Gesa Mackenthun, Andrea Nicolas,
Stephanie Wodianka (eds.)

Travel, Agency, and the Circulation of Knowledge

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Edited by
Gesa Mackenthun

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This series seeks to stimulate fresh and critical perspectives on the interpretation of phenomena of cultural contact in both transhistorical and transdisciplinary ways. It brings together the research results of the graduate school "Cultural Encounters and the Discourses of Scholarship," located at Rostock University and sponsored by the German Research Foundation (DFG). One of the concerns of the volumes published in this series is to test and explore contemporary theoretical concepts and analytical tools used for the study of intercultural relations, from antiquity to the present. Aware of significant recent changes in the ways in which other cultures are represented, and "culture" as such is defined and described, the series seeks to promote a dialogical over a monological theoretical paradigm and advocates approaches to the study of cultural alterity that are conscious of the representational character of our knowledge about other cultures. It wants to strengthen a recognition of the interdependencies between the production of knowledge about unfamiliar peoples and societies in various scholarly disciplines and ideologies of nationality, empire, and globalization. In critically investigating the analytical potential of postcolonial key terms such as "hybridity," "contact zone," and "transculturation," the series contributes to international scholarly debates in various fields oriented at finding more balanced and reciprocal ways of studying and writing about intercultural relations both past and present.

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Introduction

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Human travel and its representation in word and image have often been the motor of economic, epistemic, and cultural change. This volume presents a series of new assessments of the transcultural activity of travel and travel discourse. They arise from the interdisciplinary work, conducted in Rostock and elsewhere, on the intersections of cultural encounters and scientific discourse and practice. As various other publications on travel have done recently, the volume sets out to take a new approach toward intercultural and (post)colonial travel from a critical perspective, one that is aware of the effects of epistemic exchange and human agency in cultural contact zones.

Travel: Approaching the Term

Approaching the topic linguistically, one is struck by the semantic change involving the term "travel" which, fittingly, is itself an example of the effects of travel and cultural interaction. In its entry for the term "travel," *Webster's Dictionary* offers one of its rare comments on word history:

> The hardships of making a journey in earlier times is reflected in the etymological identity of the words *travel* and *travail*. Both are derived from Old French *travailler*, which originally meant 'to torment, to trouble,' and later came to mean 'to be troubled, to be in pain, to work hard.' *Travailler* was borrowed into English as *travail*, which at first had the same meanings as the Old French word but which later came to mean 'to toil, to make a difficult journey,' and simply 'to journey.' *Travel* was originally a variant of *travail*, but it has now become a separate word used exclusively in the sense 'to journey.' (*Webster's* 1229)

The history of the morpheme "travel," then, is the linguistic marker of a process of cultural interaction. The linguistic borrowing referred to is an effect of the Norman conquest of Britain in the eleventh century. The French word "travailleur" (laborer), used to this day, never joined the semantic extension to include "toilsome journey," let alone the complete shift to the semantic meaning we now

know, "traveler."[1] Not only do the terms "travel," "traveler," and "journey" refer to language change as part of an epistemic shift during processes of conquest and colonization; the etymology also suggests that the social situation in the late Middle Ages and Early Modern period required a term referring to the increased activity of traveling as part of human economic practice.

Historically, travelers going on a journey in search of work or on a voyage in search of foreign knowledge underwent toil and hardship, as do many migrant laborers and refugees today. Archaeological evidence offers glimpses of early humans' extraordinary skill in surmounting physical barriers: people crossed high mountains and vast ocean spaces (such as the ancient migrations into Polynesia). From early on, humans developed the necessary technologies of transportation and orientation. Their experiences are today preserved in mythical stories of creation and the deeds of culture heroes. While some of the earliest written documents tell us about painful travels undertaken in search of economic subsistence or of freedom from persecution (Exodus), we also have records of travels performed in pursuit of educational aims (the grand tour) or spiritual reasons (hero journeys such as the epic of *Gilgamesh*; accounts of spiritual pilgrimages both in Europe and Asia) or wars, sometimes followed by extended errantry in unfamiliar lands (as in the *Odyssey*).

Keeping this *longue durée* history in mind, and self-consciously taking a more or less 'Western' perspective, the present volume looks at travels and travel writers from the late medieval period to the digital age. It furthermore triangulates the ancient practice and discourse of travel with two further aspects of cultural encounters: agency and the circulation of knowledge. The purpose of this Introduction is to clarify a few theoretical aspects that seem important for understanding the significance of travel and travel discourse in the history of cultural encounters. It will furthermore look at the significance of travel in the process of European expansion; the rise and function of travel literature, the 'violent' aspects of travel and ethnography; the significance of local knowledge, the counterperspectives of the local 'travelees', countertravels, and their agents; as well as the uses of travel, migration, and mobility as theoretical metaphors in postcolonial and globalization discourse.

"'Travel' denotes more or less voluntary practices of leaving familiar ground in search of difference, wisdom, power, adventure, an altered perspective. These experiences and desires cannot be limited to male Westerners." Thus James

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1   A similar story can be told about the word "journey," which likewise originally referred to the semantic field of "work" or "labor" before adopting its present meaning. A journeyman is a day laborer who covers short stretches of space in search of his daily work; its origins are in the Latin word "diurnus" and the Old French "journée" (day). *Webster's* dedicates another etymological note to this term (656). The third relevant term, "voyage," is the only one with an original relation to movement in space, not to work. Deriving from Latin "viaticum" and Old French "voyage," it refers to a long journey, often to a foreign land or overseas. The more recent term "voyageur" emerged from the colonial context in America; it refers to the guides hired by the fur companies to conduct trade relations with Native Americans (1296).

Clifford approaches this complex term in his essay "Spatial Practices" (Clifford, *Routes* 90–91). In his seminal essay "Traveling Cultures," he distinguishes between different motivations for travel as well as between different groups of travelers, which we may reduce to two main groups: those who are privileged to travel in relative security and whose travels are known to us through the texts they leave; and those who are coerced to travel, whose travels are often precarious and dangerous, and who rarely leave a record of their experiences (*Routes* 34). According to Clifford's distinction, the author of the earliest known travel account, an Egyptian seaman stranded on a marvelous island,[2] could hardly be called a 'traveler' because his mobility, like that of his more recent successors described, for example, by Marcus Rediker and Peter Linebaugh, was part of a commercial practice on which sailors often had little impact. Rather, they were often pressed into service; their mobility was

> coerced, organized within regimes of dependent, highly disciplined labor. […] The political disciplines and economic pressures that control migrant-labor regimes pull very strongly against any overly sanguine view of the mobility of poor, usually nonwhite, people who *must* leave home in order to survive. The traveler, by definition, is someone who has the security and privilege to move about in relatively unconstrained ways. This, at any rate, is the travel myth. (Clifford, *Routes* 34)

We might add to Clifford's recital the manifold groups of pilgrims who similarly leave safe grounds at home to go on often insecure journeys. What makes them travelers is not the search for economic security, but a quest for spiritual safeguarding on their way to God (see Wolfzettel, *Le discours du voyageur* 36).

While travelers in the most common sense of the term are materially privileged and move about in a cosmopolitan spirit, other people are forced into mobility due to economic strain. In other words, some 'travelers' are 'voyagers', others are 'journeymen'. Clifford puts it bluntly: "Alexander von Humboldt obviously did not arrive on the Orinoco coast for the same reasons as an Asian indentured laborer" (35). Yet, in spite of its "historical taintedness," Clifford wants to hang on to the term "travel" as its alternatives are to him no less problematic (39).

Travel, Trade, and the Expansion of Europe

In Ovid's Golden Age, travel and commerce did not exist. Men knew no other shores but their own and no fir trees had yet been felled to be transformed into ships. Neither did labor exist ("travell" in an early modern translation of Ovid's

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2   The earliest historically known record of a traveler, according to Neil Rennie, is a report on a papyrus from the twelfth Egyptian dynasty ("a thousand years before the *Odyssey*") of an Egyptian sailor shipwrecked on a marvelous island (Rennie 3; Hulme and Youngs 2).

Metamorphoses).[3] This, however, can be regarded as a classical 'imperial fantasy', written at the height – but in the local peripheries – of the Roman Empire. Viewed realistically, such a 'golden' state without travel and labor never existed. Throughout the history of expansion and globalization, the Ovidian ideal of a pastoral life without "travel" and "travail" did its cultural work by holding center stage in the human imagination, and to many people it still does. But as human history proceeded and societies increasingly came into contact with one another, travel became the engine of economic and intellectual development. In the European context, this is well documented by the long-lasting and enthusiastic reception of the thirteenth-century travelogue of Marco Polo (analyzed in this volume by Sharon Kinoshita), which featured so crucially in the geographic imagination of Christopher Columbus and his successors.

In her contribution to the *Cambridge Companion to Travel Writing*, Mary Baine Campbell links the emergence of travel, both as a term and as a burgeoning activity, to economic transformations in late medieval Europe, more specifically the beginnings of agricultural surplus production, the emergence of politically unified regions to develop agricultural markets, the "bureaucratics of finance and property," and finally, in the fourteenth century, "money economies based on gold" ("Travel Writing" 269, 270). In a key passage of his *Principall Navigations, Voiages and Discoveries of the English Nation* (1589), Richard Hakluyt, the English promoter of trade and expansion, justifies the Englishmen's transoceanic commercial activities with reference to the Biblical Psalm 107, verses 23 and 24, "where I read, that they which go downe to the sea in ships, and occupy by the great waters, they see the works of the Lord, and his woonders in the deepe, &c." (1: sig. 2). While the two key terms "works" and "woonders" encapsulate the two main motivations for long-distance travel, the term "occupy" hides another interesting semantic shift in the Early Modern period – moving from 'to trade and do business' to 'to conquer and possess' (Mackenthun, *Metaphors* 303–4n2).

Throughout these developments, 'travel' was an economic, scholarly, and religious practice as well as a discourse legitimating conquest and colonization. The conquests of Mexico and Peru triggered a significant early modern juridical debate in international law in Spain where discussions were held as to whether these conquests were legitimate according to the legal standards inherited from antiquity (Hanke, Pagden). The discourse of travel played an important part in these debates. Defenders of conquest frequently argued that the ancient law of nations required diplomats and traders to be received hospitably and that a violation of this rule on the part of the host societies would give reason for a 'just' war. In his 1546 tract "De dominio indorum," Melchor Cano, disciple of the important Spanish legal theorist Francisco de Vitoria, eloquently speaks against

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3   Here is Arthur Golding's translation of the relevant passage: "The fertile earth as yet was free, vntoucht of spade or ploughe,/ And yet it yelded of it selfe of euery thinge ynough./ And men them selues contented well with plaine and symple foode,/ That on the earth of natures gyft without their trauell stoode" (Ovid sig. A2).

this use of the concept of travel. He doubts the applicability of Vitoria's argument that conquest was covered by the ancient right to trade and travel, the *jus peregrinandi*. After all, Cano argues, peaceful trade was hardly the principal pursuit of the Spanish expeditions to America. The universal right to trade, he writes, should not be seen to overrule the territorial rights of an 'American prince', as it did not overrule those of European 'princes' either. To this (for its time) extraordinary act of intercultural respect Cano adds that it was the Spanish protagonists themselves who did not act according to either the *jus gentium* or the *jus peregrinandi*. Neither, he drily concludes, would we "be prepared to describe Alexander the Great as a 'traveller'" (quoted in Pagden, *Spanish Imperialism* 24).

Next to its use in the ideological justification of expansion, travel as exoticist discourse increasingly filled the minds of readers in Europe. Early modern anthologies with travel narratives (such as those by Richard Hakluyt, Giovanni Battista Ramusio, and Theodor de Bry) widely circulated with the explicit aim of promoting colonial settlement (Pennington). The desire for economic expansion, the need of emigrants to escape from poverty and 'overpopulation' caused by the transformation of the commons into private land (Hill; Rediker and Linebaugh, chapters 1 and 2), and the spirit of religious exceptionalism and mission introduced the so-called 'first age of discovery'. This was to be followed, in the late eighteenth century, by the 'great age of scientific discovery' with the famous travels of explorers like Cook, Humboldt, Darwin, and many others on the one hand, and by large-scale immigration to the Americas, Australia, and New Zealand on the other. Travelogues on 'exotic' peoples and landscapes were crucial in accomplishing the scientific exploration of overseas regions and in generating the desire among future settlers to leave their homes and emigrate. Technological improvements such as new means of transportation (the railway, the steamship) and the emergence of the leisure class led to increased travel activity both within Europe and in its overseas empires, as well as its commodification in the form of the tourist industry (MacCannell; Thompson 57).

Travel as Text and Discourse

Travelers' first-hand experiencing of other lifeworlds during journeys to foreign lands often brings about a revision of established ideas about their daily realities; the knowledge engendered by personal encounters may radically differ from the knowledge received through mediated discourses. The topic 'travel' and 'travel writing' therefore invites us to address the highly debated problematic of the reliability, authenticity, and verifiability of travel accounts. As the impact of travel narratives on the travelers' perceptions of foreign experience suggests, the activity of travel is inseparable from travel discourse. Travelers arrived on foreign shores or in foreign cities with prefigured images in mind of what they would find there. Almost forty years after the publication of Edward Said's *Orientalism*, many of

whose source texts are travelogues, it comes as a (too often ignored) truism that this preexisting semantic structure is based on various ideological assumptions about foreign lands and their inhabitants – assumptions that would then have to stand the test of direct experience (Wuthenow).

Travel experience and travel writing gain their dynamics and their cultural productivity through the tensions between originality and the ways in which they conform to structures of perception and representation. Travelogues are not only descriptions or lists of the remarkable phenomena visited but they also function as guidelines for perception (Wolfzettel, *Vagabondage cosmopolite*), and, according to Montaigne's essay on vanity ("De la vanité," in *Essais*, Book III), they reflect specific aesthetics of perception shaped by the 'art of traveling'. The apodemic literature in the context of the grand tour tried to influence the objects and the modes of perception, the modes of interpretation and representation, and today travel literature still contributes to the canonization of routes, of perspectives, and of the allegedly 'discovered' knowledge. The experience of travel and its reflection are not only marked by their staging of subjectivity and individuality (as the assumed 'uniqueness' of their experiences would lead the reader to expect) but also by the (conscious or unconscious) respect of conventions and norms (MacCannell): a tension that founded a paradox that became constitutive for the travelogue genre (as for other autobiographical genres) and for its discourses of knowledge.

Mimetically, travelogues may be caught between the desire to report faithfully – often in direct response to official requests for precise information – and the prevailing incapacity (or unwillingness) of doing so due to manifold stereotypical preconceptions and expectations generated by earlier travel texts.[4] Historically, travelers were often regarded as skilled "travel liars" (Adams); scholars of travel narratives frequently point out their ambivalent status between fact and fiction (Thompson 51; Hulme and Youngs 6). Indeed, travel narratives developed their own generic rules and traditions; they were often written in a much less 'spontaneous' manner than common assumptions about the arbitrariness and contingency of travel suggest.

As part fact and part fiction, travelogues exerted a strong influence on the formation of the modern novel; in fact, the modern novel is itself a product of the same historical and social moment that gave rise to the popularity of travelogues: the expansion of Europe (Azim), the rise of the middle class, and of an ever-growing readership interested in both fact and romance (McKeon). The modern novel inherited its plot, its plain style, and its ambivalent mimetic status from the travelogue (Thompson 51; McKeon 101, 112, 248–49; see Wolfzettel in this volume), in addition to the imaginary worlds of the medieval romance (with its likewise travelistic quest structure). The predominance of the adventure plot and its

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4 Mary Baine Campbell discusses these issues at length in her classic study on medieval and early modern travelogues, *The Witness and the Other World*.

close entanglement with imperial expansion exemplifies this liaison between economic and social practice and the structures of imaginary texts.[5]

Travel and Knowledge Circulation

While the imaginaries and desires of the middle class were inspired and shaped by factual and fictional texts about distant lands, empirical science likewise benefitted from travel narratives, as the essays by Hanna Hodacs, Ottmar Ette, Friedrich Wolfzettel, Gabriele Dürbeck, and Leila Gómez in this volume document.

Francis Bacon's insight that the increase of knowledge and power depended on passing beyond the limits of the known world was shared by many societies around the globe (Helms); yet, the conviction that long-distance travel could be a means of acquiring power, money, and prestige became paradigmatic above all in Europe. Beginning around 1500, European travel was intricately entangled with colonial pursuits, both as an activity and a discourse. A more benign view of this period of history regards the voyages as a privileged activity performed in the service of education, with the European grand tour as a fixed element of gentlemanly education (less so of the education of bourgeois females).[6] To some extent, the idea that the exemplary traveler was a lettered gentleman, free to explore the world, and seeking, in the spirit of enlightenment, knowledge about nature and other peoples, is part of what Clifford calls the "travel myth" (*Routes* 34). As Mary Louise Pratt, Richard Drayton, Antonio Brilli, Londa Schiebinger, Nigel Leask, and many other scholars of Enlightenment scientific exploration have shown, "most bourgeois, scientific, commercial, aesthetic […] travelers moved within highly determined circuits"; their itineraries were "dictated by political, economic, and intercultural global relations" (Clifford, *Routes* 34–35; see also Hanna Hodacs in this volume). Neither the ecological transformations brought about by the migrations of people, animals, and plants during the colonial era (Crosby) nor the establishment of 'cultural treasure chambers' like archaeological museums in Western metropolises (Aguirre, *Empire*; Díaz-Andreu; Lowenthal) would have been possible without colonial travelers, their texts, and the artifacts they brought back home. Travelistic texts by explorers, colonial agents, missionaries, scientific explorers, and adventurers did provide the empirical groundwork for European scientific knowledge and for the conceptualizations of Europe itself (Wodianka and Neumeister), as well as the semantic repertoire for the literature of the 'exotic'. This volume is particularly interested in this affinity between travel, domination, and the circulation of knowledge.

5   See, for example, Green and Nehrlich. There is a large body of literature on these issues; further references can be found in the bibliographies in Thompson, and Hulme and Youngs (though they are largely confined to the anglophone world).
6   See, especially, Sara Mills. Further references to travel and gender can be found in Hulme and Youngs 316, as well as Creighton and Norling.

Alexander von Humboldt is perhaps the most striking example of how the enlargement of scientific knowledge – in his case, in the colonial world of the Americas – is productively combined with an aesthetic discourse on the magnificence and richness of nature whose impact continues today, both in Europe and in the Americas. As Ottmar Ette argues in his essay in this volume, Humboldt's spatial aesthetic had much in common with contemporary postcolonial evocations (e.g., by Edouard Glissant) of the relatedness of ecologies and societies. While Humboldt and other travel writers in his tradition have sometimes merely been regarded as proponents of a romantic aesthetic in purely literary terms, this restricted view neglects the innovative scientific perspective in which they anticipate contemporary scientific approaches to biodiversity and the critique of the nature-culture dichotomy (Descola).

A key generic element of the travelogue is the documentation of personal experience gained through the journey: Ralph-Rainer Wuthenow stresses the etymological indebtedness of the German term for "experience" (*Erfahrung*) to the terms "to ride" and "to go on a voyage" (*fahren*). Experience, in turn, paved the way to social acceptance and prestige. In the example of Linnaeus's disciples described by Hanna Hodacs, young naturalist scholars expected to gain (and often did gain) their entitlement to enter the circles of scholarly elites and to take up higher job positions on the basis of the knowledge and status they acquired on their journeys to different parts of the world. Scholarly travel here takes the form of a professional rite of passage, similar to fieldwork in anthropological careers (Freilich 16; Tedlock 70). Travel, however, could also take the form of a spiritual passage, or voyage of initiation, comparable – and often historically linked to – pilgrimages. Friedrich Wolfzettel, for instance, situates the city of Rome in the tradition of novel writing about the metropolis as a travel destination, characterizing it as the end of a quest and a sacred environment.

Moreover, since the second half of the nineteenth century, inspired by Darwinian ideas and evolutionary thinking, looking out for other people and other lifeworlds became part of a search for one's own human past. 'Rational man', inheriting earlier discourses that separated the world of humans from nature, now viewed himself as having moved on to the 'civilizational stage' of contemporary Europe. However, he frequently took comfort in the belief that the original ('primitive') state and mankind's 'natural past' could still be observed among the inhabitants of other continents (Stocking, *Victorian Anthropology*). The quest for learning about other cultural realities, next to pragmatic considerations of travel support, was thus also led by the scholarly imperative to 'know your history!' by traveling into the 'heart' of 'wild' continents like Africa (as in Joseph Conrad's *Heart of Darkness*). The invention of deep time, and the concurrent denial of historicality to other societies, also marked the early beginnings of archaeology and anthropology as scholarly disciplines (Fabian 11–21 et passim; Hunt 93–133). The figure of the traveler and explorer here often blends with the figure of the

archaeologist as discoverer,[7] as in early Inca and Mayan studies in South America and Mesoamerica (see Gómez in this volume), or the figure of the anthropologist as traveler-hero.[8]

Reminiscences of the figure of traveler-hero – both as physical reenactment of the travel adventure and as a literary style – can also be found in other genres, such as reportage (see the essay by Łukasz Wierzbicki in this volume). Travel discourse owes its success to its transdisciplinary and transgeneric migrations, as well as its capacity to circulate with relative ease between personal memoir, scientific study, mythical story, journalistic essay, and other forms of testimony.

Travel and the 'Violence' of Ethnographic Knowledge

Travel's early association with danger, risk, and potential fights with 'strangers' had its parallels with military expeditions. In fact, many colonial travelogues resemble (or even are) the accounts of military men seeking to gain merit, personal status, or wealth but also running the risk of losing their own investments, health, lives, or those of their companions. The narrative structure of many travel accounts accordingly resembles heroic songs and war epics. They emphasize, among other motifs, adventure, heroism, luck, triumph, loss, despair, and death. The vicinity between epics of war and epics of travel was already familiar from Greek mythology, for instance the adventures of Odysseus and his companions, whose protagonists are culture-heroes, travelers, and explorers, and at the same time warriors. Not only were many eighteenth- and nineteenth-century European scholars and travel writers familiar with these narrations through their education, but some also had experiences in the military, and would, in aestheticizing hardship and discipline, find the same military virtues in traveling. Most illuminating in this respect is Johann Gottfried Seume's travelogue *Spaziergang nach Syrakus im Jahre 1802*. Seume's trip, as Rupert Gaderer writes in this volume, was significantly influenced by the traveling practice of military campaigns. The hardships and virtues of traveling and foreign dwelling, in many travel and colonial settler accounts, appear as a legitimate equivalent to military heroism.

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7   See Miller and Tilley (1–2). Prominent examples are John Lloyd Stephens and Howard Carter (see Stephens; Carter and Mace). On Stephens as imperial traveler-archaeologist see Harvey, chapter 4; and Mackenthun, "The Conquest of Antiquity" and "Imperial Archaeology."

8   There are multiple entanglements between travel literature and anthropology as a science. The fictional figure of the traveler-hero as a 'culture-hero' among 'wild tribes' who dared to enter the hitherto unknown and 'dangerous world' of 'savages' constitutes a hidden rhetoric in many proto- and early anthropological writings. For Maclay's descriptions of his stay in New Guinea (Sentinella), see, for instance, Stocking ("Archetypes" 24–25). Imagination indeed played an important role in the written genre of ethnography (Thornton); for example, see Payne's analysis (422) of Malinowski's account of the Trobriand islands (Malinowski). James Clifford has called such ways of representation by anthropologist-authors (Geertz) "ethnographic self-fashioning" (Clifford, *Predicament of Culture* 92).

The 'violence' of travel extends to the field of science as well. Much has been written in critical reflection about the methods and motives of knowledge production in different contact zones (e.g., Pratt; Schaffer et al.). In the aftermath of the critique of the colonial and imperial ventures, center and periphery debates, criticism of exoticism, orientalism, and the debate around writing culture (Clifford and Marcus; Marcus and Fischer; Geertz; Said, *Orientalism*; Said, "Representing the Colonized"), it is significant that the phenomena of authoritative, violent descriptions were not confined to the European context. They could manifest themselves in different regional versions, of particular intensity where concurrence or ambitions for power were at stake, and imperial or hegemonic quests were undertaken (for the example of China, see Hostetler). Our understanding of violence includes what critics variously describe as "epistemic violence" (Spivak 266), or the "violence of representation" (Armstrong and Tennenhouse): writing about others without their consent, distorting descriptions, or even deliberate hurt through acts of naming, labeling, or interpellation, i.e., "injurious speech" (Butler 43). Travel-related violence could, however, also occur in a much more immediate, very literal sense, as in the interrogation and even torture of imprisoned travelers, which likewise led to "the production of ethnographies" about foreign lands and powers, as Michael Harbsmeier shows for the case of early modern Japan. Ethnographic knowledge was at least occasionally the product of violent encounters and it tended to scientifically authorize violent practices in the future. Ethnographic information as 'weapon', real or potential, is also implicit in the accusation against anthropologists of complicity with colonialism (for example, British social anthropologists in Northeast Africa and India, who were said to work for the British colonial administration),[9] and in its most radical form as contemporary conspiracy theories about anthropologists as "spies."[10] 'Cultural' or ethnographic information thus transforms into a strategic asset meant to be used in diplomacy, trade, and peacemaking but also in competition, enforcement, and violent encounters.[11] How important such local knowledge could be, not just for colonial administrations but also for entrepreneurs and trade companies, we sometimes can derive from the accompanying details of early ethnographic accounts, as Bruce Greenfield in this volume demonstrates with a case from the history of the Hudson's Bay Company. We might wonder whether the knowledge Greenfield's protagonist James Isham was able to gather was as much of interest to the company as the data about clan and lineage organization of the Nuer of Sudan

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9   See, e.g., Faris (154–57); Rosaldo (88–91); and Urry (113–14).

10 Similar to witchcraft accusations, spy accusations may be used as an effective means of exclusion, at times preventing critical research in problematic areas. The problem is reinforced, however, by the fact that a few anthropologists actually *did* work for intelligence services (Price; see also, Moos, Fardon and Gusterson; Kürti et al.).

11 Not coincidently, many pathfinders in history were employed by military forces operating in foreign lands. Nowadays, 'pathfinders' seem to have been replaced by 'local advisors'. Occasionally, regional experts and anthropologists are also offered career opportunities as consultants in conflict zones (e.g., in Afghanistan), becoming themselves a kind of 'pathfinder' for policymakers or armed forces in unfamiliar settings.

gathered by Evans-Pritchard was for British colonial administrators.[12] There is a shift here from the evolutionary scholarly imperative 'know your history!' to the imperial imperative 'know your subjects!' (in commercial settings: your competitors, trade partners, and employees), which in some contexts, both imperial and nonimperial, could take the blatant shape of 'know your enemy!' We see here the loss of the innocence of curiosity, of mere 'wanderlust', and of the 'purely scientific' ethnographic account. We catch a glimpse of the complicity between the accumulation of knowledge through foreign travel and the desire to expand one's economic and political hegemony.

But not all ethnography can be said to do service to the holders of power or commercially spirited entrepreneurs. At times, ethnography could also act subversively. This is another dimension of knowledge acquisition: the possible or real threat that alternatives to prevalent ways of thinking and acting could pose to existing regimes of truth and power. The example of Japanese authorities, who forbid their subjects to travel abroad and – in case they nevertheless did so willingly or unwillingly and later returned – incarcerated or secluded returnees, or imposed on them a strict prohibition against sharing their knowledge of foreign lands (Harbsmeier), is most telling in this respect. Where travel opens opportunities of knowledge circulation, the restriction of the freedom to travel is often meant to close the gate to other worlds of knowledge and opportunity. Such knowledge, while it could be of strategic value to chosen actors, could also be dangerous if it spread further into one's own sphere of influence. Knowledge, in such contexts, is regarded as and treated similarly to a disease; the metaphor of the 'plague' or the 'virus', not coincidently, is often openly used by protagonists themselves in ideological discourses.[13] Just as physicians in laboratories keep viruses to dissect them under the microscopic eye to find an antidote, the local knowledge existing in unfamiliar places, such as the Native American dreams described by Mary Baine Campbell in her essay on the Jesuit Relations in this volume, was, accordingly, frequently kept in the controlled environment of authoritative texts and under the auspices of well-informed spiritual or scientific authority.

Circulation of knowledge, thus, is not always meant to happen. This holds true particularly for knowledge and convictions that travelers want to spread and

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12 Not all observers share Faris's, Rosaldo's, and other critics' strong assessment of ethnographers like Evans-Pritchard as having worked in close complicity with colonialism. Adam Kuper, for instance, concludes that "British anthropologists were little used by the colonial powers, and despite their rhetoric when in pursuit of funds, they were not particularly eager to be used" (144; Asad, "Afterword" 315). See also, Douglas on Evans-Pritchard's role.

13 The "bacillus" similarly appears as "a powerful concept for cultural transmission" (Wald 136), a phenomenon that Priscilla Wald denotes as the "outbreak narrative" (116). Depending on who applies it, and why, the metaphor could be used in a more neutral sense ('quick spreading'), or be value-connoted, particularly when actors try to 'keep out' new ideas and practices (Siegfried; Mitchell; Foucault, *History of Madness*, *Discipline and Punish* 195–99).

communicate (e.g., within contexts of Christianization and 'modernization') while the 'travelees' seek to resist such foreign interference. It also concerns types of knowledge that travelers might aspire to gain while the 'travelees' try to keep it hidden – such as elite mystical knowledge, initiation knowledge, rites of secret societies, corporate and military secrets, and confidential diplomatic knowledge.

Local Knowledge, 'Travelees', and Counter Journeys

The previously described 'fear of infection' with 'deviant' knowledge is itself the result of the fact that in cultural contact zones, knowledge usually travels both ways. The collaboration of local experts was crucial to the acquisition of knowledge through global travel activities.

Clifford refers to the example of Matthew Henson, Robert Peary's African American companion on his trip to the North Pole, as one of many examples of nonprivileged travelers whose deeds were left mostly unrecorded by the canon of travel literature. While Henson gained some posthumous recognition, the names of Peary's, and of innumerable other travelers', 'indigenous pathfinders' are lost to oblivion (see also Gómez in this volume, particularly on the neglected role of women in this context). For reasons of historical fairness it is important to remember, Clifford argues, the

> host of servants, helpers, companions, guides, and bearers [who] have been excluded from the role of proper travelers because of their race and class, and because theirs seemed to be a dependent status in relation to the supposed independence of the individualist, bourgeois voyager. (*Routes* 33)

This 'independence' of the 'individualist voyager', again, is part of the travel myth.

Those travelers who conceived of themselves at least in part as followers of a higher scholarly quest for knowledge acquisition could come in contact with other people in at least two ways. One was that, on expeditions to explore natural or cultural resources and landscapes, one necessarily came into contact with people living in or next to these areas. Travelers and explorers regularly depended on their local knowledge and support to proceed on their exploration trips, or were forced to 'pay their tribute' to local authorities, or to ally themselves with some inhabitants in search of protection from others, to gain free passage (see the essay by Gómez in this volume). The other way of interacting was to appropriate these interlocutors' knowledge itself. Local inhabitants could possess valuable knowledge about items travelers were keenly interested in, for instance plants and their different usages (Hodacs, in this volume). People's customs and practices, however, could also be of interest on their own terms, for example, for missionaries. The latter needed to become familiar with local ways of feeling and think-

ing. Missionaries often shared with traders and economic entrepreneurs an immediate interest in language acquisition, writing vocabulary lists and conversation logs, along with insider explanations for certain cultural practices, which could enable others following them to successfully interact with the local inhabitants (see Greenfield's essay). The interactions between travelers and local inhabitants also include the critical reflection of the travelers' perspectives and the reaction to it by the 'travelees' (Wodianka, "Das bereiste Andere"): Their counterperspectives contribute to the transforming circulation of knowledge in and about contact zones.

Thus, the agency of traveling was shared between the colonial and bourgeois travelers and their local guides and interlocutors, many of whom had already been to the explorers' homelands before meeting them on their home shores (the so-called "Squanto effect": Clifford, *Routes* 19). The interlocutors also had an impact on deciding which pieces of knowledge would enter the collective archive. Moreover, the agency of long-distance traveling itself went in both directions. While discoverers made it a fashion to bring back 'exotic' people for reasons of entertainment and scientific study,[14] humanist and Enlightenment thinkers like Montaigne and Montesquieu fictionalized (but did not invent) visitors from foreign lands as rhetorical strategies to sharpen their critique of European societies.[15] More importantly, actual travelers from outside Europe have written down or communicated their experiences, often critically reflecting on European notions of cultural superiority. Their voices can be seen as significant correctives to eurocentric notions of travel and discovery. Not all of these travelers have left full-fledged travelogues; often their perspective and their knowledge must be gleaned from European texts. The historical record includes outstanding cases of non-European travelers such as the North African geographer al-Hasan al-Wazzan, better known as Leo Africanus, who spent his life in the contact zone between Italy and Africa around 1500 and left many manuscripts based on his travels, some of which were included in Giovanni Battista Ramusio's *Navigazioni et Viaggi* (1550). Natalie Zemon Davis characterizes al-Wazzan as a "man with a double vision, sustaining two cultural worlds, sometimes imagining two audiences, and using techniques taken from the Arabic and Islamic repertoire while folding in European elements in his own fashion" (12–13). Likewise, with the growing availability of the library holdings of the former Ottoman Empire, the perspective on travelers also shifts. For example, the corpus of Muslim *rihlas* (travel narratives) analyzed by Roxanne Euben makes us aware of the eurocentric bias of much travel scholarship:

14 Many of them died during the journey, or in its aftermath – Pocahontas and Omai, both of whom fell victim to diseases presumably transmitted through contact with Europeans, are among the better known figures. For more information, see Chappell, and Weaver.

15 Montaigne refers to actual visitors (or rather prisoners) from Brazil in his essay "Des Cannibales" (*Essais*, Book I); Montesquieu's Persian visitors in his *Lettres persanes* were most likely based on the Iranian traveler Muhammad Riza Bayk, who visited France in 1714 (Euben 252n37).

> While many scholars of cross-cultural encounters tend to focus on how other people engage with the West, these *rihlas* foreground those journeys in pursuit of knowledge both in lands demarcated as Western and those within *Dar al-Islam*, loosely linked territory which, in its heyday, constituted a transhemispheric Afro-Euroasian civilization in almost continuous intercommunication by way of an extraordinary fluidity of people and knowledge across political, cultural, and linguistic boundaries. (Euben 14)

Daniel Newman, in this volume, analyzes several such *rihla* travelogues deriving from nineteenth-century North Africa, which describe the visits of Arab or Muslim travelers to the European continent.

The scholarship on the Black Atlantic, too, has produced a significant number of (mostly autobiographical) texts written by former slaves and other free Blacks whose migrations may at least in part be regarded in terms of travel (certainly in terms of 'travail'). After gaining his freedom, for example, Olaudah Equiano volunteered to join a scientific expedition to the North Pole led by his inventor friend Dr. Charles Irving. In the nineteenth century, former slaves, like Frederick Douglass, entered into intense transatlantic travel activities in their political struggle for general abolition and equality (Pettinger).

In the twentieth century, autobiographical travelogues and travelistic fictions from the former colonies – such as the writings of V. S. Naipaul, Caryl Phillips, Salman Rushdie, Vikram Seth, Jamaica Kincaid, Michelle Cliff, Amitav Ghosh, and many others constitute a prominent part of postcolonial literature (Thompson 162–67). In the globalized world, it becomes difficult to retain the former distinction between (mostly European, bourgeois, privileged) 'traveler' and (mostly non-European, underprivileged) 'travelee'. Travel plots, however, continue to proliferate as spatial mobility increases and shapes human lifeworlds.

Travel as Theory Metaphor

The contemporary experience of human spatial mobility and the general experience of a growing global connectedness through affordable travel and digitalized media have engendered a metaphorical turn within critical discourse. Apart from a certain tendency among critics to regard spatial mobility as an inevitable blessing of modernity, theories of globalization and postcolonial studies use images of travel, mobility, and migration so conspicuously that we may fairly regard 'travel' as the dominant theoretical metaphor of our time. Both uses of 'travel' (as ideal lived reality, as trope) can be seen as problematic, as Benita Parry and others have pointed out. The treatment of travel as a normative living practice of the globalized world, as well as its metaphorical use, may conceal the fact that a majority of people cannot afford to travel or migrate long distances, that their journeys are impeded by national borders, that they are exposed to the inequali-

ties of globalization in the localities into which they were born, and that if they are able to escape, they do so involuntarily and at great risk to their lives and future well-being.

While intellectual work depends on the capacity of theories and concepts to 'travel' from one context to another, it is unavoidably transformed during these intellectual migrations (Bal). In his seminal essay "Traveling Theory" Edward Said warns that without the aid of "critical consciousness," theory runs the risk of becoming essentialized, an "ideological trap" (241). He regards critical consciousness as the "faculty for locating or situating theory, and this means that theory has to be grasped in the place and the time out of which it emerges as a part of that time" (241–42). The discourse of travel has been very influential in modern theorizing, and not always has this metaphorical borrowing been accompanied by critical assessments of its situatedness. In an essay on "Culture," for example, Stephen Greenblatt claims that culture in general operates between "constraint" and "mobility," whereby some "cultures" would tend toward imposing a rule of stasis, while others – especially Western cultures – favored mobility and improvisation.[16] As Greenblatt's identification of Western culture with "mobility" (and its 'cold war' antagonist with "perfect stasis") suggests, "mobility" has become part of the normative ideology of modernity while sedentariness is associated with a 'pre-modern state'.[17] This idealization of migration, mobility, exile, and diaspora has found its way into postcolonial and globalization theories in the form of a discourse of "nomadology" (Clifford, *Routes* 36).[18] Postcolonial theory is evidently inscribed with the migration experiences of many of its socially privileged protagonists, as well as with the intellectual, 'travelistic' background of much poststructuralist theory (see the social/colonial backgrounds and/or professional experiences of, among others, Roland Barthes, Jacques Derrida, Louis Althusser, Pierre Bourdieu, Stuart Hall, Gayatri Spivak, Hélène Cixous, Luce Irigaray, and Edward Said). This characteristic backdrop of postcolonial theory is not always

16 Greenblatt presumes that "culture" consists of a "pervasive technology of control," whereby the individual "must conform" to the limits defined by it (225). "A life that fails to conform" to the "structure of improvisation" set up by culture "will have to be dealt with as an emergency – hence exiled, or killed, or declared a god" (228–29).

17 In a more recent version of this idea, Greenblatt rightly criticizes the limitations of 'earthbound' and nationalistic notions of cultural identity, but he continues to problematically equate intellectual mobility with movement in space caused by global capitalism, suggesting an equivalence between the two (*Cultural Mobility*). The concept of "cultural mobility" becomes virtually identical with the concept "culture," which is characterized by flexibility and the capacity to adapt.

18 In fact, the originators of "nomadology" as a theoretical idea, Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari, regard the practice of nomadism not as the equivalent of migrancy or wandering but rather as a variant of a sedentary life form: "The nomad has a territory; he follows customary paths; he goes from one point to another; he is not ignorant of points (water points, dwelling points, assembly points, etc.) […] The nomad is not at all the same as the migrant; for the migrant goes principally from one point to another, even if the second point is uncertain, unforeseen, or not well localized. But the nomad goes from point to point only as a consequence and as a factual necessity; in principle, points for him are relays along a trajectory" (*A Thousand Plateaus* 419).

manifest or reflected; likewise, postcolonial theory often fails to recognize the interests of those who are not privileged to travel or emigrate but who face the negative effects of globalization. Benita Parry offers an extended critique of the idealization of mobility and migration in many representatives of postcolonial and globalization theory (including Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri's *Empire*), arguing that "those infatuated by the liberatory effects of dispersion do not address the material and existential conditions of the relocated communities which include economic migrants, undocumented immigrants, refugees, asylum seekers and victims of ethnic cleansing, and whose mobility, far from being an elective ethical practice, is in large coerced" (100).

The essay by Łukasz Wierzbicki in the present volume establishes that the decision to travel can offer opportunities but also carry high risks. The Polish clerk Kazimierz Nowak takes his bicycle and his camera to Africa, capitalizing on his contemporaries' enthrallment with 'exotic' lands, uncommon forms of movement, and new technologies. Like many migrants of our own time, Nowak travels out of a will to escape poverty, and makes intelligent use of the media at his disposal (camera, newspapers). The fact that death captures him not long after his return suggests that traveling abroad may become temporarily necessary in order to be able to survive at home but that mobility is no guarantee of survival.

As the prominence of travelistic metaphors in contemporary theorizing shows, travel continues to exert a fascination that has prevented an equally strong theorization of spatial boundedness and sedentariness, except in its form as romantic nostalgia or in its problematic Heideggerian variant uncannily close to national socialist aesthetics. Those who lack the privilege to follow the 'call to adventure' have to inhabit the ruins and suffer the "ruination" of history (Stoler) – as they did throughout the past centuries covered by the essays in this book. Their precarious lives have been the topic of a few impressive fictional texts, such as Michael Ondaatje's *Anil's Ghost*, Indra Sinha's *Animal's People*, and Helon Habila's *Oil on Water*. These texts alert us to the fact that it would, in Said's memorable words, be the "rankest Panglossian dishonesty to say that the bravura performances of the intellectual exile and the miseries of the displaced person or refugee are the same" (*Culture and Imperialism* 403). They furthermore remind us that metaphors of travel and theories of global mobility and migration are incomplete without paying equal attention to the affairs at 'home'.

Chapter Summaries

The volume begins with a section on *Travel and Scientific Knowledge*, dealing with the correlation between early scientific expeditions and the acquisition and circulation of knowledge in the natural and literary sciences. It starts off with an essay by *Ottmar Ette* that explores the "transareal" perspective of such seemingly different writers as Alexander von Humboldt, Georg Forster, and Lafcadio Hearn

in the colonial late eighteenth century – the 'first age of globalization' – and the poststructuralist and postcolonial critics Roland Barthes and Edouard Glissant. Borrowing Barthes' concept of "landscape of theory" as well as Glissant's concepts of "rhizome" and "poétique de la relation," Ette shows that the writings of the cosmopolitan shapers of the 'second great age of discovery' share a common geopolitical ideal with leading theoreticians of our own time in developing an aesthetics of translocal connectedness that is strongly indebted to a cartographic vision of the geographical areas they cover. His textual readings suggest that Enlightenment geopolitical imaginaries, just like postmodern theory, were significantly inspired by travelistic experiences and literatures. Among others, Alexander von Humboldt appears to have played a particularly relevant role in this context, as his writings, being situated between various literary and scientific forms of description, provided a baseline for the more systematic integration of "nomadic" knowledge in scholarly texts. In this, it anticipated the gradual dwindling of a "central perspective" in European landscape theory, and paved the way for the emergence of diverse new forms of knowledge.

"Nomadic" knowledge is also significant in *Hanna Hodac*'s reflection on Linnaeus's influence on Swedish naturalists, and on the role of the excursion in eighteenth-century natural history. During his time at Uppsala University, a network of students provided Linnaeus with data from different geographical regions and helped complete his modernization of scientific nomenclature. Local trips and regional traveling became part of the university "travel curriculum," and later would also imprint on the lives and careers of Linnaeus's disciples. The expectation of travel experiences also hints at the importance of funding and possible conditions scholars might have to fulfill in order to obtain the financial and moral support of their sponsors and employers. Hodacs observes this to have occurred at the interface between "scholarship and global economics and politics," at a historical moment when the "Republic of Letters," a network of scholars mainly based at long-standing universities like Uppsala, gradually became replaced by a "knowledge generating system […] in which institutions [like libraries and the newly opened British Museum] rather than individuals played a key role," increasingly shifting its focal point to London, the center of the British empire. Travels provided the "geographical gift" of local knowledge; potential usages of local natural resources could help making the national economy independent of imports. In consequence, a close relation between scientific travels and imperial expansion emerged, the scientific knowledge about nature reinforcing the modern expansive political economy.

In her essay on the Pacific travelogue by the German-French Romantic writer Adelbert von Chamisso, *Gabriele Dürbeck* concentrates on the Arctic sections of Chamisso's journey. She discusses his various writings, most prominently his *Reise um die Welt* (1836), as articulations of both a colonialist and an anticonquest attitude toward the indigenous inhabitants of the Pacific. As an 'embedded naturalist' of the Russian scientific Romanzoff expedition led by Otto von

Kotzebue in 1815–1817, Chamisso's practices and texts, Dürbeck suggests, must be read as documents of his precarious position as a representative of an imperial mission with clear military intentions on the one hand and as a cosmopolitan humanist on the other. Chamisso's case points to how difficult it is for the enlightened naturalist to emancipate himself from the institutional context within which he is operating. Dürbeck in particular focuses on Chamisso's practices of field research (*avant la lettre*) and she reads his activities – botanizing on the ground and composing his travelogue – against various definitions of the concept of "archive," including Foucault's eponymous conceptual metaphor. Chamisso's *Reise um die Welt*, she argues, widens the European archive on the Arctic due to its intricate intertextual network and its contribution to knowledge circulation, but it also reevaluates and rewrites existing Arctic narratives, in particular the more strategically interested account of Kotzebue. Chamisso's writings emerge as an intricate intertextual archive of a Humboldtian naturalist and as an example of anticonquest counternarrative.

The second section is dedicated to the specific conjunction between *Colonial Travels and Epistemic Exchange. Leila Gómez* investigates the textual presence of the figure of the local pathfinder in scientific travelogues by the U.S. archaeologist Hiram Bingham, the Argentinian politician, military man, and writer Lucio V. Mansilla, and the French photographer and archaeologist Désiré Charnay. These 'cultural go-betweens' have received scholarly attention only in recent years as the contribution of local experts and guides to the success of scientific expeditions is coming to be unraveled in decolonial approaches to the history of science (see our volume *Agents of Transculturation*, Jobs and Mackenthun; and Aguirre, "The Work of Archaeology"). The figure of the pathfinder, or its Argentinian variant the *baqueano*, occupies a precarious position in scientific travelogues in that it simultaneously represents a certain kind of epistemic authority and social inferiority in the colonial logic of the nineteenth century. Gómez seeks to unsettle the discourse that operates on the opposition between the metropolitan traveler as an agent of scientific knowledge and the local interlocutor as a ghost-like presence in scientific travelogues – an opposition that she analyzes with reference to Bruno Latour's description of the processes by which knowledge traveled from the colonies to the metropolitan "centers of calculation," where these pieces of knowledge are catalogued and domesticated in "libraries, laboratories, museums, universities, and publishing houses." In particular the writer Mansilla can be seen to engage in shifting positionings of self and other in his narrative while using a female go-between figure as an eroticized and ambivalent textual site that reflects Mansilla's own social theories of *mestizaje*, which suggest "the idea that an alternative way of 'civilizing' … [a] region and conquering it is through 'love'." Charnay, who traveled to Central America and Mexico to photograph the numerous ancient ruins there, accomplished the "translation from local knowledge to universal/ imperial gaze" by way of the camera. The photos he produced were used in transatlantic knowledge production, while the crucial role of local pathfinders, excava-

tors, servants, and cooks was frequently underexposed, only receiving some attention as the journey proved more arduous than expected or as figures who symbolically authorize and legitimize the appropriation of artifacts that were removed to be stored and exhibited in Western museums.

Mary Baine Campbell's contribution is dedicated to analyzing the representation and "circulation" of indigenous dreams in the French Jesuit missionaries' recordings of their encounters with representatives of the Huron and Algonquin groups in seventeenth-century New France – the Eastern Woodlands and Great Lakes Region of North America. The dreams, she argues, constitute "dangerous ideologies" contesting the missionaries' spiritual doctrines, not just in that they are of "pagan" origin and thus fundamentally to be refuted as 'wrong', but by virtue of their challenging and even rebellious potential in the struggle over political hegemony in the region. What, Campbell wonders, were the missionaries' motives for collecting and thus preserving and retelling these dreams? One effect may have been to exemplify for the readers allegedly ridiculous errors and dangers in the dreams that could serve to denounce the truth claims of indigenous spirituality. The process of collecting accounts of dreams and putting them into writing can at least in part be seen as an attempt of "inoculation" (in Roland Barthes' sense), a way of obviating the risk of foreign spiritual influence by administering homeopathic doses of the poisonous substance. At the same time, intellectual fascination or doubt about the Jesuit missionaries' own certainties may also have played a role. Indigenous reports of prophetic dreams about an earthquake that subsequently came true may have especially rattled the learned priests. Campbell triangulates the Jesuits' encounter with the Native Americans' dreams with their own dreams of their faraway homes and childhood events in France – passages that allow us a unique glimpse of the emotional world of foreign dwellers and spiritual travelers.

Bruce Greenfield explores the protoethnographic writings of James Isham, an accountant and later chief factor of York Fort, one of the Hudson's Bay Company's trade posts in Canada in the mid-eighteenth century. As so many young men of his generation, Isham was able to use the colonial situation for his own social upward mobility. As the avoidance of misunderstandings with the indigenous trade partners was of utmost importance for economic success, Isham was – next to his copious activities as a HBC scribe – engaged in compiling word lists and little booklets with exemplary conversations between European traders and native hunters and fur traders. Concentrating on the significance of writing as a cultural technique, Greenfield depicts, inspired by Michel de Certeau's *The Practice of Everyday Life*, how Isham is able to use the privilege of writing, as well as the geographical privilege of first-hand knowledge, in order to assert his authority to speak across a "class-based and intellectual gulf." Isham's cross-cultural dialogues are a typical example of how colonial travelers could "create social capital out of spatial remoteness." As in Campbell's examples, however, we are left to speculate about the reliability of the indigenous voices in Isham's text. Green-

field's present-day indigenous interlocutors confirm that the language recorded by Isham is indeed Cree (with some deficiencies in grammar and phonology) and we can glimpse from them certain forms of social interaction during the period of the so-called colonial "middle ground" (White). But the question remains whether the experience of colonial travel has changed writing itself or whether the colonial writing practice remained monolithic – going to the end of the world "without budging an inch," as Greenfield writes, quoting de Certeau.

The third section, entitled *Travelers' Knowledge and Counter-Knowledge*, underlines the fact that traveling cannot be viewed from a single geographic perspective alone, and that travel reports and accounts of foreign lands were also produced outside the realm of European authorship. *Daniel Newman*, examining nineteenth-century North African travel literature, focuses on the 'discovering of Europe' through travelers from the Arab world. The *rihla* travel and geographical literature constituted a whole genre in the Arab world, creating transnational knowledge networks among Islamic intellectuals. Yet, Newman notes that Muslim travelers to Europe were "in fact, a rarity," and arrives at the conclusion that at the time "[t]here was a decided lack of interest in the non-Muslim peoples of the West". Travelogues about Europe only rarely appeared in print or otherwise widely circulated in the nineteenth century. This is not to be explained exclusively by political exigencies in North Africa at the time; rather, it seems that there was not a large enough receptive reading public that would have made the effort worthwhile. Some authors who had written travelogues about Europe, however, were later "rediscovered," and their works disseminated through print. Newman's account provides insights into how, in these travelogues, the 'other' was "translated" and "naturalized" in the eyes of the travelers, e.g., when discussing the travelogue of Rifa'a al-Tahtawi, a young Egyptian imam who arrived in France in 1826. Newman observes a difference in the rhetoric and style of the North African *rihla* accounts from their contemporary counterparts: "Contrary to European travelers to the Orient in the period, the Arab-Muslim visitors are generally 'invisible' as individuals; the author appears primarily as a Muslim and witness, rather than as an 'author-adventurer-discoverer'." At the same time, Newman finds profound differences between different North African travelers' perceptions that are linked to different historical experiences. He observes among the Algerian travelogues "a newly emerging rihla paradigm, which may be called the 'colonial rihla', within which identification with, and allegiance to the colonial power is the determining factor," thus indicating political considerations to be embedded in the genre of travel report. In most of the Moroccan travelogues, in contrast, clear distancing from the "unbelievers" is expressed. Such distancing often required specific rhetorics on the part of the author to justify the deed of traveling and reporting about the 'other'. Newman's article shows anew that not only did 'prefigured' views about what to see and expect in foreign lands often shape travelers' accounts but so did the anticipation of the expectations of their prospective readerships at home.

Relating to a series of early modern Japanese encounters, *Michael Harbsmeier* takes a closer look at how the accounts of travelers contributed to global exchange of knowledge and information long before Japan's official entry into the global economic system. Literary travel logs constituted an established tradition in Japanese literature, even though the circulation of travel knowledge was not welcomed by local authorities and the shogunate in the seventeenth to nineteenth centuries. Japanese fishermen and sailors who had been stranded on foreign coasts were, upon their return, often secluded from the rest of the population. Quite illuminating here is the 1783 example of Captain Daikokuya Kōdayū, who rather involuntarily came to visit the Russian capital St. Petersburg, and who was, after his return to Japan, subjected to a series of interrogations that "laid the foundation for three different versions of the dialogues between the traveler and his inquisitor, which often contained an impressive wealth of ethnographic detail." European travelers and missionaries who came to Japan were also intensely interrogated by Japanese authorities, who were suspicious of Christian influence and feared possible espionage. Oral accounts given during these interrogations were written down in the Japanese language, providing a kind of metaethnography, which could include nationalist reinterpretations of the original accounts that underlined the dangers of contact with European countries. The constrained relationship between Japanese authorities and the 'outside world' is also vividly illustrated by the example of the yearly visit by the Dutch East India Company's representatives in Japan to the shogun of Edo, which Harbsmeier describes in more detail for the trip of 1691, during which the later narrator of the encounter, Engelbert Kaempfer, "obviously felt deeply humiliated by the cross-examination" to which he was subjected.

In keeping with the question raised by this volume of the way travelers themselves contributed to processes of transculturation, the fourth section, entitled *Poetics of Travel*, looks at the intimate relationship between travel and the production of literary works, and examines how the lives and works of travelers and authors have entered public space as well as academic knowledge. *Sharon Kinoshita*'s essay explores questions of travel and the circulation of knowledge in and about the *Devisement du monde*. Kinoshita analyses the 'public' Marco Polo of travel writers, journalists, and adventurers and turns also to academic appropriations of Marco Polo and his text, particularly in works of postcolonial and postcolonial medieval critics, and to the *Devisement* itself, in the so-called 'F' version of c. 1310. Her chapter focuses on the transformations of the travelogue through its different versions, but also on the 'traveling' of the famous travelogue between different discourses participating in the (re)constructions of Marco Polo and 'his' narration. Assessing the *Devisement*'s place in medieval processes of transculturation is best accomplished, Kinoshita indicates, by redirecting attention from the long literary and historical genealogy into which it is often inserted, toward the "world empire of letters," and thus capitalizing on the cross-linguistic, transcultural potential of the Marco-Rustichello text.

Rupert Gaderer deals with Johann Gottfried Seume's travelogue *Spaziergang nach Syrakus im Jahre 1802*. It is a compelling example for staging the voyage experience as original and 'authentic', as a kind of nonconformist movement countering the prevailing ideal: the narrator travels not in a carriage like the travelers of the grand tour, but by foot. Peregrinating improved on the limited movement and perception allowed by the closed touring car since it expanded the traveler's field of vision into a panoramic one. Seume's travelogue uses and reflects the mode of traveling in its narrative functionality, and in its impact on experience and knowledge gained through the voyage. Gaderer focuses on the item that Seume carried all along his marathon march: the knapsack. Next to the implication of traveling, the knapsack also had a military connotation: it used to be part of the infantry soldiers' marching package. Gaderer analyzes the iconic and material value of this accessoire for Seume's text: he observes that discourses on the knapsack are important for his travelogue, for his theory of travel by foot ("tornistern"), as well as for his literary and artistic self-presentation – and his reception – as a wayfarer. The knapsack obtains not only a symbolic but also an aesthetic significance in Seume's travelogue: as an object that preforms and represents the traveler's special perceptions and the alternative way of moving.

Friedrich Wolfzettel shows by four literary examples from the nineteenth century the potentials of the travel romance as a privileged medium for the transformation of knowledge and its representation. His essay focuses on the literary genre of the grand city: *Corinne ou l'Italie* (1807) by Germaine de Staël*, Rome, souterraine* (1833) by Charles Didier, *Madame Gervaisais* (1869) by the brothers Goncourt, and *Rome* (1896) by Émile Zola. Novels about Rome have, as Wolfzettel indicates, a special place in the field of city- and travel-romances, because they are able – in the mythical space of the city – to associate the search for individual insight with universal knowledge. Rome becomes a "*périple*" (stroll, circuit) of knowledge and experience (Michel Butor), which permits the fictional realization of a symbiosis of the individual's travel or secular pilgrimage in the search for knowledge with the collective and transpersonal mythical dimension. In the naturalist novel at the end of the nineteenth century, this mythical dimension of Rome is at the same time used and outgrown by demystification, leading to a kind of "*roman de recherche*" (Butor) with traveling characters 'seeing' and 'understanding'.

The fifth and final section of this volume deals with the connection between *Travel, Representation, and Media Revolutions*. As a fitting example, *Łukasz Wierzbicki* recounts the story of Kazimierz Nowak. Explorer, photographer, and reporter, Nowak had, between 1931 and 1936, traveled across Africa by bicycle, horseback, canoe, and foot. On his tour, he wrote more than 110 letters, which he sent to different Polish newspapers for publication. The newspaper articles brought the African continent and its inhabitants to the consciousness of the Polish public. Contradicting the colonial ideology of the time, Nowak had many intimate and sensitive encounters with local people who he met along his

route. Years later, Wierzbicki traces Nowak's path across the continent, records his meeting with elders who remembered Nowak from the 1930s, and thereby induced a new 'wave' of circulating knowledge about the photographer-explorer and his African engagements. Since 2000, the traveler Nowak's public perception in Poland has been that of a national heroic pioneer-adventurer who showed "heroic courage," comparable to nineteenth-century British explorers like Stanley and Livingstone. The topoi of heroism and physical suffering here appear in conjunction with the figure of the 'loner', a signifier of absent 'civilization', which is presumed to countermirror 'wilderness' and 'the unknown', both projected on Africa as the "Dark Continent." Nowak also took numerous photographs of people, wildlife, and ethnographic objects along his way, in a manner closely resembling scientific travelers' methods of collecting and archiving. We find reversed roles, or images, in this projection: not the researcher as traveler-hero but the traveler-hero as research scientist, two different but interrelated forms of curiosity and ways of legitimizing the journey.

The differentiation between such categories as 'traveler', 'researcher', 'explorer', 'reporter', 'author', or 'visitor' might indeed be a matter of ambivalence. The necessity of legitimizing one's own journey is also apparent in relation to contemporary, touristic forms of travel, where more and more people travel to the same places. As *Dean MacCannell* states, tourism substantially relied on the myths and narratives of discovery, adventure, and unique experience that earlier travel accounts had created. The attraction this imaginary of foreign lands exerted on people was – and is – considerable, "akin to a force field that captures tourists, tugging first on their imagination then on their bodies […] It can become an embarrassment not to have been." MacCannell, in his proposition, almost seems to discard contemporary theoretical approaches devoted to the notion of agency as explanations for such phenomena in tourism. Instead, he takes recourse to the thoughts of turn-of-the-twentieth-century sociologist Émile Durkheim, and suggests the notion of a "tourist 'thing'" that almost gains a life and a reality of its own. Paraphrasing Freud, MacCannell even prophesies the "Return of the King Oedipus" in the end – the exact opposite of the idea of a rational human being of free will. MacCannell's description of tourist travel nearly resembles the image of gregarious humans who follow certain pathways on their migration to symbol-prone cultural pastures. Most insightful in this respect is the example he provides of a millionaire who is retiring at the age of thirty to devote the rest of his life to the goal of visiting all the interesting attractions and faraway destinations in the world, pursuant to the prominent maxim of a travel guide: *1,000 Places to See Before You Die* (Schultz). The tourist 'hunt' – no longer confined to the spectacular, unknown, and unexpected in travel, but rather extending, or converting, to the supposedly familiar, the expectation-laden anticipation of a vision or experience that is to be met on the journey by all means – then reads as an attempt to fulfill a mission, including the idea of seeing everything in a lifetime. In the age of digital reproduction, however, the way that travel experience is shaped has changed.

MacCannell looks at how tourist attractions and objects came to be "disembodied" through virtual representations on the world wide web – an "all-ready interpreted" cosmos. As he states, this requires a reflection on the impossible authenticity of cultural attractions that always refer to a memory of a represented past, and on the desire of tourists to distinguish themselves from other tourists.

Taken together, these essays can only offer a few glimpses at the diversity and multiplicity of the experiences and representations of travel from a perspective inflected by postcolonial and decolonial developments in cultural studies. As images and experiences of geographical mobility proliferate, many questions familiar from former times remain at the center of interest: the excitement and the violence of cultural encounters; the joys and pain of leaving home and arriving in strange lands; the global asymmetry of access to free travel and representation; questions of authenticity, emplotment, and the power of shared images. The peregrinations of people and texts constantly transform our knowledge and therefore continue to exact our critical commentary.

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