hidden): the multilingual authors I mentioned in the first part of this chapter are examples of this. Forster's travelogue in English, Humboldt's travel writing in French, Goethe's personal travel notes in Italian are at first sight monolingual texts (although they all also include instances of manifest multilingualism). Yet, at the same time they are overtly multilingual/translingual, written in a language that is not their author's first language.

Metamultilingualism, too, is a form of multilingualism that does not appear in the form of code-switching or code-mixing on the surface of a text. It is a term I use to refer to instances, in which multilingualism, language learning or living in different languages is mentioned in a text and reflected upon. Elke Sturm-Trigonakis (2007; 2013) has used the term metalingualism in a similar manner to refer to cases in which a text focuses on language or multilingualism on the level of discourse.

In the *Italienischer Reise*, Goethe's entry into the italophone part of Italy is marked by metamultilingualism, when he happily notes "Nun hatte ich zum erstenmal einen stockwelschen Postillon; der Wirt spricht kein Deutsch, und ich muß nun meine Sprachkünste versuchen. Wie froh bin ich, daß nunmehr die geliebte Sprache lebendig, die Sprache des Gebrauchs wird!" (Goethe 1992 [1813–1817]: 28) [The innkeeper speaks no German and I must put my linguistic talents to the test. How happy I am that, from now on, a language I have always loved will be the living common speech. (Goethe 1970: 41)] Here, Goethe expresses his positive feelings about Italian exclusively in German. At the same time, readers are informed that from this point onwards, the traveler will be using mainly Italian rather than his native German. To stress this, the section is succeeded by the cited scene cited above (the infamous search for the toilet) where the latent, metamultilingualism is followed by manifest multilingualism.

Many accounts about scenes with locals and narrations about conversations travelers have with people from a place are instances of latent multilingualism if they are given in the main/matrix-language of the text. For instance, although Johann Gottfried Seume in his travelogue to Italy, *Spaziergang nach Syrakus im Jahre 1802* (1803) [Walk to Syracuse in 1802], at times recounts dialogs in French, a language that he could assume his readers would understand, he

³³ See Domokos and Deganutti (2022) who underscore that zero-degree code-switching is both a literary strategy and an analytic approach to reading texts.

restricts himself to single-word code-switching in the case of Italian and, more often, resorts to latent multilingualism when he describes conversations that took place in Italian using German, the matrix-language of the text.

Apart from such encounters with locals (inevitable and often described with regard to the practical aspects of traveling – border crossing, finding accommodation and food, entering museums and other sights etc.), also confrontations with other travelers may lead to situations of multilingualism. For instance, in Caserta, Goethe spends evenings at the British ambassador, Sir William Hamilton, and his wife's, the famous Lady Hamilton, place.³⁴ The supposed multilingualism in these scenes is not reproduced in the text at all.

Fanny Lewald dedicates a whole chapter of her Italian travelogue *Italienisches Bilderbuch* (1847) [Italian Picturebook] to other travelers that are present in Rome, mainly English, Germans, and French.³⁵ She talks about their manners, about the infrastructure for travelers from particular countries, such as libraries and food stores, and about the various foreign artists that live in Rome. Lewald is particularly critical of the English, who visit Italy in high numbers, travel with their whole families and behave like tourists, i.e., they wear comfortable clothes made for traveling and always consult their guidebook, the red *Murray*.³⁶ Eventually, she even exclaims “Diese Engländer sind eine Plage” [These English are a nuisance; my translation] (Lewald 1992 [1847]: 119). Lewald describes several scenes in which she listens in on conversations between foreigners; one could almost hear the different languages that are implicitly present in these instances. Still, Lewald does not render them on the surface of her text – another form of hidden multilingualism.

5 Conclusion

The 19th century is often perceived as the century of nation-building, in which national languages and literatures were formed and thus monolingualism was the aspired norm. In such an environment, there was presumably little space for multilingualism in printed texts. However, we ought to ask ourselves if this view

³⁴ See Goethe (1992 [1813–1817]: 257–258).

³⁵ See Lewald (1992 [1847]: 118–126).

³⁶ See Lewald (1992 [1847]: 118). Perceiving other foreigners as mere tourists whereas the narrators are the real travelers who actually see, experience, and understand a place has been identified as a common motif in travel writing, for instance by Thompson (2011: 122–124). For an analysis of the chapter in Lewald's travelogue see Vlasta (2020).

is the result of a 20th- and 21st-century point of view that is often influenced by what Yasemin Yıldız called the “monolingual paradigm” (Yıldız 2012). When analyzing the highly popular genre of 19th-century travel writing, we see that in fact it is a highly multilingual genre that is full of manifest and latent multilingualism as well as multilingual intertextual references. Especially with regard to the latter, authors obviously presumed that their readers would be able to understand the references; thus, we can also assume a multilingual readership. What is more, the use of different languages is usually not reflected in these texts. This might be part of the authors’ self-fashioning: for instance, Dickens as well as Shelley simply present themselves as knowing the other language without having to comment on this knowledge. Their linguistic skills corroborate their authority. But the lack of reflection on multilingualism might also mirror the genre’s conventions at the time, the authors’ and readers’ expectations. Like other literary strategies that were developed and implemented in travel writing from the beginning of the long 19th century onwards, multilingualism came to stay: also today, travelogues are a highly multilingual genre, be it in the form of travel books, travel blogs, travel vlogs or other formats.

The typology presented in this chapter is a first attempt to grasp the different forms of multilingualism in 19th-century travel writing. Its intention is to initiate more research on the subject in order to arrive at a comprehensive overview of the different forms, also in travelogues from different cultural and linguistic realms.

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